



CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

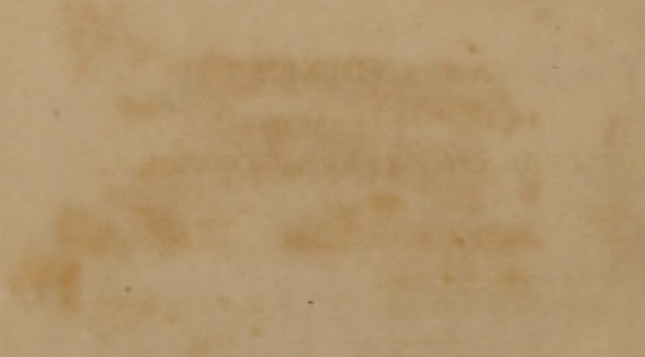
OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET



LONDON

1677

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By Authority.

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Ecclesiastical Memorials;

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND ITS

REFORMATION,

UNDER THE REIGNS OF

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY THE FIRST:

WITH THE

APPENDIXES

CONTAINING

THE ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

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*In Seven Volumes.*

BY JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

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*VOLUME THE FIRST.*

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CONTAINING

THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,

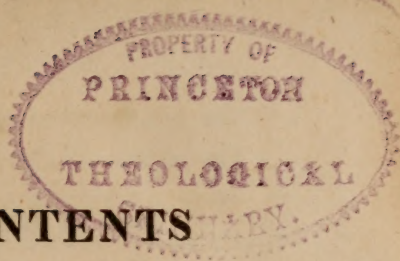
WITH MEMOIRS OF THE TWO ENGLISH CARDINALS,

WOLSEY AND POLE.

LONDON:

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MDCCCXVI.



GENERAL CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVEN VOLUMES.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS under the Reign of King
HENRY VIII.

THE SECOND VOLUME.

ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS under the Reign of King
EDWARD VI.

THE THIRD VOLUME.

Continuation of the ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS under
the Reign of King EDWARD VI.

THE FOURTH VOLUME.

ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS under the Reign of Queen
MARY I.

THE FIFTH VOLUME.

Continuation of the ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS under
the Reign of Queen MARY I.

RECORDS, Letters, and other Original Papers, to illustrate
and confirm the Ecclesiastical Memorials under the Reign of
King HENRY VIII.

THE SIXTH VOLUME.

RECORDS, Letters, and other Original Papers, to illustrate
and confirm the Ecclesiastical Memorials, under the Reigns of
the Kings HENRY VIII. and EDWARD VI.

THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

RECORDS, Letters, and other Original Papers, to illustrate
and Confirm the Ecclesiastical Memorials under the Reign of
Queen MARY I.

TO
THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
WILLIAM,
BY THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN;
AND
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY-COUNCIL.

* MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

THAT I, with your favour and license, dedicate these ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS to your Grace, is not with intent that you should countenance and defend all that is contained in them, or patronize the frail and fallible author; nor yet this way to recommend my work to the world; nor for any other mercenary ends: as have been not unusual in dedications to persons of great figure and eminence: but indeed, to speak the truth, that both the author and his book may receive an honour and ornament from so great and venerable a name as your Grace's is.

Your Grace will not regard so much the private writer, as the gravity and importance of the subjects treated of: being matters historical of this noble kingdom; and chiefly, and most designedly,

the ecclesiastical affairs and transactions throughout the reigns of three princes successively: wherein religion met with so many remarkable changes and struggles; till at last, by the good providence of God over-ruling the counsels and contrivances of men, the Church of England was purged from many gross errors in doctrine, and inveterate superstitions in worship; and a happy reformation at length effected. The accounts whereof are so large, that besides what other historians have writ, many more notices remain in the divers records and archives of our kingdom, to amplify this illustrious part of English history. And from faithful collections thence, I have endeavoured to make farther discoveries of these very weighty concerns.

And, perhaps, it may be no improper matter of contemplation to your Grace, in your high place and calling, in order to your government of this church under His Majesty King George, to observe the method and course taken in those times, in the cause of religion, by holy divines and bishops, and especially your incomparable predecessor, Archbishop Cranmer: who, by his wisdom, learning, and pains, was so active and successful in restoring religion in the two former princes' reigns; and which cost him his blood in the third. But we that live in these times (uncessant thanks be to God) enjoy the benefit of their labours and sufferings.

And now nothing seems to be wanting to perfect this our reformation, but (which I am sure is one of

your Grace's chief cares) a sweet union and concord among us, who still have this mighty blessing of the reformed religion: That "with one mind, and one mouth, we may glorify God;" according to the apostle's advice to one of his churches: And, that "there may be no divisions among us, but that we may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment;" as he exhorted another too sadly divided church. And whatever endeavours have been made to bring this desirable thing to pass by disputations and argumentations, or otherwise; methinks, the reading and pondering well these Ecclesiastical Histories, might be of considerable influence towards the effecting it. Wherein is related, by what measures the reformation was carried on; and what able and excellent men were employed therein; and with what thanksgiving and gladness it was universally received. For the godly reformers, the great transactors of this heavenly work, were wise, learned, and holy men, sufferers many of them, and martyrs for the cause. Who set themselves impartially to purge this church of all its former superstition, idolatry, corruption, and false doctrine: And who made the word of God, revealed in the sacred scripture, the only rule they made use of in this great undertaking: And consulted also with the most eminent reformers of the churches abroad. And how infinitely joyful were all good men then in the restoration of the gospel, and the freedom to profess it? And how unanimously did they join together in the publick service of God, then established?

Romans,
xv. 6.
1 Cor.
i. 10.

These things, I say, which are largely told in some parts of these volumes, might serve to reconcile, in all peaceable spirits, an esteem for this Church of England, and for the worship and service performed in it: Being nothing but what we see was exercised in the first and happy establishment of it under King Edward VI. And which cost so many years, and so much pains and blood. And I pray God, these, and such like writings, may produce such good effect.

But, my Lord, I dare not detain your Grace any longer, after I have recommended this my labour to the charitable censure of your Grace, and all other pious and judicious readers: Being,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most humble Servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE
PREFACE
TO THE
FIRST VOLUME.
OF THE FOLIO EDITION.

THESE Memorials, respecting chiefly religion, and the reformation of it in this kingdom in former times, the author had composed and fitted for the press divers years ago. But thought fit to lay them aside for a time; and to begin rather with what he had writ of the lives and acts of the four first protestant archbishops of Canterbury; as shewing therein the beginning, progress, opposition, and establishment of the said happy reformation, in a continued history, under the influence of those most worthy confessors and prelates. Nor did he think it convenient to burden those books, which were large enough of themselves, by inserting those *Memorials* into them, which would have rendred them too bulky, and less saleable: but rather chose to compile them into other volumes by themselves, in due time to follow the rest, in order to the rendering more compleat the former published histories. This gave occasion to their being suppressed hitherto.

But they being a faithful collection of many important matters which went before, accompanied, or immediately relating to, that great work carrying on in the state, and well worthy to be known, the author was willing and desirous, that they may now be recommended to the world; and that all that value our church and religion reformed, and that are studious of this sort of antiquities, may enjoy them: and that they may be the more correctly set forth by himself, and have his review, before his death, which his great age suggesteth cannot be far off. And he dares promise, that those learned and reverend persons, who have approved and encouraged his former pains and studies, will not be disappointed in these now offered. And presumes, that the further knowledge of this part of English history will not be disagreeable to them, as well as it may be useful and beneficial to those of this church and kingdom, and entertaining also to all persons, inquisitive into the transactions about religion in those critical times, (so memorable, when the corruptions of the church and churchmen began to be looked into) and the progress made therein in those three reigns.

But I must let my reader know, that I did not intend, when I took this work in hand, to write a compleat Ecclesiastical History under those three supreme governors of this land, and of all the occurrences and events of religion and the church in their reigns. For that hath been done, or endeavoured by some historiographers already. Mine are only

Ecclesiastical Memorials; and intended but to supply what hath been omitted by them, or to rectify some mistakes, or misrepresentations of persons and things: or to fill up and enlarge matters, more briefly or imperfectly related in our published histories. Nor do I pretend to compleat those writings. What I do is only to communicate to the world what I have of this sort of history, out of my store, and to digest these notices in their proper places, chronologically from year to year, as they occurred. My design being chiefly to bring to light such further particulars, as I have found in state papers, and letters, and records, and many other original MSS. of the best sort, after long and diligent converse with them.

And that the readers may be the better satisfied with what I have done in this undertaking, and give the more credit thereunto, I shall first shew them, with what materials I have been furnished, and what assistances I have had; and then, what diligence, care, and faithfulness I have used in the digesting of them into some volumes.

These *Memorials* then are compiled from transcripts by me taken out of divers libraries of MSS. the choicest in the kingdom; to which I obtained access. Whereof one was the Cotton Library. Several volumes whereof I had the free perusal of, and liberty to transcribe from, by the favour of Sir John Cotton, Bart. then the possessor thereof, at his own house. Such another library, consisting of MSS. is that belonging to Bennet College in Cam-

Bishop of Rochester lent me a volume of extracts from the registers of our convocations. Also, Mr. Thoresby, of Leeds, Dr. Sampson, sometime a physician in London, and Mr. Roger Morice, a minister, deceased, gave the like assistances.

And besides this treasure of collections from libraries and friends, I made use of many books antiently set forth: which are now so much out of knowledge, that they may be held near equivalent to antient MSS. whence many remarks may be taken to illustrate and improve the history of those times, both as to publick and private transactions: and to recover the knowledge of many men of figure, whether of the laity or clergy, of the city or court; in the times wherein these *Memorials* are concerned.

My diligence also will in part appear, in that I have made no use of transcribers and amanuenses: or, that I saw not the originals my self, but left it to the care of others to take out thence: who oftentimes make mistakes, omissions, and false writing of letters and words, to the spoiling and corrupting of the true sense, sometimes by negligence or too much haste, and sometimes for want of skill, and not knowing well the manner of old writing in the shape of the letters, or the abbreviations commonly used in times past. For the prevention of which inconveniences, I writ all from the MSS. with mine own pen, and with as much care as I could; that whatsoever I transcribed might be exactly taken, both as to the letter and spelling.

I have been very careful not to repeat what I found already published, and appearing in print;

unless for the causes above mentioned. And therefore if any such records, letters or other papers shall be found in these volumes, they are for some good reason inserted. Yet perhaps some very few may have slipt in without my knowledge that they were elsewhere shewn: as I find there are one or two in Bishop Burnet's third volume of his History of the Reformation.

I have avoided partiality, or relating matters occurring, with a favour to one side, or prejudice to another: and have made it my course to set down things as I met with them, on which side, party, religion or persuasion soever, the persons concerned were: and generally, in the very words of the papers and writings, where I found them.

I have noted the various books that came forth from year to year, as I had seen, or met with them, of what sort soever they were; but chiefly, such as concerned religion. Of these, for the better instruction what they were, I have briefly told the contents, purposes, and subjects treated of; gathered from the epistles dedicatory, or from the prefaces, and sometimes the heads of the books themselves. Of which books some were popish, some protestant, some puritan, some schismatical, or heretical.

Remarks and observations also are here made of divers persons, whether of the court or clergy, whose names occur in the current of the history: scarce yet taken notice of by our historians: and they of note in those days; whose memory by this time is in effect lost and perished. And commonly received opinions of others are occasionally rectified, and

more truly represented : and their words and actions set in a truer light.

Many considerable notices are given, particularly of the two English cardinals in King Henry's reign, with whom he had so much to do: which are scarcely met with elsewhere, so particularly and largely, as will be found in these Commentaries.

I need not mention the profit and use that may be made of them: but in short, the best use of all is, that we of this kingdom may gather hence abundant cause to thank God, that hath cast our lot in these days, when, after so many years pains and struggles, so much blood and opposition, gross ignorance of religion, superstition and idolatry is removed; and the saving knowledge of God and his word, and the free profession of the gospel in the truth and purity of it, is brought unto us. And wherein we may observe, how providentially things fell out by little and little, by unseen causes, and sometimes unmeet men to bring to pass our reformation.

I end this my preface with the same good counsel to my readers, that J. Clement, a preacher in King Edward's days, and a sufferer under Queen Mary, gave his, in the beginning of a little book of his, called, *A Confession of his Faith, viz.*

Put away contention, and read with discretion :
Try only by the touchstone ; judge without affection.

Excellent rules for readers, as well of books of history as of religion.

Written from Low Leyton, in Essex, August the first, 1721.

THE
CONTENTS
 OF THE
 FIRST VOLUME.

THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

•• *The paging in the Margin refers the Reader to the paging of the Folio Edition.*

THE INTRODUCTION. PAGE 1

CHAPTER I.

WOLSEY's counsil and influence in the king's affairs. Goes ANNIS
 over into France with the king. Present at the conquest 1513,
 of Tournay. Nominated bishop of that city by the king. 1514,
 Had the abby of St. Martin's there. The care and affairs 1515,
 of Tournay committed to him. Letters of the council 1516,
 there to him. His spies in France. Intelligences from 1517,
 them. Discovery of a conspiracy in France, to invade 1518,
 England. The chapter's (of Tournay) letter to Cardinal
 Wolsey, their bishop. Another elect pretends to that bi-
 shopric. The pope's breve in Wolsey's behalf. The cause
 referred by the pope to two cardinals. Richard Sampson,
 the cardinal's chaplain; his chancellor and chief officer there.
 The French king's letter to King Henry. Transactions for
 peace. The cardinal's managery thereof. His letters to the
 king's ambassadors at the French court. Tournay restored
 upon terms: And the bishoprick p. 3 to 37

CHAP. II. An interview proposed between the two kings. 1520,
 The obstructing thereof endeavoured by some foreign am- 1521,
 bassadors. The cardinal's answer to their jealousies, arising 1522,
 thence. The king suspicious of France's amity. The car-
 dinal, the king's lieutenant at Calais, sends his advice to
 the king about it: And for the English merchant ships
 trading thither. His letters to the king. The king's book
 against Luther: Printed at London by Pynson. The pope
 gives the king the title of Defender of the Faith for writing this
 book. The king becomes zealous for the pope. The car-
 dinal instrumental therein. The English court noted abroad
 for learning. A commission from the cardinal to all bishops,
 to have Luther's books delivered up. Luther's errors con-
 demned by the pope; ordered by the cardinal to be fixed
 upon the doors of all cathedrals, and other churches
 p. 38 to 61

- ANNIS 1523, 1524, CHAP. III. Bishop Fisher's book against Luther. The king grants his privilege for printing it; with his commendation of it. A note of the change of the king's mind afterwards; lookt upon as a wonder. He shews his zeal for the pope in an embassy to Ferdinand archduke of Austria. Sends him the garter. The ceremonies thereof. The cardinal's instructions to the king's ambassadors there. He appointeth a reformation of the clergy in both provinces. Fox, bishop of Winton, his excellent letter to the cardinal thereupon. Stafford reads lectures out of the holy scriptures and St. Paul's Epistles, in Cambridge. Paynel and Thixtel; learned divines there. The cardinal removeth the convocation from St. Paul's to Westminster. The dispute thereupon arising. He summons a new convocation throughout England p. 62 to 78
- CHAP. IV. The king assisteth the emperor against France. He consulteth with the cardinal about forces, to be sent to him to Italy; 6000 archers. The cardinal's book drawn up for settling the same: And his letter thereupon to the king. The king's ambassadors to Rome. The cardinal's letters of instruction to them, concerning the affairs then in hand: To Clark, bishop of Bath; to Pace; and to Dr. Knight, ambassador with the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries. His instructions to him concerning the king of Denmark; beaten out of his kingdom p. 79 to 91
- 1525, 1526, CHAP. V. The king's letter to Luther upon his book. And Luther's former letter to the king, occasioning that letter. The French king taken prisoner by the emperor. By the cardinal's policy, King Henry enters into league with that king. Dr. Knight, and Sir Thomas Cheney, and Dr. Taylor, ambassadors in France. Their instructions from the cardinal. Form of the Peace, drawn up by the cardinal, between the two kings. The letter to the emperor, drawn up by the Cardinal p. 92 to 106
- 1527, CHAP. VI. The pope imprisoned by the emperor. The cardinal draws up a requisition to him, in favour of the pope. Goes ambassador to France. Made vicar general by the pope. An instance of his exercise of it. The cardinal's legatine courts. His courts for wills and testaments. The archbishop of Canterbury's contest with the cardinal, about his courts. Complains to the king. The king rebukes him p. 107 to 114
- CHAP. VII. Prosecution of divers persons in the diocese of London, for religion. Visitation of London diocese. Divers detected of heresy in Essex, London, &c. Their confessions and penances p. 114 to 125
- CHAP. VIII. A continuation of the visitation and prosecution of the professors of the gospel in the diocese of London.

Further proceedings of the bishop and his chancellor the next year. His vicar general goes down into Essex, to visit. Many detected in Colchester, and other parts thereabouts. ANNIS
 p. 126 to 137

CHAP. IX. The cardinal acting in the king's matrimonial cause. Ambassadors sent to the pope for dissolving the marriage. The king's own book against it: Brought to the Pope. The pope reads the king's book; and commends it p. 137 to 145

CHAP. X. Divers conferences with the pope about the king's cause. The pope declares his mind to the ambassador in this matter. At length yields to the king's demand 1528,
 p. 145 to 152

CHAP. XI. The pope declines the king's matter, as much as he could, for fear of the Emperor. Notable speeches of Dr. Gardiner, ambassador with the pope p. 152 to 158

CHAP. XII. A secret commission propounded by the ambassadors. But trifled with. But the commission at last sealed p. 158 to 162

CHAP. XIII. Fox, one of the king's ambassadors with the pope, returns home. Delivers his letters from the pope to the king. Brings with him a dispensation and the said commission. The king glad thereof. The cardinal's care of his conscience. The king begins to be offended with the pope. His sharp speech against him p. 162 to 168

CHAP. XIV. Cardinal Campeius comes into England from the pope. Other business and concerns with the pope. The cardinal's colleges founded by him. The monasteries dissolved, and parsonages impropriated for their endowments. The pope's approbation thereof p. 169 to 175

CHAP. XV. The Cardinal of York his declination and fall. Tyndal's Book of Obdience falls into the cardinal's hand. The strange event thereof. The cardinal exceedingly dejected. Labours by his servants, Crumwell and Gardiner, the recovery of the king's favour. His letter to Gardiner. Is pardoned by the king. His need, and miserable circumstances. His concern for his college. His rules for his school at Ipswich p. 175 to 187 1529,
1530,

CHAP. XVI. Some observations upon this cardinal. Address to by the title of Your Highness. Proud; yet courteous. Liberal and munificent. Advances many. Would obtain his own ends. His court-craft. His Legantine Court. Instrumental to much public good. Erasmus, his commendation of him. A patron to Erasmus p. 187 to 203

CHAP. XVII. A convocation. The condition of the clergy at this time. Their laws and constitutions complained of. The convocation submits to the king. The synod's defence.

- ANNIS** The clergy own the king's supremacy. Matters to be proposed in convocation. Deliberation about retrenching the church's power p. 203 to 216
- 1531, CHAP. XVIII. New year's gifts of the clergy and nobility and
1532, gentry, to the king. The festival. The church book printed for the use of priests and curates. What it contained. The Bedes p. 216 to 222
- CHAP. XIX. King Henry's matrimonial cause. Books writ of this Argument. He requires the judgments of Universities and learned men in other countries. An agent sent abroad for that purpose. A fish of a monstrous bigness, taken at Timmouth. Act against Annates. An address from the convocation to the king against them. The Carthusians flatter the king in the dedication of a book to him p. 222 to 230
- 1533, CHAP. XX. The Princess Mary; the king's message to her. No more to be called Princess. The pope rejects the king's appeal. A book writ thereupon. Books writ against the pope's usurpations. The king's book against him p. 230 to 237
- CHAP. XXI. Deliberation at the council-board, about casting off the pope's authority. Resolutions taken. Dr. Sampson, dean of the king's chapel; his book in Latin for the king's supremacy, against the pope. The contents thereof p. 237 to 251
- CHAP. XXII. Struggling for the pope, by some of the clergy. Divers of these emissaries about the nation. A letter of Latymer to one of them. A priest's complaint of him. A ballad made of him. His apology for himself. A papist writes, Who antichrist is p. 251 to 260
- 1534, CHAP. XXIII. The general sentence, or curse. Books prohibited. Dispersers of them. Acts of parliament against the pope. Friars preach for the pope still; and for Queen Katharine; especially the friars of Greenwich. The bishops take the oath of supremacy. Instructions to them, and to all the high sheriffs, to urge the king's title. Order for preaching, and the Bedes. Latymer made the king's chaplain. Accused to the king. His vindication of himself p. 260 to 271
- CHAP. XXIV. Books and discourses about this time, viz. De vera Differentia Regiæ Protestatis, &c. De Potestate Regis. De vera Obedientia; made by Dr. Gardiner. Bishop Fisher's troubles. His letter to the secretary p. 271 to 279
- CHAP. XXV. Matters of Sir Thomas More. The Nun of Canterbury, called, The holy Maid of Kent. Some account of her. More's concern for her. Gives occasion of the king's displeasure against him p. 280 to 292
- 1535, CHAP. XXVI. The authority of the kings of England in

spirituals. Various heads of common places, with respect thereto. The bishops preach the supremacy; and enjoyn it. The orders in the province of York, by that archbishop. The clergy of York. The integrity of this archbishop suspected. He satisfieth certain priors. His judgment of Bishop Fisher's death. Several bishops, their letters to the secretary: Concerning their preaching the king's supremacy, and orders for it in their dioceses p. 292 to 306

CHAP. XXVII. The northern clergy backward in their obedience to the king. Some of them taken up for seditious preaching. Letters sent thither from the king. A book of the king's supremacy, to be read by the curates, revised and augmented p. 306 to 309

CHAP. XXVIII. Some executed for refusing to swear to the king's supremacy. The friars of the Charter-house consult at a chapter. Three of them sent to the Tower. Condemned for treason. Their speeches. Their characters. Three more of them executed. The king would have reclaimed them. The condition of this house. An order for the Charter-house. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More executed. He a great persecutor: Some instances of it. Bilney, Petit, Tewkesbury, Baynham, Frith . p. 310 to 327

CHAP. XXIX. Crumwel now the king's great instrument. The Benedictin Order visited. Royal visitations of the religious houses, and dioceses throughout the kingdom: and the Universities. Lectures appointed by the visitors p. 327 to 336

CHAP. XXX. The valuation of the benefices to be taken. Letters from the commissioners sent abroad for that purpose. Their instructions. The king offended with the Bishop of Winchester. His letter to the king. The bishops, how affected to the Reformation. Shaxton bishop of Sarum, his case p. 337 to 347

CHAP. XXXI. The king's Primer: set forth for the better instruction of the people in their prayers and devotions. A particular account of this book. Seditious books called in by proclamation. Sir Thomas Elyot's letter on this occasion. Some account of this learned knight. His books. p. 347 to 359

CHAP. XXXII. The king's embassy to Scotland, France, and Germany: to draw other princes from dependence on the pope: and to resume their own right and supreme power. Dr. Fox sent into Germany. Petitions of the German protestant princes to the king. His answer to them. Some account of the king's ambassadors sent to Germany. Conference with the Wittenburgh divines. The princes are in a demurr. Dr. Barnes sent to Germany before: and Haynes and Mount into France secretly. Endeavour to bring Me-

- ANNIS lanethon into England. The king invites him hither by an obliging letter and message. p. 359 to 374
- CHAP. XXXIII. Reginald Pole dealt withal, to acknowledge the supremacy; and the lawfulness of the king's divorce. Starky, a learned man, commanded to write to him. His argument with Pole, about the king's divorce. Pole's answer. Starky again to him. His vindication of the execution of the Carthusian Monks. Papal indulgences granted to S. Lazar, in North Wales. King Henry flattered by old prophecies. Princess Katharine dowager dies. Her last will: and some remarks of her. p. 374 to 390
- 1536, CHAP. XXXIV. Embassy of the German princes to the king. Their instructions for making a league with the king. A convocation. The king and council and clergy protest against the council at Mantua. A new convocation. A protestation of the convocation against errors and abuses. Popish bulls, dispensations, &c. annulled by parliament. The convocation of the northern province; stiff in their old principles. Their answer upon ten articles sent them. A royal visitation for York, moved. Dr. Layton's letter to Crumwel thereupon. Layton and others, appointed visitors of all religious houses. The cause of their dissolution. p. 390 to 402
- CHAP. XXXV. A visitation of the religious houses. Visitors appointed by the Lord Crumwel. Their instructions and commissions. Many surrender their houses. The visitors' divers letters, giving accounts of the monasteries; *viz.* of Reading; of Glostenbury; Maiden Bradley; Brutan; Ferley. Relicks in those places. Leicester; Wolstrobe; a pious monastery. Nunneries of Catesby; Stixwold. Monasteries in the diocese of Litchfield; in Kent; Folkestone, &c. pensions allowed the monks, &c. Suitors for some religious houses. Sir Richard Gresham, lord maior, for the spittals. Ramsey abby. Fountains and Rivax. Papers preparatory to a suppression. Value taken of all monasteries and benefices ecclesiastical. p. 402 to 441
- CHAP. XXXVI. The monks of the Charter House, their dissimulation. The dissolution of it. Queen Anne's death. A favourer of religion, and such as suffered for it. Her pious letter to Crumwel. Her discourses with the constable in the Tower. The condition of the Lady Elizabeth her daughter. The Lady Mary now sues to be reconciled to the king, with her submission. Several articles sent to her to subscribe. Pole's sayings to the king in a letter upon Queen Anne's execution. Divers protestants now persecuted. Their tenets. Articles against Barlow, Bishop of St. David's. Seditious books brought in. The Bishop of Durham writes to the secretary about them. Contest between the Bishop of Lincoln, and his archdeacon. p. 442 to 46

CHAP. XXXVII. Letters to and from Reginald Pole. Hopes conceived of Pole. Two questions propounded to him by the king, in a letter from Starky. His book, *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, writ to the king. Latymer's judgment of the book, in a sermon before King Edward. A long and earnest letter of Starky to him about it. The king displeased with Starky. His letter to the lord privy seal, to favour him to the king; with his protestation on his own behalf. p. 461 to 470

CHAP. XXXVIII. The king sends for Pole. He excuses his coming. And why. Bishop Tonstal reads Pole's book by the king's command. The bishop is much moved at the reading it. His letter to Pole, shewing his dislike of it. Pole again in answer to the bishop. The pope sends for Pole to Rome. Which occasions another letter to him from Starky: upon the rumour of his being talked of to be a cardinal. Tonstal and Stokesly to him upon his being made a cardinal. The pope sends him to France. Thence he writes to Crumwel. Departs out of France. Declares his merits towards the king. p. 471 to 482

CHAP. XXXIX. Regulation of preaching. The letters of instruction to the bishops. Crumwel's letter to the bishops, with the king's letter. What was done in York diocese upon these letters. One in Worcestershire sent for up for his preaching. Rebels in the north. The king goes to Canterbury. Entertained at St. Augustine's. Notes out of a journal of that monastery. The whole bible in English first printed: with marginal notes. p. 482 to 493

CHAP. XL. Cardinal Pole declared the king's rebel. Recalled to Rome. His legacy from the pope to France. Discoveries made concerning Pole, by Throgmorton, and Legh, to Crumwel by their letters. p. 493 to 501

CHAP. XLI. Letters congratulatory of the Universities to the king, for his proceedings in reforming religion. The institution of a Christian man, now comes forth. The judgments of a great many bishops and other learned men, concerning confirmation. Rodolph Bradford, a learned man. Some account of him. Humphrey Monmouth, an eminent citizen of London, dies. Formerly committed for heresy. Articles ministred against him by Sir Thomas More. His petition to Cardinal Wolsey and the council. His last pious will. p. 501 to 510

1537,

CHAP. XLII. Injunctions for religion, set forth by Crumwel, the king's vicegerent. His letter to Archbishop Cranmer, for these injunctions. The proceeding of the archbishop upon that letter: and of the Bishop of Chichester. This

1538,

- ANNIS bishop's message to Rye, upon dissensions there. Crumwel offended with him. His vindication of himself, in a letter to Crumwel. He is committed to the Tower. He confesseth a combination of himself and some other bishops to do their endeavours to preserve the old religion. His letter to Crumwel, confirming what he had said of the Bishops of Durham, London and Winchester. The church of Norwich turned into a dean and canons. The king's patents for the same. But void for want of the bishop's consent. p. 510 to 524
- CHAP. XLIII. Treaty with the German princes' confederates. Melancthon writes to the king. A conference about religion, between the German ambassadors, and the English divines. The heads argued of by them. The bishops disagree. Archbishop Cranmer's endeavours to bring them to a compliance. The ambassadors depart. The king's obliging farewell to them. Writings of the bishops concerning divers abuses in religion. The king's writings of purgatory and priests' marriage. Another letter of Melancthon to the king exciting him to further the cause of religion, and a consent in pious doctrine. The council at Vincenza. The king protests against it. The pope excommunicates him; and absolves his subjects from their obedience. . p. 524 to 530
- CHAP. XLIV. Books set forth against the Pope's supremacy in England. Some contents of them. Bishop of Durham's sermon against the pope, before the king. Therein he reflected upon Cardinal Pole, acted by the pope, against his natural prince and country. p. 531 to 540
- 1539, CHAP. XLV. Affairs between the king and the German protestant princes. They send their agents hither: as the king had his agents with them. The king receives another excellent letter from Melancthon, brought by one of the agents. The report of the king's agents, Mount and Paynel, from the princes. Melancthon's letter to Crumwel. Sarcerus, prince of Nassau's chaplain, meets the king's agents at Franckfort. His letter to the king. Principles of the German protestants, shewed by their agents here. These good endeavours of concord succeeded not. And why. p. 541 to 548
- CHAP. XLVI. Injunctions concerning books and sects. The greater monasteries suppress. The good promised thereby; not performed. The monks ill behaviour, and dissolute lives. The monks of Sawtry. Mr. Loud murdered by them. New cathedrals founded out of them. Religious houses dissolved. p. 549 to 561
- CHAP. XLVII. The king wavers in religion. Six articles propounded in convocation, enacted in parliament, with

difficulty: sadly resented. Dr. Heins his letter to a ANNIS
 courtier, concerning the bill of six articles. Shaxton and
 Latymer upon this leave their bishopricks. Many burnt
 upon this act. Others fly beyond seas. A book of cere-
 monies now framed by a convocation. Letters patents for
 the English bible. A proclamation for reading it. The
 German agents see the king married to Anne of Cleves:
 return. The king's discourse with them at parting. The
 confederates expostulate with him by their letters for the six
 articles. p. 562 to 569

CHAP. XLVIII. A commission to certain bishops and divines, 1540,
 to examine the doctrine and ceremonies. The lord vice-
 gerent's speech to the lords. What was performed by them.
 Their judgments of several points penned by themselves.
 Errors and anabaptistical opinions spring up. The king dis-
 satisfied about the Lady Anne of Cleve's marriage. The
 case committed to the convocation. The king's commission
 to them. Referred to a committee. The depositions taken
 concerning the marriage. The decree of the clergy of both
 provinces, that the king was not obliged by that marriage;
 but was free to marry elsewhere. Their letters thereof to the
 king p. 570 to 581

CHAP. XLIX. The Lord Crumwel's end. His honours.
 His character. Barnaby, a merchant, Crumwel's servant:
 employed abroad in France, by him. His advice about
 Newhaven. Names of the privy counsellors, and their order
 of sitting. Commissions granted out upon the act of six
 articles. Prisoners upon that act, priests and others in Lon-
 don. Dr. Barnes burnt. Gospellers in Cambridge and Ox-
 ford. A commission for Oxford. Robert Wisdom, a learned
 divine of London, taken up. His doctrines; which from
 Lollard's Tower, he declareth his sense of. Huntington, a
 priest and poet. The supremacy gone through, and acknow-
 ledged in Ireland p. 581 to 593

CHAP. L. A new convocation. Bible in folio printed. The
 Bishop of Winton, Chancellor of Cambridge, interposeth in
 a controversy arisen there, about the pronouncing of Greek.
 Makes a decree about it, in opposition to Cheke, that read
 the Greek lecture. He argues with the chancellor in certain
 letters. Vindicates himself from rashness. Notwithstanding
 Cheke's new and true way prevails in the University. The
 chancellor's letter upon this to his vicechancellor. Dr. Lon-
 don, a great champion of the pope, dyes. Three learned
 men admitted to the privy council. The convocation meets
 again. The necessary erudition of a Christian man. The
 king's preface to that book. The right pathway. Procession
 to be said in English p. 594 to 616

1541,
 1542,
 1543,

- ANNIS 1545, CHAP. LI. Leland's new years gift to the king; being an account of his commision to search the libraries of the monasteries, and colleges throughout the whole realm. John Loud a learned and pious man. William Morice another. Some account of them. Persecution at court. A few notes of Mrs. Ascue, martyr. p. 617 to 622
1546. CHAP. LII. King Henry's death. Prevented in some good designs by death, viz. a reformation of religion. So the Duke of Somerset to the Lady Mary. This king beloved of his people. A benevolence to the king, anno 1544. A further character of him. Hated in Italy. The condition of the laity, and of the clergy in this reign. Divers sorts of priests. p. 622 to 631
- CHAP. LIII. A notable book came forth, called, A Supplication of the poor Commons to the King: shewing the late state of his kingdom. The king's care for the education of his children in learning. A Latin letter of the King of Portugal's daughter to the Lady Mary. Sir Richard Moryson's praise of the king: and Sir Thomas Chaloner in his poems. The leagues, conventions, and treaties with foreign princes throughout this king's reign. p. 631 to 652

* * * The Original Records, Letters, &c. to illustrate and confirm these *Memorials* are to be found in the FIFTH AND SIXTH volumes of this work.

INTRODUCTION.

I PURPOSE in this work (God assisting) to digest p. 1.
Edit. 1721 in order certain historical remarks of important matters, that occurred in the age of the Reformation; such, especially, as relate to the ecclesiastical state of this kingdom: taking them as they lie in course of time, through the reigns of King Henry VIII. and of his son and daughter, King Edward and Queen Mary successively. To the end that many memorable matters that I have met with, after long converse with ancient and authentick writings, either omitted wholly, or but imperfectly touched at by our historiographers, may not be for ever lost, and irrecoverably perish. There are but very few who have made it their task to write of the transactions of this church, and the events of religion, in those busy times; and since those that have, there is a good after-harvest to be gathered. And these my gleanings, whatsoever they are, I was loth should be stifled and lie concealed within rough papers, (as a candle under a bushel,) but serving, as I conjectured, for future use and benefit, I was willing they should see the light. Wishing that others who have been perusers of such monuments and originals, might be excited by my example, to contribute also their collections, to the compiling of a true and perfect history of our church in that age; for the better knowledge of the Reformation in its first dawns, and of the providential occasions, accidents, and successes of it. p. 2.

In the province I undertake, I mean to follow the course that St. John took in writing his history of Qui παρα-
λενόμενα,
scriberet,
omitteus JESUS CHRIST, after the other evangelists; who

INTRODUCTION.

aliis dicta,
nisi siquid
contextus
historiæ
desidera-
bat. Grot.
Annotat.
ad Matt.
cap. 28.
20.

gathered up the παραλειπόμενα, i. e. *remainders* of that sacred history, omitting what had been said by the other writers before him; unless where the contexture of the story required it.

The most material original papers, out of which I have collected these my Memorials, (besides those that fall in, in the current of the history,) shall be added in an Appendix by themselves, both for the reader's better satisfaction, and for the safer preservation of them to posterity. So that this book shall serve for two purposes, *viz.* to be a supply of the defects and omissions of our church's story, and also a treasury of divers valuable manuscripts relating thereunto.

The king's affairs, for a great many years successively, being chiefly, and almost solely, conducted by the great Cardinal Wolsey, of him therefore necessarily much will be said; whose counsels and intrigues, tending mainly to the king's satisfactions, and his own grandeur, and that of the papacy, the Supreme Providence turned to clean different ends to what he drove at, and sometimes quite contrary thereunto. So his projects, for the aggrandizing the pope, ended in the expulsion of him out of this kingdom: and his endeavours for the establishment of the superstitions of religion, concluded in a reformation of it. And however fine his politics were in forwarding the match between the king and the Lady Anne, when he little thought of religion all the while, they produced the greatest alterations therein that had been in many hundred years before.

So that in the current of the history, many remarkable passages concerning the cardinal will fall in, which will give us a view of him, both in his highest prosperity and elation, and in his lowest ebb; while he lay under the pressures of the king his master's displeasure. Where we may see as well his pride and swelling haughtiness in his prosperity, as his pusillanimity and poorness of spirit under his misfortunes.

MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,

&c. &c. &c.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Wolsey's counsel and influence in the king's affairs. Goes p. 3.
over into France with the king. Present at the conquest of
Tournay. Nominated bishop of that place by the king. And
had the Abbey of St. Martin's there. The care and affairs
of Tournay committed to him. Letters of the council there
to him. His spies in France. Intelligences from them. Dis-
covery of a conspiracy in France to invade England. The
chapter of Tournay's letter to the cardinal, their bishop.
Another elect pretends to the bishoprick. The pope's breve
in Wolsey's behalf. The cause referred by the pope to two
cardinals. Richard Sampson, the cardinal's chaplain, his
vicar-general, and chief officer there. The French king's
letter to King Henry. Transactions for peace. The car-
dinal's managery therein. His letters to the king's ambassa-
dors at the French court. Tournay restored upon terms: and
the bishoprick.

SOON after the young King Henry had received 1513.
Thomas Wolsey into his bosom, and made him his King
favourite, which was about the eighth year of his Henry put
reign, in the year 1513, the said king undertook a on by Wol-
royal expedition into France, against King Lewis sey to take
XII. out of zeal to the pope, with whom the said the pope's
French king was at wars. To which undertaking part against
Wolsey, to shew himself a true churchman, may the French
justly be supposed to have moved and persuaded his king.
great master, out of a show of the high religion
and merit of being the champion of the papal see:
Wolsey also hereby serving the private ends of his
own ambition; when it should be known to the
pope, how he was the instrument of stirring up the

1513. king to this chargeable piece of service to him. And that he might shew himself the more openly in this expedition, he attended the king's person, and went over with him to Calais, and had the office of victualling the army. That it was a spark of zeal kindled in the king, as well as bravery, which put him on this action, may be collected from a letter of his to Sir David Owen; commanding him to prepare himself to attend him into France, with threescore archers, and forty bills on foot: prefacing his letter with the reason of his resolution, namely, "That it was according to his duty to God, and his church, at the request and desire of the pope's holiness, and other Christian princes; and that it was for the defence of the church, being by the French king oppressed; and for extinguishing the detestable schism raised by certain perverse cardinals and maintained by the same king. And that for God's quarrel, as well as for recovering his own right, he would pursue, and continue the said war, and personally proceed himself into France, with a royal army. And in conclusion, advised Sir David to accomplish his command, as he tendered his honour, and the advancement of that *meritorious* voyage." All which may make one conclude, that the king in this matter was acted by some churchman; and that must be he, that was most inward with him, *viz.* Wolsey; being also his almoner. A transcript of this letter is repositied in the Appendix, from an original.

The king's
zeal to the
church ex-
cites him to
this expe-
dition.

p. 4.

No I.

The king's
care of
trade.

Wolsey, though he knew how to indulge the king in his pleasures, yet he reminded him sometimes of business too; and particularly made him sensible, what an advantage trade was to his realm. Which he therefore, even in these his youthful days, encouraged, giving out letters of safe-conduct to his merchants, and their ships, taking care of them; and when they sustained any damages by foreign princes or states, requiring satisfaction by his ambassadors. Of this I find an instance or two.

The king had granted a very large, and somewhat extraordinary safe-conduct and licence to Thomas Barnaby of London, an eminent merchant, for himself, servants, factors, or attorneys, denizens, or strangers, to traffic in all manner of commodities in all places, and at all times, during a certain term of years. And this was under the great seal. One great obstruction to which safe-conduct was, that Marguerite, dutchess of Savoy, regent of the Low Countries, there being war between France and the Emperor Maximilian, her father, had prohibited by proclamation, that any bay-salt or wine of the growth of any part of France, should be brought into Flanders, or elsewhere, under her dominions, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. Now this proclamation interfering with the king's licence to Barnaby, who traded chiefly in French commodities, caused him to dispatch a letter to Dr. Knight, his ambassador there, to solicit the said regent, that notwithstanding her proclamation, she would grant to the said merchant a safe-conduct, under her great seal, in as large and ample manner, as that of the said king's was. Sir John Wallop was also sent upon this occasion, both to give further knowledge to the said knight in this matter, and to carry letters to the regent touching the same. This letter, signed by the king, is dated from *his* monastery (as he calls it) of Chartesaye, the 12th day of August, as I conjecture, in the year 1513, or 1514.

1513.
His safe-conduct to Barnaby, a merchant, for a general trade.

Not long after, there was an English ship, called the Cast, laden with wool, cloth, and other commodities, for Italy, by John Allen, Hugh Clopton, Richard Fermour, and others, which, by reason of storms at sea, was forced into Zealand. Being got into a port there, the custom officers of the Prince of Castile, who was now governor of the Low Countries, had demanded a certain toll, called the toll of Gravelyn and Zealand. Which the ship refusing, as being put in there by stress of weather, against their wills, they caused the purser to be ar-

The king requires satisfaction for an English ship, detained by the customers of Zealand.

1513. rested in the town of Middleburgh, and committed to prison, and by force of gun-shot, caused the ship to be boarded, and took out of her her sails; and detained her from her voyage, till the owners and merchants had put in sufficient sureties to answer according to law. But hereby the king's subjects were put to great damage, charge, and hindrance. And moreover, by this retarding of her voyage, she afterwards fell into the hands of the Moors, who slew divers of the mariners and gunners, and took the ship, and all her goods, and the residue of the people on board, whom they detained in captivity. This wrong the king mightily resented, and, as he said in his letter, he could not, nor would suffer to pass, without sufficient amends. And considering that it was contrary to all law, right, and conscience, that any toll, or any imposition, should be exacted of any ship, so forced and driven in by bad weather, and where nothing was intended to be put to sale: and considering also, that the treaties of intercourse made betwixt them and their progenitors, kings of England, and governors of the Low Countries, were expressly contrary thereunto, he commanded Sir Edward Poynings, and Dr. Knight, his ambassador there, to lay open these things at good length, to the Prince of Castile's commissioners; and that they should require restitution of such money or bonds as had been made or paid for the said tolls: and also demand satisfaction, as well for the said ship, goods, and merchandises, lost and taken, as for all other losses, damages, and hindrances thereby sustained. This was given under the king's signet at Greenwich, the 22d day of July; which must be about the year 1515.

p. 5.

Both these letters are signed by the king's own hand; but I take our Wolsey to have had the great stroke in them, being now the main agent in the English court and council: but more certainly in the latter, there being an insertion of a clause in the superscription of this letter, which is the same hand

with that of one of his own secretaries. I have placed both those letters, for the antiquity and remarkableness of them, in the Appendix. 1513.

No. II. III.

But now we shall enter upon divers matters of history, of the king's proceeding to hostile acts against the French king, invading his dominions, and taking some important places from him by force of arms; and of the amity afterwards concluded between them: wherein much of our cardinal's counsels and actions will be discovered and brought to light.

Tournay being conquered by the king coming thither in person with a great army, and the city surrendered to him, Wolsey, his chaplain and almoner in his royal retinue, was thought fit to be nominated by the king to that bishoprick. And his preferment thereunto was with good advice, as best agreeing with the king's interest there; that some English subject might enjoy that spiritual dignity. And so the Lord Mountjoy, the king's first lord-lieutenant of that place, thought fit to inform the king, in a letter, together with the Earl of Worcester, the king's chamberlain, and Dr. Young, master of the rolls, from Tournay, in these words:

Wolsey
made
bishop of
Tournay.

"Sir, If this bishoprick may be gotten clear into your hands, it were good, this town, being under the Bishop of Tournay and Cambrey, and all the bayliage, should have no resort in no case to the Archbishop of Reams, but to the Archbishop of Canterbury; in likewise as Calais and the Marches have." They wrote to the same effect, concerning the abbey of St. Martin's there, the present abbot being obnoxious, and an enemy to the king, and was gone to Denmark. They advised, "That some Englishman might be preferred also to that abbey by the king: adding, that when that abbot went away, he made an interest for another in Henault. And that if any such thing should be sued for at Rome, and there were no let by the king, it might be a great displeasure. For that they

Advice to
the king for
a bishop of
Tournay,
and an
abbot of St.
Martin's.

1513. there thought it one of the greatest stays, to have that city continue in his obeisance next to the bishop, was to have a good Englishman abbot. Which should be a discreet man, and that had the language; or some other good man, English of heart. And they thought that some such able person might be found in England, if he were inquired for. And that he (the lord-lieutenant) doubted not to find sufficient information against him, that then was abbot: by the which he might lawfully be deposed. And that the Lord Durrier had written unto them, that his brother, a dean, might be recommended to his grace, to have that abbey by postulation."

Their further advice to the king was, about settling of the court there for spiritual affairs; *viz.* "That as to his court of Resorte, (as it was called,) if any doctors of civil law, and languaged, might be found in England, they would be most fit to serve his grace there. For hard it should be to find others there meet therefore. That his own subjects should serve his grace faithfully, and be most indifferent to his subjects, and least to his charge. And so concluded their letter to him with these words, 'And thus Jesu preserve your noble 'grace.' Written at Tournay, the 19th of August.

"Your most humble subjects and servants,

"C. WORCESTER.

"W. MOUNTJOY.

"JOHN YOUNG."

The king upon this letter had Wolsey in his eye; who was ready at hand to be invested with those preferments: and whom, no question, the king thought such a fit person for his purpose, *viz.* an Englishman, and well endowed with learning, language, and other abilities. Though he met with opposition enough afterwards, both the former abbot, and the bishop, pretending their rights to the same abbey and bishoprick. The abbot some years after, upon some considerations, was convented to appear

before the cardinal's official, (who seems to be Dr. Sampson, his chaplain, whom he left behind him at Tournay.) But he appealed from him to the pope; pretending to be subject immediately to him, and none else. 1513.

Wolsey's figure now began to be more resplendent at Tournay. For the king left the preservation of that city to his care, as we may conjecture: since the application of the officers there was generally thenceforth made to him. To whom also the king had given, upon the conquest of that city, the bishoprick thereof, with all the revenues belonging to it. For the French bishop, as one of our historians writes, was banished, or rather absented himself. And he appointed, when he went away thence with the king, Richard Sampson, his chaplain, to be his chancellor there; and to receive and return the rents and benefits to him, as we shall see by and by; who was also one of the commissioners in the government of that place. Applications from Tournay to Wolsey.

Which town of Tournay the king held a good while, till the year 1517, when he sold it to King Francis for six hundred thousand crowns; and for the castle which he had built, a great sum more. The general, chief captain, and deputy thereof, was Sir J. Russel. The council here were Edmond Wiseman, Robert Seymour, Philip Denis, John Anlaby, Richard Basford, Leonard Musgrave, Roger Becket, John Dimock, William Sympson, Thomas Harvey, Richard Widders, Nicolas Sampson, the father or brother, I suppose, of the abovesaid Richard, the cardinal's chaplain, and chief officary here; who signed letters also from hence with the rest. Now to shew somewhat of Wolsey's first conduct in state; to him, being bishop here, or rather administrator and professor of the bishoprick, addresses were made from the garrison, as occasion served, when any business was with the king. One letter I meet with, of the deputy and council here to the cardinal, was on this occasion. Upon occasion of their payment. Cott. Libr. Caligula E.

1514. had sent his letters, dated the 22d of April, (the year not set, but as it seems, *Anno* 1514,) to the deputy and council, and whole garrison, "Willing and commanding the garrison to receive their payments by the half-year, (whereas they had received them formerly every quarter,) like as it was ordained in all other his garrisons in those parts. And willing the gentlemen, constables, and vintners, to make certificate to be so contented." But this they were not contented with; desiring that they might be paid, as formerly, quarterly.

Their letter
to Wolsey,
shewing
their case.

And upon this they directed their letters to my lord cardinal's grace, and also to all the lords of the king's most honourable privy council; shewing, "That the inhabitants and housholders of the king's other garrisons, as Calais, &c. were of one nation, of long continuance; and many of good substance; and glad to assist, help, and trust each other, as good and true subjects: whereas they there, at Tournay, were wholly to the contrary, as far as they could perceive. And that among the garrison, there were few or none that were of substance; so as of himself to victual or help his fellow. In other places of the king's garrison they had great helps and furtherances, which they had not there: as, to be trusted for their meat and drink, as well as for all other necessities, from payment to payment. Also, that if one had need of ready money, he might go to the Exchequer, which was always well provided of money, and fetch and take so much as he had served for. Or if he or they had need aforehand, if he brought surety for the treasurer's discharge, he should have his whole wages aforehand. Which provision they had not there, notwithstanding they had more need than they."

The Ex-
chequer.

That the money here (as they signified further) was not so good, nor profitable, as it was in other the king's garrisons. And that caused victuals, and other necessities, to be far the dearer; "Whereof a great cause was, the course that the money had there. Which also annihilated and minished their

wages. For six pence now (added they) goeth not so far, ne not so good, ne profitable, as five pence was wont to be," &c. 1514.

" And that it was to be considered, that the king's service there should be regarded before other garrisons, inasmuch as it was so far out of his realm, in a strange country; and among some that peradventure would desire the king's dishonour: which might well happen, by the reason of such long payment, as by the half-year," &c. p. 8.

The said gentlemen, therefore, " Humbly beseeched the lord cardinal, his grace, to have them in his gracious remembrance, and furtherance in this behalf, concerning the foresaid particulars, and premises, before alledged. Wherein (as they wrote) his grace should do a great meritorious deed: considering, that it touched a common weal; and the king having no loss, ne further charge thereby. And the most part of the said gentlemen had little or nothing of themselves, but their bare wages, without fee, annuity, office, or other profit by the king: also, having there few friends, or none. And where that some of them had friends in England, they had now lost them, by reason of their long absence; as well as other advancements, which might have happened unto them.

" Wherefore, please it his grace tenderly of his charity to have consideration herein. So that by his gracious favour and instance to the king's highness, the said gentlemen may obtain the grant of payments quarterly, with the good course of money. And so shall they be bound, with all the whole retinue and garrison, to pray for the maintenance and prosperity of his good and gracious estate." Signed by those mentioned above, and others, whose names are scarcely to be read, being in number fifteen.

From this original letter we see the interest the cardinal had at court, and the honour now done him; and withal, what good offices we may pre-

1514. sume he did sometimes for subjects under pressures, and hard conditions put upon them from the court.

The constable and yeomen of the garrison to the cardinal, complaining.

And to shew further, how uneasy this order was (of postponing these payments) to the inferior sort of officers and soldiers of the garrison, when the deputy and council there shewed them the king's pleasure, or perhaps the cardinal's rather, who acted now all under the king, I have the letter before me, of the constables of Tournay (who were the yeomen of the king's guard there) to the cardinal, containing their piercing complaint, and what miseries and necessities they must groan under, if it should take place; and certifying the present condition of that place. The superscription of their letter was, *To the Lord Cardinal's Grace, and to all the Lords of the King's most Honourable Council.* It began, "How that it had pleased his grace to direct his gracious letters unto the king's deputy, and the council there, of that his city of Tournay, and the marches of the same, bearing date at Westminster, the 22d day of April. In which his gracious letter they understood, that it was thought by the king's highness, and by his most honourable council, that it was not requisite or necessary to content and pay the king's garrison of Tournay their wages by the three months, as heretofore time hath been used, but that it was convenient and sufficient to content and pay to the same garrison, accordingly, as by his gracious letters did appear, that is to understand, from the 3rd day of April, to the 3rd day of October; and so from the said day of October, unto the said day of April: and so to continue to be paid half-yearly. And thus the said garrison to be contented with the said days of payment. And further, that the said garrison should certify his grace of the same, with their letters assigned and subscribed with their hands, according to the tenor of his grace's letter."

p. 9.

But so far were these men from giving under their hands their contentment herewith, that they took this opportunity of declaring their great dis-

content, and shewing at large the distresses they were in, even then; and in many particulars, to what harder circumstances they must be driven, unless their payments were quarterly, as before. How they proceeded in this their address to the cardinal, and what they now certified of themselves at this juncture, the continuance of their letter shews; which being somewhat long, I have put, as a valuable original piece, in the Appendix; especially contributing something unto the history of those times, and that great cardinal. To which I will subjoin another letter to the same, from Sir Richard Jarnegan, and the council, expressing the garrison's necessities: all shewing how little benefit, besides the vain glory, the taking of Tournay was to the king, and some share of it perhaps to the cardinal, for the keeping of it. 1514.

No. IV.

No. V.

There happened, about this time, a mutiny in the garrison, and a treasonous conspiracy among the Tournois, who were uneasy under their new king. Which being pretty well suppressed, and the better to quiet the people's minds, the king ordered the Lord Mountjoy, who was now his lieutenant there, to declare a general pardon to them that had been active in those insurrections and treasons; and withal, to discharge some of the garrison, that might be spared. But the lieutenant had some doubts and scruples in his discharge of these commands. And this caused another address to the cardinal from Tournay; importing, Another address to Wolsey from the garrison.

“ That, whereas in the king's last letters sent to the lord chamberlain, dated at Oking, it pleased his highness to write, that his pleasure was concerning the pardons, as well for the Englishmen there for their riots and unfaithful assemblies, as for the townsmen, for their treasons and conspiracies, he (the lord lieutenant) should make unto them pardons, according to the tenor of such copies as he had lately sent over; he advised, that if these pardons should be of any value to the parties, it should be necessary,

1514. that he should have commission sent unto him from the king's grace. And then when time convenient was, they might be granted. He also found it necessary to advertise the cardinal, that of the English and Welchmen there, many were thieves and murderers, hunters, and such others, as he feared, that if they had not their pardons in likewise, they would either make business, or they would avoid; and when they were avoided, would make some captain among themselves; and go as well to the king's enemies, as otherwise."

p. 10. He proceeded in his communication of this business with the cardinal in these words: "Also, my lord, when the garrison shall be minished, in my poor mind it shall not be good to minish them, but by little and little: for and if they be strong enough, there be many of light minds, which reckon little to make their hands at their departing. Also, for any surety the town could put the king's grace in, though the honest men, and the heads, be reckoned good, yet in the common people there he had but small trust, if the French king might have it (keeping his amity) by surprizing: wherein should lack no colour. That if the heads which then were governors, might have a convenient garrison for a season, they might make all things in more surety. That the lord chamberlain, and Mr. Vice-chamberlain, (who both were then there,) did the best they might to bring all things to pass to the king's pleasure; and as for himself, he added, that what lay in him should not be slackd."

He then acquainted the cardinal with the news brought there, viz. that the queen's grace (Queen Katharine) was with child. "And that if it were so, no subject under the king would more rejoice at it: and required his grace that he might know the certainty; to the intent, that on the king's behalf he might command throughout all the land her grace to be specially prayed for; and a sermon and procession to be, to the laud and praising of God: in

likewise as the French king had wrote thither for to have done for his queen." And so after some private matter concerning the bestowing of a prebend in that church, he concluded with these words, "And thus Jesu send you good life, and long. In hast, at the king's city of Tournay, the 8th day of September. 1514.

"Yours to his power,

"W. MOUNTJOY."

About this last inquiry of the queen's being with child, none could better inform that lord than the cardinal; who, not long before, had the honour to receive a secret letter from the king's own hand thereof. Which being a curious piece, and shewing how highly that king now favoured and loved the cardinal, I shall insert it here from the original.

"My Lord Cardinal, I recommend me unto you, as hartily as I can. And I am right glad to hear of your good health, which I pray God may long continue. So it is that I have received your letters. To the which, because they ask long writing, I have made an answer by my secretary. Two things there be, which be so secret, that they cause me at this time to write to you myself. The one is, that I trust the queen, my wife, be with child. The other is, the chief cause why I am so loth to repair to London, were, because about this time is partly of her daungerous times. And because of that, I would remeve here as little as I may now. My lord, I write this unto you, not as an insured thing, but as a thing wherein I have great hope and lyklyode: And because I do well know, that this thing will be comfortable to you to understand. Therefore I do write it unto you at this time: no more unto you at this time: 'Nisi quod Deus velit' 'incœptum opus bene finiri.' Written with the hand of your loving prince,

The king to the cardinal, concerning the queen's being with child. Ves-pasian, F. 3.

"HENRY R."

1514.
P. 11.

I set down these things the more at large, that it may be observed, how all the great affairs of state were managed mainly by Wolsey; the king's servants abroad taking their instructions from him, with his diligent and constant letters to them, upon their accounts given him of the management of their offices: naming him first in their addresses to the court, and then naming the privy council after him, thus; *To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the Privy Council*. Where likewise may be seen the intimate esteem he had with his king.

The cardinal writes to Tournay of an intent of seizing that place.

The lord-lieutenant and council at Tournay apply to him again, upon a letter of the cardinal's to them, dated at Durham-place the 21st of August; the tenor of which was, "That the king's highness was advertised, as well from Master-deputy of Calais, and Sir Thomas Spinel, as by two sundry spies out of France, that the Frenchmen were about an enterprize against Tournay; and for that intent they were in a readiness, intending in brief time to proceed to the accomplishment of their purpose. Wherefore that the king's pleasure was, that they (of that place) should have a special regard to see that town well and substantially furnished; and such things to be foreseen and put in a readiness, as should be requisite for the surety and defence thereof, &c. But also to have vigilant and diligent espials, for the attaining the very truth and surety of their intent and purpose in this behalf. And of the same to advertise his grace with all celerity in post. He added, That he thought, that this assembly that was bruited to be, or if any such attempts should be made there against the garrison, it was not without the comfort and stirring of the inhabitants; and that therefore they should by all means disarm them." This was the sum of Wolsey's letter, being now one of the chief managers of state affairs, and particularly of this conquered place. To whom it is worth imparting, what answer, and with what deference, the council there returned. Wherein may also be

seen, in what state and condition the place then was: but it being somewhat large, I recommend it to be read in the Appendix. 1514.

No. VI.

There was some discontent here among the English, for backwardness in their pay, which might create the more jealousy of hatching some tumults. For in a letter of the said Lord Mountjoy to the said Cardinal of York, dated November the 8th, he signified what payments would soon be due: *viz.* the 10th day of that month was the payment of the labourers, which amounted unto the sum of 1000*l.* The 15th day was the payment of the footmen and horsemen, amounting to the sum of 1760*l.* and within seven days after, another payment to the labourers, that amounted to the sum of 1000*l.* more. Payments due at Tournay, noted to the cardinal.

This place the king had but little comfort of, being always in fear of a surprize. The cardinal had again another time, in the month of May, (whether in the year 1514 or 1515, I know not) intelligence brought him by a fryer Augustin, whom he had employed as a spy, of a sudden attempt intended to be made upon the place: of which the cardinal and the council, from the palace at Hampton Court, wrote to Sir Richard Jernegan, now the king's lieutenant there, as certain news. This was written May the 9th. And such speed was made with it, that on the 11th day, at night, the said lieutenant received it. And it was but a few days before, the deputy of Calais wrote to the said Sir Richard, that a fryer was passed thence into England with news: and that the said fryer warned him to will the lord lieutenant of Tournay to have a good guard upon the king's place. The morning after the cardinal's letter came to them, and they were sitting in council upon it, another fryer from a Frenchman, one Lord Ligne, (who was that lord's confessor,) comes also with letters to the said lieutenant; requiring eftsoones to have credence to his said confessor: the which confessor had shewn him of the Intelligence brought to the cardinal by a fryer.

p. 12.

1515. enterprize in such manner as were the cardinal's letters. But the council there conjectured strongly, that all this came only from the Lord Ligne, to shew himself officious, and that the king might value him, and trust him. And Sir Richard did think, that if the religious, that came to the cardinal with this news, were well examined, peradventure it might be so found. Nevertheless, they resolved to provide for the worst.

Information by spies, sent into some parts of France.

Now a word more concerning spies. The king in April, the month before, sent to the lord lieutenant and council that they should send forth espies, to be advertised of the intent of the French. For the city was in danger without as well as within. Accordingly Sir Richard Jernegan answered, that he had two spies at Paris, in the French king's court: and that one of them he looked for hourly. That he had sent his spies into Normandy, and those parts, (because the noise and bruit was, that the chief assembly was there,) surely to be advertized of all appearances and occurrences there. That one of these spies informed him, that there were 2000 men enrolled in France, to be in a readiness in all times in the dominions of the French king, with captains appointed for the same. And that the bruit was, that they were enrolled to come to Tournay: but that (as he told the king) it was the manner of the Frenchmen to make bruit one way, and intend another way. Wherefore it would be necessary, all the king's other garrisons should be looked to. And further, the council there assured the king's grace, that all the garrisons there, and other Englishmen, were of as good courage as any men might be: desirous and wishing the Frenchmen would come, to the end his grace might know what service they intended, and would do his highness. And lastly, that they had victualled and fortified the town: so that in a short time there should be no lack. This was dated April the 13th, and signed by Jernegan, the lieutenant, and

next to him by Sampson, the cardinal's chancellor, 1515.
and then by Sir Richard Whettehill, Sir Philip Tre-
mayle, and others of the council there.

Thus, though this place was now in the king's possession, yet he had little assurance of quiet possession, and had reason to suspect the faithfulness of the inhabitants, whatever oath of fealty they had given. This notice was given the cardinal, who was now in England; and from Westminster directed the governor there, to persuade the chief officers in the town to come into this kingdom, there to wait upon the king himself, and the privy council, to satisfy them of their faithful and true obedience. And they, so coming, were to have all the fairest usages and promises given them that could be. Jernegan, according to the cardinal's instruction, required the chief magistrates of the town to pass over into England: of which more particularly thus he wrote to the cardinal. "Pleaseth your grace to understand, that according to your last letters, dated at Westminster, the 29th day of January, I have exhorted with comfortable words the provost and council of the town, to send certain commissioners to the king's highness, your grace, and his most honourable council. Whereupon they have at this time sent Mr. Nicholas Depreys, this year last past high provost, Mr. John De Puits, great counsellor, and Eloy de la Rice, high procurer of this city, with certain articles; whereof I send your grace the copy: desiring to write unto your grace in their favour; as I trust, before their departing from your grace they will so demean themselves, accomplishing the king's pleasure, that they shall deserve his gracious thanks. Nevertheless, Sir, because that it is the king's pleasure, and your grace's, that we should devise with them, and endeavour ourselves to induce them to the king's pleasure in certain things, as entertaining certain numbers of men and others, if they be not so handled at this time, that they shall accomplish the king's pleasure in some part touching the same

Some magistrates of Tournay come into England.

p. 13.

Account thereof written to the cardinal.

1515. things, wherein we have devised with them; hereafter, if any such charge shall be committed unto us, they shall little regard our communication, or devising with them in any manner of behalf. And that your grace may have more clear knowledge of their charge and said articles by this bearer, Robert Kirk, the king's servant, we send certain instructions to your grace of our poor opinions touching the same: to whom it may please your grace to give confidence and credence."

A conspiracy by the French, &c. for invading England and Tournay,

A secret and dangerous conspiracy against the kingdom was now in hand by some foreign powers; and discovered by one Crossene, a spy of the cardinal's: in which were engaged the French, the Dane, the Scot, with some English. Intending to invade England on the side of Scotland, and in some other place of this realm; and another party were to attack Tournay; and this to be done all at once. One party to be headed by the Duke of Albany, a Scot, and another by one of the Poles. But this coming to the lord lieutenant of Tournay, Jernegan, the king's faithful officer, by the said Crossene's secret information, he hastened a particular account of it to the cardinal, the last day of May, by letter. The full tenor whereof ensueth.

discovered by a spy.

"That it might please his grace to understand, that that same day came one Henry Crossene, unto one of the gates there at Tournay, and desired one of the warders to cause him (the said Jernegan) to come and speak with him secretly without the town. The which he did according to the other's desire. That at his coming, Crossene shewed him, that his grace (the cardinal) knew him well; and then shewed him a writing that he had from his grace, for to pass and repass into England at his pleasure. That therefore he (the lieutenant) gave the more credence unto his sayings, and that the governor of the English fellowship, Mr. Hewester, brought him unto the cardinal's presence; (offering then, as it seems, his service to him.) Where at that time, as Crossene went on,

his grace gave, as he thought, but little credence to him; that his grace should moreover understand, that the same Henry Crossene was come strait from the French king's court, and had shewed him this news following, to advertise his grace with diligence."

1515.
p. 14.

First, he saith, that the French king, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Albany, for the realm of Scotland, and Richard de la Pole, be all in one confederation and appointment; and concluded upon these enterprizes following. And that for the sure conclusion of the same, there was already departed into Scotland, and from thence to Denmark, Monsieur de Pursel, chief counsellor of Roan, and David Cokron, king of heralds. The which David, herald of Denmark, Jernegan said, was the same that he took going to France now lately. Of whom (as he added) he wrote to his grace with speed: and therein he thought he had done acceptable service.

And then follows the whole relation of the intended enterprize, as it was discovered to him by the said Crossene: which being somewhat long, I rather refer the reading thereof to the Appendix.

No. VII.

Something now concerning the cardinal's more private affairs, with respect to his bishoprick there.

He had obliged the chapter and members of that church, by obtaining of the king to continue their church liberties and privileges, and their governors as before. And his requesting some favour from them for a son of the king's chirurgion, occasioned a letter full of profound duty and observance: importing, how exceeding glad they were of a letter from his grace. And so much the more, that hereby they had an opportunity, which they had long sought for, and desired, of professing their high respects to his dignity: not that they could repay any thing answerable to his benefits towards them; only (as it was fit) to declare their great good will towards his fatherhood; but chiefly to acknowledge the extraordinary honour and singular observance they had to the same. That

The respectful letter of the chapter of Tournay to the cardinal.

1515. they all unanimously consented to his request, and yielded to him most joyfully whatsoever he desired : professing, that there was nothing, little or great, that they would not chearfully and readily do for his sake.

And then, upon occasion of some money that the canons had received, which Dr. Sampson had required, or some share thereof, for the archbishop's use, being his receiver, and was denied, they gave the cardinal this account thereof: that they had shewn that learned doctor, his vicar, that that money, though paid into their receipts, belonged not to them; but was peculiarly set apart for the fabrick of the church, and for the procuring of their treasurer's cope; and which had been granted to that church by the apostolical authority and decree. They promised whatsoever could be expected from them, his most faithful beadsmen, and whose name and dignity was most dear to them; and to whom they were, for so many and great reasons, bound. And mentioned, how from his care their churches liberty was by the king's gift preserved and defended; and that they had such governors and rectors hitherto, as guarded them and their privileges. And in conclusion, begged and beseeched him, to take upon him the patronage and defence of their church. And so prayed Almighty God for their most victorious king, and all prosperous success to his fatherhood. Dating their letter from their chapter at Tournay. But the whole letter (whereof these be some short contents) written in Latin, I have thought worthy transcribing, and placing in the Appendix.

No. VIII.

Another bishop elect pretends to the bishoprick in opposition to Wolsey.

But it cost our great prelate no small trouble and opposition, before he could obtain the possession of this bishoprick: which indeed he seemed to come into more violently than justly, as may appear by the sequel. For there was another bishop elect, a Frenchman, whom the French king had presented. And when Dr. Sampson came, in Wolsey's name and authority, unto certain towns in Gaunt and

Bruges, in Flanders, which were within the compass of the bishoprick of Tournay, to administer his jurisdiction there, as Wolsey's vicar-general, he found no reception among that people; the other pretended bishop having all the favour. Of this he wrote an account at large to his lord: *viz.* "That after he came to Bruges, as he had before in Gaunt, by his letters patents he desired the favour and aid of the lords of the town: but he found them nothing favourable. That a few days after he called the bishop's officers together, and shewed them the pope's breve, and letters patents of the Lady Margaret, (then governess of the Low Countries,) written in Wolsey's favour. Which notwithstanding when they had heard, because the matter was of great weight, they desired a day's respite to consult, what they should think best to do; being the 18th day of September." 1515.

And therefore he shewed, how he suspected the integrity of the French king in this matter: thus continuing his letter. "My Lord, the French king, as I think, hath not kept all promises with your grace: for the bishop elect had made for all Flanders, both another vicar-general, and also a receiver, and all the profits without fail of the year past be received, and all paid, and delivered to the elect in France. Moreover, he had ordained his officers strongly to resist, when I should come. They had readily their *appellations* made, with other remedies, as strong as by the law possibly might be made: which this day, when they assembled, they shewed expressly. And if with rigor I should have made process against them, without fail I should have made a commotion among the people, whom they had before provoked."

Advised
thereof by
Sampson.

And here inserting his advice, what was convenient to be done in this difficulty, he added; "That if his lordship should quietly have this administration, there were no mo remedies, but the French king must by his letters charge the bishop elect to be content, and suffer this administration, nor to resist: or else if these officers saw the French king's letters

1515: favourable to his (Wolsey's) administration, all they would immediately obey."

His advice,
not to pro-
ceed by
law against
the elect.

p 16.

And this he thought the best course to prevent further inconvenience in law to his lordship; thus continuing his advice: "That if his grace should follow the process of the law, and the bishop elect defend his possession with marvellous great trouble, his grace should never have profit. Wherefore they had instantly desired to have a day of respite, to counsel with the bishop elect. And accordingly that he had granted them till St. Martin's Day; except that in the mean time it might appear the bishop elect should not return personally to defend his possession: always provided, that such profits, as in the mean time should fortune, should be reserved. That he granted them this time so boldly: for that if it so were, that the French king favoured his grace at this time, as he thought he did, shortly it might be known, that the bishop should not return; and his grace hastily, or they came to him, might cause by his letters, that the French king might charge him to have patience."

And then telling his lordship, "That without this means by the French king, it should not be possible quietly to have this administration: for that he was dispensed with '*De non residendo studij causâ*.'"

But the officers of the party of the elect objected against passages in the pope's breve, shewing the reasons why he admitted Wolsey to the administration of that bishoprick; namely, his absence, and desertion of the bishoprick: which indeed seemed to be done by him at that time of necessity, for his own safety.

The pope's
breve to
Wolsey's
behalf,
against the
elect.

This matter Dr. Sampson shewed to the cardinal, in this manner: "That as they heard the tenor of the breve, one of them with a quick mind suspected the breve in three places. First, because it saith, '*Et ecclesiam Tornacens. deseruisset.*' Et postea, '*Dubitandum sit, quod idem episcopus ad ecclesiam ipsam redire contemnit, quando per procuratorem accepit possessionem.*' Neque hactenus fuit unquam

hic præsens.' Verba denique præscripti sunt hæc 1515.
prope finem: ' De residuis illis fructibus, et pro-
ventibus, tam quos hactenus percepisti, et qui post
dicti electi decessum proveniunt. Decessit, inquit
ille, nunquam, ut qui nunquam adhuc affuit.' " Dr.
Sampson added, " Sed his pro tempore, ut potui
respondebam," &c. " That is, that these excep-
tions he answered presently, as well as he could:
concluding, that this was in the end the only method,
whereby this administration might be had most
quietly, if it might appear by any means that the
king of France stood well affected towards this
matter. And till he had further intelligence from
his grace, he would abide at Bruges. And so
beseeched Almighty Jesu to preserve his grace.
Dated at Bruges, the 18th day of September, 1514.

Subscribing, Your chaplain and daily beadman,
RICHARD SAMPSON, Priest."

This letter was superscribed,

*To the most Reverend Father in God, and his
special good Lord, my Lord of York.*

Whence it appears, he was not yet cardinal.

But to pursue this controversy a little further. The French bishop would not desist, nor let go so wealthy a preferment: and for the better qualifying himself for the same, he was advised to come in person into those parts very shortly: and so Sampson had informed the cardinal's good grace; (for Wolsey was now advanced to that title;) in order to his entrance into the towns of the diocese, as the manner was, for to take possession. And by another letter of his, written August the 4th, he tells the cardinal, that now he was come; intending to enter into the towns, for his possession-taking. And then adding, in this exigence, his judgment in these words: " Wherefore, Sir, if that it shall be your gracious pleasure, further to pursue the title of this bishoprick, and not intending the contrary, it shall be very necessary with speed

The elect enters the towns of the diocese, to take possession.

p. 17.

1515. Inhibition to him from Rome. and diligence to have one *inhibition* from Rome, that he shall proceed no further. Moreover containing, 'Quòd in pœnam et sententiam inhibitionis ob contumaciam inciderit, cum pendente adhuc lite (ut existimatur) inhibitioni et pontificis decreto, non sit nihil inobediens; imò verè contemptor.' And if it shall be your gracious pleasure, in the mean time, by the eyde (aid) of your gracious letters, directed in the said behalf unto my Lady Margaret, and other cheffys (chiefs) of the council in these parties, that I obtain a defence and prohibition by the said council, and their letters, that the said elect, during the process, shall take no further possession, most humbly I beseech your grace to know your pleasure: the which I shall with diligence accomplish, by the help of Almighty God: who preserve your grace in most prosperous health and honour." Dated at Tournay, the 4th day of August.

The process committed to two cardinals by the pope.

This suit between the cardinal and the bishop elect was committed, not long after, to two cardinals by the pope, as it seems. But the said elect, in pursuit of his title, had caused certain writings to be set up openly in divers places. Which Sampson acquainted the cardinal also with, called by him "Certain Affixions:" which, as he said, the French elect had caused to be made out; notwithstanding the process committed to two cardinals by the pope's holiness to his grace, and a copy of the same. And that the said copies were affixed in all the places of Flanders, and in villages also within the bailiages, whereas were the bishop's farmers, and the temporal lordships belonging to the bishop. The which copies Sampson shewed the cardinal, he caused to be taken down; and copies of the inhibition, decreed by the said reverend cardinals, affixed in the same place, with this subscription; that it appeared evidently, both the French elect pretenced, and other his officers, by virtue of the same inhibition, against the which in contempt of the cardinals, they presumed to continue their old process, suspended "Causâ litis

pendentis coram præfatis reverendissimis dominis," 1515.
 to have fallen into the sentence of excommunication. He had further (as he proceeded in his relation of this contest) appealed "Ad cautelam, inherendo prioribus ab hujusmodi novo gravamine." And then bespeaking the cardinal, in respect of something more to be done in this his cause; "Nevertheless, Sir, saving your gracious pleasure, it were very necessary both for danger of the sentence, 'Quæ semper timenda est,' and slander of the world, that by the said most reverend cardinals, your grace should have a commission to some men in these parties to *decern* (*i. e.* decree) the same one exception, and process now made by the French, were of no strength; and your grace's officers to be in no danger of the said process, or sentence, 'Et si opus fuerit, etiam eos omnes ad cautelam p. 18.
 absolvere.' This thing, Sir, is so necessary, that no man shall dare to serve your grace here in any office, if they be not declared by this means, 'Liberi ab omni excommunicationis metu.'" And then Sampson named a person to the cardinal fit for this purpose; continuing thus: "The abbot of S. Amands, 'in pabulo Tornac. diocesios. præpositus divæ Pharaeldis Gaudensis, et abbas Sancti Nicolai in pratis juxta Tornacium ejusdem dioc.' shall be a very convenient person to be in the said commission. The more speedily that it be done, the more shall it be to your grace's honour."

And after all this pains taken, counsel given, and service done to the cardinal, he thought it seasonable now to put in a word for himself; intreating him to make some provision by preferment, for his better and more creditable subsistence, whose circumstances at present were but mean. Therefore in the conclusion of the same letter, thus he addressed himself to his great patron. "Most humbly, Sir, I beseech your grace, to be a good and gracious lord unto me; that I may have your most gracious succours and further aid. For else, I am, or shall be, nothing able to do your grace service here, to your honour.

Sampson addresses to the cardinal for preferment; and why?

1515. Almighty God be my judge, I desire it for none other cause, but the doing your grace service in these parties; it may be to your honour. Whereunto with the help of Almighty God, enduring my life, most faithfully I endeavour myself: and rather than I should otherwise do your grace service, refusing clearly the world, I would suffer as poor a living as any creature might do. Extreme necessity, Sir, causeth me to use this boldness of words to your grace; unless that for poverty, I should be little able to do your grace other any good service in these parties, profitable or honourable. For in doing your grace service here, I must meddle with some great personages, and daily with such, as if I were not in your grace's service, passeth my poor degree. Wherefore if that I be not like in other things as your grace's servant in that room, it should not be to your grace's honour. And little shall they accept or regard my doings with them, 'Cum in hac nostra ætate, inopia, egestate, humilitate, nihil contemptius.' So long as I may think to do such service to your grace, that may be to your grace's honour, there be no labours of body or mind that I shall esteem, or avoid reasonable danger or peril. But by poverty, when I shall be otherwise enforced, rather I shall suffer to myself a wilful poverty, enduring my life, than by a necessary poverty do any such thing as should not be to your grace's honour. Wherefore, Sir, in my most humble wise, I submit my wealth or misery only to your most gracious goodness. The which I beseech Almighty God preserve to his pleasure, and your increase of honour and virtue. At Tournay, the 21st day of August.

Subscribing,

Your most humble servant
and chaplain,

RICHARD SAMPSON."

Nor was this moving argument of Sampson unsuccessful; namely, of advancing the cardinal's greater honour by his chaplain's preferment, and

titles. For he soon procured him to be the king's chaplain, and dean of St. Stephen's; and which was a foundation laid for many other dignities and places, as well as a bishoprick, which he obtained afterwards, as our church histories shew; and among the rest, he was one of King Henry's privy council. More perhaps will be said of him in the current of these Memorials.

1515.
Sampson
made dean
of St. Ste-
phen's.

Further; I find this chaplain of the cardinal endeavouring, besides his services, to ingratiate himself with him by curious presents sent him from those parts: one was a choice piece of tapestry, made in those countries, famous for that manufacture: in which was woven an exquisite figure and resemblance of St. George, the English saint. And it proved very acceptable to the cardinal; as one Toneis (who seemed to be the bringer of the present) had signified to him: at which the chaplain shewed himself highly pleased. And on this occasion, he thus expressed his gladness and satisfaction in one of his letters to his great patron; whom he stiled, "The Father of his Country."

Sampson
sends the
cardinal
a piece of
tapestry.

"Retulit item mihi suis literis idem Tonesius peristroma, et quod nuper ad tuam amplissimam dignitatem, non inelegans meo judicio tapetum illud Divi Georgij, velut statua, perornatum, tradidi, non injocundum esse tuæ magnificentiae. Quo certè nuntio potuit mihi nuntiare, vel lætius vel fælicius, nihil. Quippe qui præter omnia, nihil prorsus tam cupiam, quàm id aliquando aut reperire, aut efficere possem, quo valeam aliquâ re grata eximiam tuam benignitatem afficere. Cum igitur intelligam tuæ reverendissimæ paternitati hujuscemodi tapetum non vulgare, neque plebeium nunc videris, quàm humillimè tuam excellentissimam bonitatem *rogo atque obtestor*, à me tui et deditissimo et obsequiosissimo hanc rem dono acceptare, ut velis. Id certè quod prius ante omnia sollicitassem, si fidens meomet judicio tuam adeousque sublimitatem delectatum iri existimassem. Hoc si à tuâ quidem optimâ bonitate impetraverim,

1517. me inter felicissimos, non quidem trepidè, sed audaciâ quadam lætissimâ, connumerare arbitror. Cum nihil mihi tam ex animo accidere possit, quàm si hanc rem tuæ magnificentiæ non injocundam ab animo erga tuam præstantissimam dignitatem benevolentissimo accipere haud spreveris. Vale, Pater Patriæ colendissime. Tornaci 19 die Aprilis.”

Incomes of
the bishop-
rick of
Tournay.

The last account I find given in by Sampson to the cardinal, of the receipts of the incomes of that bishoprick, was as follows, in his letter written anno 1517. Whence may be guessed at the value of it: viz. That he had received the rents of De Sellier, father and son, (who were farmers of the revenues thereof under his grace,) in the years 1514, 1515, 1516, whereof he paid by the cardinal's commandment to Mr. Toneis (a servant of the cardinal's) 50*l*. and the rest, to the sum of one hundred mark, received by the said Toneis, and of such little money more as should have come into his hands.

p. 20.

“Moreover, Sire, there was paid by the said De Sellier, to him of whom your grace had tapestry here in Tournay, fifty mark, and more money. And now by these accounts, within these three or four days, they have provided the payment of the rest, to accomplish the said three years: which shall amount to the sum of three hundred mark sterling, and more; as I think, fifty or threescore mark.

“And now beginning the payment of the year XVII. Wherein like as I have done in the other, with God's grace, I shall endeavour myself, to your grace's honour and profit, to the best of my little power and discretion, as Almighty God be my judge: who preserve your grace in most prosperous estate. At Tournay, the 17th of December.

Your most humble chaplain and servant,

RICHARD SAMPSON.”

The king and cardinal seemed by this time to be quite weary of Tournay, by reason of the continual trouble and expence of keeping it: so that in the

year 1518, motions were made on both sides, by 1518.
 King Henry, and Francis, the French king, for an accommodation, and for the restoring of that place, upon certain terms and satisfaction to be made on the English side. Which the French king shewed the greatest forwardness to perform: which the lord chamberlain, and others of the king's ambassadors at that court, shewed the cardinal. And King Francis sent a gentleman of his chamber, when these matters were to be transacted, with a letter of his own hand to the king, full of obliging expressions. Which being short, I will here transcribe it word for word from the original.

The French king's letter to King Henry.

“ Le long tans, mon myeulx eme (aymé) frere, et plus perfet amy, que jay demeure a vous fere (faire) savoir, de mes nouvelles, sera syl vous plect escuse sur les raysons que jay commande a Langes l'ung de gentilhommes de ma chambre, vous aller declerer, et fere entendre de par moy: de quelles ensemble de tout ce quyl vous dira de ma part, je vous pryé le vouloyr tout aynsy croyre, que vous feries moymesmes: et au demeurant, estre seur, que sy ce quyl vous presentera, et que je vous envoie pour sovenance, vous est aussy agreable, comme de bon cueur yl vous est envoye, ce sera playsyr, et contantement grant (grand) a

Vre' bon frere, cousin, compere,
 et perpetuel allye,

FRANCOYS.”

And what good success the English ambassadors had by their prudent and discrete management of their commission at the French court, their letters to the cardinal expressed: with which he was well pleased, commending and approving them in his own letter in answer, with further directions to them. Which will deserve to be here inserted, in order to the shewing the cardinal's conduct, and the terms proceeded upon, with a design of an interview of both kings.

1518.
The cardinal to the
ambassadors in
France.

p. 21.

“ My lords, I commend me unto you in right harty manner. And by the contents of your letters to me addressed, bearing date the 28th of December, I not only understand the good diligence and effectual devoir that ye have done, and put you in, for the substantial soliciting, and fruitful expedition of the king’s cause and matter to you committed; but also the great conformity and towardness of the French king in the furtherance of the same. Who, as it appeareth by the writing, is right appliable to the accomplishment, as well of the conventions whereunto he is bound by the treaties, as also to amoving of all impediments that mowght impede or let the perfecting thereof: manifestly declaring thereof, not only by the answer given to the Lord Ligny, but also by making his submission, and oaths benevolently, as a vertuous prince; and accounting and accepting upon him the restitution to be made to the king’s subjects for despoiles done upon the sea, and taking the charge upon him for recovering of Mortaign. Wherein he hath partly declared his mind in his loving letters to the king’s highness addressed; but not so amply as your letters purport.

“ Whereupon the king’s highness, as well for the great honours and comfortable cheer, to you shewed and made, since your arrival to that reame, as for the towardness the said king sheweth himself to be of, not only in the entertainment of firm love and amity between the king and him, but also to do unto his grace such honour and pleasure as he can; his highness hath now at this time, by his right kind and loving letters, given unto him right special and cordial thanks; like as by a copy of his said letters here enclosed, you shall perceive more at length. And well assured you may be, the king’s highness upon sight of these your said letters, not only much commended your great diligence and provident dexterity, in the wise conducting of these his weighty matters, whereby ye have deserved his singular favour and thanks, but also took great rejoicing, consolation and comfort, in

this honourable, princely, and loving demeanour of the said French king: having good hope and confidence, that by this his constant dealing at the beginning, the amity and alliance, to the great comfort of their friends, and discomfort of their enemies, honourably and kindly commenced and begun betwixt them, shall not only proceed from good to better, but also finally attain the desired end, to the restfulness and universal weal of all Christendome. 1518.

“ And as touching the king’s mind and pleasure in the difficulties touched in your former letters, concerning the qualities of the hostages, I doubt not but ye have perfect knowledge thereof by the king’s letters, to you lately sent; containing ample instructions, how to order yourselves in so great a matter as that is: not doubting, but that after your accustomed wise and provident manner, you woll so circumspectly order yourselves therein, that the best hostages as may be possibly gotten shall be had: or at the least, the final resolution of the king’s said letters shall be attained. Wherein as hartily as I can, I require, and instantly desire you to apply yourselves with all effect. For to this point all other princes take special regard: whereupon, and only, dependeth the surety of the conventions, but also the stopping of dishonourable bruits, which by acceptance of insufficient hostages, might be spread: over all, which is more to be pondered, than the importance of Tournay, or any other thing thereupon depending.

“ And as unto the *personal* meeting of both princes, the viewing of the place, and appointment of the number to come with the said princes, in mine opinion, ye have taken a right, substantial, and discrete way; praying you effectually to follow the same, always foreseeing, that the number be not too great, in avoiding sundry incommodes and inconveniences that might follow thereof; as I doubt not, ye can right well consider. p. 22.

“ Finally, as touching the monthly wages ap-

1518.

pointed to the soldiers of Tournay, after their discharge, to be paid at their arrival in Dover; forasmuch as ye, my lord chamberlain, for sundry causes, and considerations, and especially for payment of such debts as be owing by many of the said soldiers in Tournay" — Here the letter breaks off abruptly.

Summary
of Chron.

For the delivery up of Tournay, the French king was to pay (as one of our historians writes) 600,000 crowns, and for the citadel that the king had built there, another great sum. And the cardinal also, for his resignation of that bishoprick, was to have a good consideration.

The cardinal's instructions to the king's officers at Tournay, upon the surrender.

Tournay then being to be surrendered, the cardinal now (as he had done always in every step before) gave his instructions to the king's officers there: that they should play the good husbands for the king; by turning, as much as they could, all the provisions and materials there for his buildings into money, and to make sale of them. For which purpose, he with the council gave letters to the king's deputy, Jernegan, brought from England to him by sir Richard Whettill, knight, the king's marshal there: importing, "That it was the king's pleasure, that he not only should, by politick manner, use the means, that all such provision of victuals that had been provided for the storing and victualling of that his citadel; but also, that all such timber, lime, stone, and other lumber, ordained for the building of the citadel, should be uttered and sold to the best profit and advantage. And also to put all such things in so good and substantial a readiness and order there; that at the return of the ambassadors from the French king, the city and citadel might be delivered peaceably, without any difficult rumour; according to the league, consideration, and amity, taken and concluded between him and France: and also, to avoid all vagabonds and others, forth of the town, that might be spared: and to see that every man paid his debts. To the end, that at the lord chamberlain's coming, there might be no rumour or let, as little as might be."

And as the city, so also the bishoprick consequently was to be parted withal. Therefore the cardinal's great official, Sampson, was to use all his diligence to gather up the revenues and arrearages thereof for his grace; and particularly what sum was to be paid by the succeeding bishop, for quiet possession. For I find the said Sampson now informing the cardinal, his lord, about these money matters. As, how he had paid, or was ready to pay, the money by him received, unto the king's treasure at Tournay, for the king's use there; the cardinal to receive the like value in England. And for the doing of which he gave his reason: *viz.* "That it might please his grace, saving his grace's pleasure otherwise, that in his poor opinion, it should not be only more profit, that the said money be spent in the king's use by his deputy and treasurer, but also that such other money, that hereafter he should receive for his grace, might be in like manner delivered to them, to be employed in the same use. And at the return of the same deputy into England, it should appear such money belonging to his grace to have been received, and employed to the king's use. Wherefore his grace might receive again good money in England. For by the money there (in Tournay) received, to be brought into England, without fail should be very great loss: shewing him, that there was there none other payment but in pence; whereof the one half was not current in England: and that if he should change it into gold, it was of such price, that in every piece there should be also great diminution of the sum."

1518.
The cardinal
leaves the
bishoprick.

P. 25.

And then he proceeded to give the cardinal intelligence of monies payable from the farmers of the bishop's lands and revenues, and likewise from the new bishop, by an arbitration: *viz.* "That he should not fail to endeavour himself, with all diligence, to the receiving of so much money as he might have. Notwithstanding, Sir, (added he,) by convention express, the farmers there were bound

1518. to no payment, before the Purification: and that yet after the Term, they were as slack and dull in their payment as might be. Yet he promised the cardinal, that he would use all the means that he might to his grace's most honour and profit.

Agreement
on terms
with the
French
bishop.

“That as for the French bishop, he had lately written unto him, that he intended to come to Tournay with the king's ambassadors; and then he promised his faith to accomplish the arbement of the king's ambassadors, in all things concerning his grace. But that in the mean time, (as he adds,) he should gather and receive as much as he might; which he feared should be right little.”

The ill cha-
racter of
the French
abbot of
St. Martin's

Then he concludes his letter in some Latin lines; importing, “How inclinable they would be to make themselves acceptable to the present bishop; since they had before so little kindness towards them of the English nation: nor that he could compel them to pay before the day of payment. That there was a coadjutor to the abbot of St. Martin's; which abbot was a man void of all good manners and honesty; and was worthy to be expelled the monastery, rather than to be continued in with a coadjutor,” &c. But take the words themselves.

“Modò percipiunt omnes, ut in rerum mutatione fieri solet, eidem futuro gratos affore episcopo. Haud igitur dubium est, sese difficiliores nunc reddituros, in quibus antea inerat minimum benevolentiae. Neque ante solutionis diem, præsriptæ justitiæ nervos, ut cogantur, in eos intendere possumus. Qui futurus est coadjutor Divi Martini Tornac. abbati, (viro planè à bonis moribus et ab honestate alienissimo, ut qui radicibus à monasterio extirpetur, quàm dignissimus est, magis quàm cui detur coadjutor,) huc suum procuratorem brevi missurus est: qui ejus nomine possessionem nasciscatur: nunc tam regiæ majestati quàm reverendissimæ tuæ paternitati, ut fertur, gratissimus. Id quod utriusque literis ampliter significabit. Vale, (quod de eximia tua prudentia verissimè dici potest,) optime pater,

tum pacis optatissimæ, tum ipsius patriæ, quæ talem sibi alumnum educavit, fælicissimæ. Tornaci, viij. idus Decembris. 1518.

Tuæ reverendiss. paternitatis quàm deditissimus,

RICHARDUS SAMPSON."

In which last clause of the letter, we may observe the high veneration and esteem was then had of the cardinal; and what a great instrument he was of the peace now made between the two kings: where the writer takes his leave of him in the stile of, "The best father, (as he might most truly be called for his excellent prudence,) as well of the most wished-for peace, as also of the country itself, most happy which had brought up such a child for itself."

This letter was superscribed,

*To my Lord Cardinal's Grace,
Legate of England.*

What I have written in the pages before, concerning Tournay, is somewhat long. But since there is so little appearing in our historians concerning the king's possession and rule of that great city, and divers memorable matters in those five or six years while it remained in the English hands, it may not be amiss to have recorded the memory of some of them; especially wherein that great counsellor and churchman was concerned: in order to the adding some further knowledge of this king's reign, and reviving the memory of some persons of quality and eminence then, not unacceptable doubtless to some of their surviving posterity.

1520.
p. 25.

CHAP. II.

An interview proposed between the two kings. The obstructing thereof endeavoured by some foreign ambassadors. The cardinal's answer to their jealousies. The king suspicious of France's amity. The cardinal, the king's lieutenant at Calais, sends his advice to the king about it; and for the English merchants' ships trading thither. His letters to the king. The king's book against Luther, printed in London by Pynson. The pope gives the king the title of "Defender of the Faith," for writing this book. The king becomes zealous for the pope. The cardinal instrumental therein. The English court noted abroad for learning. A commission from the cardinal to all bishops, to have Luther's books delivered up. Luther's errors condemned by the pope; ordered by the cardinal to be fixed upon the doors of all cathedrals, and other churches.

An interview of the two kings purposed gives umbrage to a third.

WE have the cardinal again, in the year 1520, overruling a great cause concerning an *interview*, purposed between King Henry and the French king, Francis. For as peace had been made lately between them, so now an interview somewhere near Calais was concluded to be made, for the more confirmation of mutual friendship. But this gave umbrage to the King of Castile: and certain ambassadors of Flanders, lately at Calais, now in England, endeavoured mightily to obstruct it; suggesting divers reasons of state against it: and like as it might create a jealousy in the French king, should the King of England give an interview to the King of Castile. This Sir Richard Wyngfield, deputy of Calais, signified to the cardinal, who was much for the interview; as tending to beget and confirm a good friendship and understanding, lately begun between them. And those ambassadors did labour to impeach and disappoint this purpose with many dalliances, and sundry opinions about the same. Which made such an impression upon the king's admiral then at Calais, that he thought fit to send the con-

tents thereof to court ; which caused the cardinal to answer him roundly, in order to the amoving of such suspicions and jealousies. And in his letter to him, declared the entire and whole truth, as well of this business and practice, as had been made and set forth in England also by the said ambassadors of Flanders, as also the king's resolution and demeanour in all and singular the same: so that in reason and honour, the cardinal said, they ought to have been contented therewith. This the cardinal also signified in another letter to the said deputy of Calais, to whom he enclosed the copy of his letter to the admiral: adding in this to the deputy, (I transcribe from the minutes, drawn up by the cardinal's own hand :) " That thereunto he supposed, the admiral and some others were not only sufficiently answered; but also should have cause to forbear in giving sudden credence hereafter to semblable untrue bruits, studied and conceived to set divisions, diffidences, and discourse, between the king, our master, and his brother of France.

p. 26.
The cardinal's letter about it to the deputy of Calais.

" For (as he went on) it stood not with honour nor reason, that a prince should be restrained to treat with the ambassadors of his antient friends and confederats, or that for any such treaties, any jealousies or suspicions should be taken: considering by ingratitude and strange dealing, a prince might soon lose and abandon his best friends. And to be plain unto you, if the King of Castile should offer to descend at Sandwich, or about those parts, as he hath done, to see and visit the king and the queen, his unkle and aunt, the king being in journeying toward the sea, and next thereunto, it were too mervailous ingratitude to refuse the same. For by such dealing, the king mowght well judge and think, that the king, our master, neither esteemed, loved, ne favoured him. Which mowght be the mean clearly to loose him for ever. And I suppose, if the French king be so good a friend to the king's grace, as I think he is, he would not advise his highness so to do.

1520. Insomuch therefore as by refusal of this offer, the king mowght have lost the King of Castile for ever: and that by yeving loving answer thereunto, no prejudice, ne dishonour can ensue to the French king thereby, (though it succede, as it is not likely to do,) there is no cause why the French king should take a suspicion or jealousy therein. Specially, when the king mindeth intyrelly to accomplish all conventions between them. And if the French king should refuse the second meeting, for that the king, our master, hath entertained his antient friend, by giving to him comfortable answer, it may be counted that he more mindeth to dissolve the said antient amity, than to continue or consolidate the same. Howbeit neither the king, ne I, ne yet any of his council, can believe, that the said French king mindeth any such thing, the firm peace, alliance, and amity, with other demonstrations of fraternal love and kindness betwixt them groundly considered."

And accordingly the meeting of both kings was celebrated at a camp near Ardes, with great splendor and triumph.

1521. But the peace between the two kings, whatever mutual dearnesses there had appeared, was but short. The cardinal was now, anno 1521, at Calais, to be nearer to take his observations in France, and to do the king's business, and serve his interests there; there being now a diet held there also, between commissioners sent from the French king and the emperor. From hence he wrote frequently to the king of what passed in those parts, and likewise the king to him. Sir William Fitzwilliams was now ambassador at the French court; who wrote word, how the French king had declared to him, *upon his honour*, that he would give battel to the emperor; between whom and King Henry was a good correspondence. This was signified to the cardinal: also how counsils were now taken for security against the jealousies the king had of France. The merchants of England were

The cardinal at Calais, to observe the French king.

ready to send their ships and vessels to Bourdeaux this vintage, for wines, as they were wont to do: and care was taken at this suspicious juncture, for the preserving them from violence and damage, if the French should attempt it by sea; and that the king's navy might suffer no loss. Of all this the king, by his secretary, sent intelligence to the cardinal; requiring his advice and counsil in these and the like points. He knew how to please the king: and in his answer directed to the king's highness, he applaudes him for his good government, and his great care of his subjects welfare, and for his careful consultation for the peace and safety of his kingdom. He extols his provident foresight, and princely zeale, and substantial regard to his own honour and surety: in foreseeing politickly before hand, dangers abroad; believing, that none could more providently consider the politick government of his realm. And that therefore, though he (the king) of his goodness, had desired his poor advice, yet he was sure that his majesty could much better provide remedies for the same, than he on his part could devise. All this more at large, with his advice at length, remains in his letters (which were two) to the king. Which highly deserve to be preserved and read; as both shewing the notable wisdom and sharpness of the cardinal, as also the great deference that was given to his judgment. They follow, as I transcribed them from his own minutes.

The king
requires his
advice.

"Sir, I perceived by such writings as lately came to my hand from your secretary, that your grace hath received three or four letters from me, of sundrie datys. And farasmuch as in some of them, nothing was contained but only news, it is not thought requisite any special answer to be made thereunto, but only your gracious thanks to me to be given. Which I would be right glad to deserve, by all the industry, labour and policy, that I can use.

The cardinal to the king, with respect to the French king.

"And, Sir, as touching those news, which at that time were written by your ambassador, Sir William

1521. Fitz-Williams, touching the promise made by the French king, on his honour, that he would give battail to the emperor's army within brief time; I think verily, that as your said ambassador, as a faithful gentleman, reported no less than the French king spake; howbeit, by the contents, as well of such other letters as I have received this day from your said ambassador, as by the news comen from the emperor to his heir, enclosed, your grace shall well perceive, that nother the French king is in such a readiness within so brief time to give battel, though he promised *on his honour* so to do; ne yet, that the news written on either party, be so true, that firm credence oweth at all times to be given unto them. Nevertheless, by provident foresight, more credence is to be geven to writings of such as most commonly make true reports, than of others, which accustomedly use to contrive news upon untrue grounds, for the advancement of their own affairs. Whereunto your grace having good experience, as well in times past, as by the experience now occurrent, can best judge: especially when the loss and damages of the French king be by him causeless to your grace arrected. So that I suppose, neither this cruel
p. 28. battle is so neer hand, ne yet such reports, though they be spoken *upon his honour*, be always to be believed.

“ Over this, Sir, whereas your grace, foreseeing the daungers, damages, losses and prejudice, that might ensue to your navy, and the subjects of your realm, if, in this suspect and casual time, they should resort to Burdeaux for this vintage, like as they have been accustomedly used to do heretofore; desired and commanded me to declare unto you my poor advice and opinion, what was most expedient to be done therein; I calling unto me the whole number of such your counsellors as be here with me, after long reasoning, and debating of the said matter, finally concluded by one assent, that such remedies as were expressed in my letter then to your grace

sent, were most covenable provisions, to remedy the said daunger, loss and damage. And surely, Sir, if by our wits and intendments, better remedies could have been foreseen, the same should have been notified, and intimated unto you. But inas-much as your grace so much pondereth the daunger and casualties that may ensue, by reparing of your navy and subjects to Burdeaux, that you count none assurance by treaties, plakards, proclamations or articles, to be confirmed by the princes on all parties, to suffice for that indempnity, and presup-pose such writings and promises to be fraudulent and evasive allectives, to bring your said navy and sub-jects in daunger. Thinking also, that the sending of a convenient number of your small ships to Burdeaux, or Livorna, to be given for bringing Gascoin wines into your realms, should raise a murmur among your subjects," &c. The minutes of this letter break off here.

The cardinal's other letter to the king, concern-ing the ships of the merchants, and his own, going into France, was more full, having conferred with the French king's chancellor, then at Calais, about these matters: prefacing his letter with great obser-vance towards his majesty: and thus he addrest:

"Sir, Whereas your grace, most prudently and providently considering the imminent dangers that may issue, as well by taking of your navy and subjects, with such goods and substance as they have, and shall bring with them to Burdeux, if they should thither repair this year for vintage, as they have been heretofore accustomedly used to do; as also pondering the suspicion that might be imprest in the French king's mind, by the abstaining of your said navy and subjects from thence: which jealousy might percase cause him to restrain and stop your pension, payable unto you within brief time; yee not only desire me maturely to debate and consider what is best to be done therein, but also to advertise your grace with diligence, of my poor advice and

Another letter of the cardinal to the king, about the danger of his ships.

1521. opinion upon the same, like as in your secretary's letters by your commandments unto me addressed, it is contained more at length.

p. 29. “ Sir, When I groundly considered your provident forecast, as well for the conservation of your navy from damage, as the princely zeale that yee bear, to preserve your subjects, and their goods, with the substantial regard that yee take to your honour and surety, in foreseeing politickly before hand, the daunger and damages that in this suspect time, may ensue to your highness, your realm and subjects; it is unto me one of the singular consolations and comforts that ever I had; whereby I evidently perceive, that no man can more groundly consider the politick governance of your said realm, ne more assuredly look to the preservation thereof, than yee yourself. And therefore, though your grace of your goodness require my poor advice, yet well assured I am, ye can better provide remedy for the same, than I can imagine, or devise.

“ Nevertheless, to accomplish your noble pleasure and commandment, I shall declare my poor opinion, though remitting always the same to your reformation and correction.

“ And first, Sir, albeit, I suppose and think, that the French king troubled and infested with so many (enemies) and armies on every side, as well within his own realm, as in the dutchy of Milain, and upon the (borders) of Navarr, will be well ware, how he attempt any thing, either by land or sea, whereby he should give occasion to provoke you to break with him, and join with any of his enemies: by means whereof he might fall to many daungers: yet upon that ground will I not take my foundation: though this day the chancellor of France, after he had dined with me alone, without any of his colleagues, declared expresly, that not only the king, his master, hath in you his most alliance, before all other princes, but also plainly shewed, that though such advice and counsel, as I in your name, and as your lieutenant,

should shew unto him, for the firm entertainment of the good amity between your grace and him, he had commandment to be conformable; and that both his said master, and he, was as good English, as any of your subjects; like as it should be well known, by his favourable entertaining of your subjects, repairing to any of the dominions under the obeisance of his said master. Whereby it appeareth, that as yet, for any bruits, they have no maner suspicion. 1521.

“Nevertheless, for the assured remedying of the doubtful daungers by your grace foreseen, and remembered, I thought not most surety, to lean only to words, unless the same were corroborate by available bands and writings. Wherefore, besides other remedies, which I shall hereafter particularly declare in this my letter, I have taken this order with the said chancellor of France.

“First, forasmuch as complaints be here daily made by your subjects, of such depredations as be committed upon them by the Frenchmen, which is manifestly proved before the said chancellor, and not only no redress made to some of your subjects upon the same, but also divers ships have been rescued from them; whereof one, with certain Frenchmen apprized thereof, arrived here in your haven this day; I have therefore upon those grounds, without speaking of the matter of Burdeux, caused the said chancellor to determine, that proclamations be made throughout the realm of France and Britain, upon the sea coasts, that no man, under pain of death, shall enterprize to take any English ships, or Englishmens goods; but that all English, both by land, sea, and fresh water, shall have as free course in surety to pass, remain, and return at their liberty, as ever they had heretofore in the dominions of the said French king.

p. 30.

I have also moved the said chancellor to write to the king, his master, that over and beside the said proclamations, an open placard, signed and sealed by the said French king, shall be made, and delivered

1521. to your grace; making assurance to all and singular your subjects, repairing to Burdeux, or any other his dominions under his obeisance by sea or land, that they, and every of them, shall not only be favourably entertained, but also suffered safely to return with their ships, goods and merchandizes, according to the treaties, without any trouble or vexation to any your said subjects. To the granting and expedition of which open placard, I find the said chancellor right agreeable. And albeit the French king be bound hereunto by treaty, yet, if contrary to the same treaty, proclamations, and placards, they shall attempt any thing against your subjects, it may be more grievously arrected unto the said French king's charge, when ye shall make your declaration against him.

“And, Sir, during our abode at this diet, having the chancellor of France here, they shall not dare to enterprize any thing at Burdeux against the goods or ships of any subject of your realm. And a treux or abstinence of war being taken by (the commissioners) of this diet, as I trust it shall be, then hostility shall cease on all parts, during the treux. Whereby your navy and ships shall be in surety.

Ways devised by the cardinal, for safety of merchants ships in France.

“And yet, Sir, for an habundaunt cautele for the safeguard of your ships and navy, repairing this year to Burdeux, I have devised three ways. Whereof the first is, That provision by your grace should be made in your ports, that no ship above the portage of an hundred, or six score, should pass to Burdeaux, this year, and that no multitude of ships should consort there together, and at once; but such a convenient number as ye shall think good; suffering them first to return, for knowledge, how they have sped, before any mo ships be sent forth. By which means, not only the great ships of your realm shall be in safety, but also the most part of your navy conserved from danger.

“The second remedy is this, that in case it may like your grace, not only to licence your subjects to

bring their wines upon strangers bottoms, but also give liberty to the Frenchmen, and Britons, to bring Gascoine wines to your realms upon their proper ships; ye should not only have right great plenty of wines at better prizes than it hath been accustomed to be sold heretofore, with the augmentation of your customs, but also relieve Flanders, and the emperor's countries with wines; whereby during the wars, they shall be destitute, if they be not relieved by your means. And besides that, Sir, there shall so many French and Britons ships resort to your realm, under colour of your said licence and liberty, that ye shall always have a good country security and paine, to take their ships, if they wol any thing enterprize against you. 1521.

“ Finally, Sir, among other devices and capitulations, that we be now in making for the (safety) and surety of the fishers, as well of Flanders, as of France, during this herring time, I (do intend) besides the foresaid provisions for the safeguard of the navy, to devise the articles to be concluded by the mutual consent of both parties; that not only your subjects, with their ships, goods, and merchandizes, shall surely and safely pass and repass through all harbours under the dominion of the emperor and French king; but also that no maner ships, strangers or others, shall be taken within their streamys. By which articles, the liberty of your streamys and territories of the sea shall be more largely extended, and amplified, as well by the emperor's, as the French king's express consents, by special articles, than ever it was before. Which articles also shall be a high remedy for the preservation of your navy, and free liberty to be given thereby unto them, freely to pass and repass to all coasts and countries under the dominions and obeisances of the said princes, without damage.” p. 31.

But soon after this letter of the cardinal's to the king, wherein he laid down such a politick scheme to be had with the commissioners of the other king, to

Some English ships taken by the French.

1521. preserve the king's and merchants ships, and the trade to Bourdeaux; there were letters sent from court to him, of great spoil notwithstanding done by the French to some English ships. Which occasioned another letter from the cardinal to the king, who now much required, and depended upon his judgment. Therein also he gave his majesty his thoughts about the seizing these ships; and also about entring into another truce with the French king, when as yet no open rupture of the amity was made; though there appeared too much tending thereto; and the king's ambassadors at the French court were not well used. And whereas advice was taken about deferring the sending of ships to Bourdeaux for some time longer, till the latter vintage; when there might be a likelihood of safer sailing; the cardinal shewed his reason, why he was against it. Because in all probability, there would more jealousies arise upon the emperor's coming into England, which was intended to be about that time. Of all these matters, thus the cardinal shewed his mind in his next letter; after some lines, thus proceeding:

The cardinal to the king, on this occasion.

“ And wheras your grace doubteth not, but that I with your council here (at Calais) had had so large knowledge of the damage of your subjects, being daily despoiled on sea, as ye have advertised me, since both I and they would have agreed with your grace in one opinion; Sir, truth it is, that I had certain knowledge of sundry despoils done upon the sea by Frenchmen, before I advertised your grace of my said poor answer and opinion for this Burdeaux voiage. Which, upon their complaints, had good redress and restitution: whereby I was moved to have the better trust. And since that time, I received another letter from your secretary; wherein he writeth, that two hulks, wherein certain goods appertaining to Englishmen, were lately taken by Frenchmen; the one being conveyed to Boleyn, and the other to Frith in Scotland.

“ And as touching the hulk conveyed to Boleyn,

surmised to appertain to Birch, wherein one Roch of London pretendeth to have goods; I have caused some of your council here, to hear the complaints of the said Roch. And albeit the said Roch neither can ne will justify the said hulk to appertain to Birch, yet he chalengeth certain goods in her, whereof I doubt not, he shall have restitution, if he can duely prove them to be his. And as unto the other hulk carried into Scotland, I see no remedy, but letters to be devised and sped by your grace, to be sent to the council of Scotland, by the parties dampnified there, to pursue for restitution. And if they be Frenchmen that have taken the goods, then a certificate to me made of their names and dwelling places, with a specialty of the goods taken, I shall endeavour myself with the chancellor of France, for restitution to be made according to justice. And this, in effect, be all the despoils that I know newly done. Howbeit some other pursuits have been made here, for redress of depredations done upon the sea about Midsummer and before; which shall be also remedied in the countries, where the offenders dwell. For which purpose, letters be delivered by the chancellor to the parties complainants.

1521.

p. 32.

“ This, Sir, like as we heretofore conformed our opinions and mind touching the voiage of Burdeux, to your high plesure, so we eftsones remit the same to your great wisdom.

“ And, Sir, to enquire of the Frenchmen, why they take the Easterlings hulks, it appertaineth not to me, as your lieutenant. For if they will pretend inimity to be betwixt the merchants of Danske and them, your grace may not conveniently let the same: howbeit to restore your subjects goods being in them, I have and woll speak accordingly.

“ And whereas your secretary further writeth, that this first vintage may be further respited and deferred, upon good grounds, without distrust or jealousy, by declaration of this manifold despoyls, and cruel intreaty of your subjects upon the sea, as well by

1521. Frenchmen, as Spaniards; by reason whereof it may be said, they abstain from the said venture; like as to good policy it appertaineth, for the servation of themselves, and surety of their goods; I think the same full good and reasonable considerations, if they take it well: howbeit to defer that voyage till the latter vintage at Candlemas, so that by vertue of a treux to be taken here, they may then resort thidder in surety: Sir, under your favour and correction, your said subjects shall be in more danger, going, than now: for if some suspicion and distrust be taken now by the French king, as your grace judgeth by the strange entreaty of your ambassador, it is to be supposed, that by that time it shall be further spread and encreased. And so I say, that if the treaty, not yet declared broken, the placard, safe conduct, and all the other remedies before touched, cannot now stand in stead; then the abstention of war, which may be as soon broken, if there be no truse, as all the other assurance, cannot then prevail; especially considering this amity standing yet unbroken betwixt you and the French king, no treux can be taken betwixt you and him. For taking of a treux, presupposeth rupture of amity. And therefore this treux must be only taken betwixt the emperor and the French king, for the indemnity of their subjects: which cannot help your subjects. In consideration whereof, these remedies now provided, may better
p. 33. serve at this time, than the abstinence of war then, and especially the safe conduct, comprized in the placard for all your subjects resorting to France. Which is an abundant cautele; though the same, standing the amity, needed not.

“ Sir, if princes accustomedly observed their safe conducts to their enemies in time of open war, it is to be supposed they will not break it, standing the colour of peace and amity.

“ And on the other side, the second vintage is commonly in February, about the Purification of Our Lady: in which month it is included by treaty, that

the emperor shall be with you in England ; and then the distrust and jealousy shall be more largely im-
 prest in the Frenchmens minds, than it is now. And albeit your subjects might then go surely without impeachment, yet it were not possible to bring wine of the second vintage, to serve the emperor at his coming into your realms. 1521.

“ And whereas it is further written, that by this treaty taken with the emperor, it is sufficiently provided for the indemnity in the pension of France to be paid by the emperor, if the French king refuse to pay the same: Sir, the matter dependeth upon your declaration. And therefore, good it were to save the next payment to be made by the French king, if it might conveniently be.

“ And whereas it is alledged, that my doubt is solved by mine own writing ; whereas I suppose the French king shall not provoke your enmity, but conserve your amity: Sir, if my letter be well regarded, I wrote that only conditionally, unless he be driven thereunto by distrust and diffidence ; and so that doubt remaineth not unabsolved.”

About the year 1521 did King Henry shew himself a man of letters, as well as arms, by a book, which he owned himself the author of: wherein both his learning, and his zeal for the pope's cause, and religion, appeared: being written in confutation of Martin Luther's late books against Indulgences, granted by Popes, and other Errors of the Church of Rome. This book the king, by the cardinal's advice, thought fit to have presented to Pope Leo: which was done by Dr. Clark, then the king's ambassador at Rome ; and was delivered by him into his own hands, in a solemn assembly of cardinals ; and at the same time, he made a speech to the pope. To whom the pope presently made an answer, shewing his most grateful acceptance of it. And in testimony thereof, he gave him the title of “ Defender of the Faith ;” and so always to be stiled, whensoever he was named. And the book thus presented, richly

The king's
 book
 against
 Luther pre-
 sented to
 the pope :

1521. bound, was laid up in the Vatican, as a rarity: where the Lord Herbert of Cherbury saith, he afterwards saw it.

Chiefly by
the means
of Wolsey.

This was brought about by the means of Cardinal Wolsey; who procured some copies of the book to be written, in a very fair and beautiful character; and one of them to be bound up splendidly; namely, that that was to be sent to the pope: and the said cardinal sent that especially to the king, for his liking of it, before it went.

Matters
contained
in this
book, when
printed.

p. 34.

This book was soon printed here in England, by Pynson, for the honour of the king. For it stood in the title page; "Printed 1521. Londini, in Ædibus Pynsonianis." Which I once saw in that exquisite library of ancient books, belonging sometime to Dr. Moore, when bishop of Norwich. In this book, were these several things contained. I. The Oration of John Clark, Dean of Windsor, to the Pope, upon his exhibiting the King's Work to him. II. The Answer of the Pope to the same, *extempore*. III. The Pope's Bull to the King's Majesty, for the Confirmation of his Work. IV. Then the Book itself, "Contra Martinum Lutherum, Hæresiarchon." V. The King's Epistle, "Ad Illustrissimos," &c. *viz.* the Duke of Saxony, and other German Princes; *piè admonitoria*, piously admonishing them to beware of Luther and his Heresies. VI. The Pope's Bull of Indulgences, to encourage the Reading of the King's Book. Which was thus prefaced; "Librum hunc HENRICI VIII. Angliæ et Franciæ Regis Potentiss. contra Martinum Lutherum, legentibus, 10 annorum, et totidem quadragenarum indulgentia apostolicâ autoritate concessa est."

The clause of the bull, (which bore date in October,) conferring that glorious title upon him, was, "Habitâ super his, cum eisdem fratribus nostris (*viz.* cardinalibus et prælatis) maturâ deliberatione, de eorum unanimi consilio et assensu, majestati tuæ titulum hunc, *viz.* FIDEI DEFENSOREM, donare decrevimus,——Mandantes omnibus Christi fidelibus,

ut majestatem tuam hoc titulo nomenclent: et cum ad eum scribent, post dictionem regi, adjungant Fidei Defensori. 1521.

This royal piece of learning gives occasion to relate, for the honour of this nation, how it was noted abroad for the learning and learned men it was replenished with; nay, and the court also, and the king too, renowned not only for that accomplishment, but for his sharp wit and parts likewise: which must be attributed chiefly to the cardinal's influence and encouragement, and furtherance of good studies. This the great learned man, Erasmus, that lived in those times, and held a correspondence here in England, well knew, and often applauded this land for. Thus, in an epistle of his to one Banisius, dated anno 1519, from Brussels. "Learning would triumph, had we such a prince at home as England hath. That king not unlearned, as well as of a very sharp wit. He openly shews himself a patron of good letters. He silenceth all brawling contenders. All studies are restored for the better by the Cardinal of York; and by his kindness to many, inviteth every body to the love of studies, &c. And even the king's court abounds with greater numbers of the learned, than any university."*

England noted abroad for learning, and learned men.

And in another epistle of his to a learned Englishman, Sir Henry Guildeford, master of the king's horse, wrote the same year, he hath these words: "What school, what monastery any where is there, that hath so many persons endowed with probity and learning, as your court hath?"†

* "Triumpharent bonæ literæ, si principem haberemus domi qualem habet Anglia. Rex ipse non indoctus, tum ingenio acerrimo. Palam tuetur bonas literas: rabulis omnibus silentium indixit. Cardinalis Eboracensis omnia studia in melius restituit, suâque benignitate passim omnes invitat ad amorem studiorum, &c. Aula regis plus habet hominum eruditione præstantium, quàm ulla academia." *Erasm. Epist. ad Banisium.*

† "Quæ schola, quod monasterium usquam tam multos habet insigni probitate doctrinâque præditos, quàm vestra habet aula?" *Erasm. Ep. p. 368.*

1521.
p. 35.

And again in another epistle, he particularly noted the excellent abilities of one particularly, of the English nation; namely, Pace,* then the king's ambassador in Germany; and bad Banisius (to whom he wrote) to get acquainted with him, giving this character of him: "That nothing was finer than his wit, and one most accomplished in both parts of literature; and for his vertues, to the king, the cardinals, and even to the Roman pontiff himself, most acceptable."†

To all which let me subjoin the lamentation the same great scholar made, how learning and sobriety was then gone from religious houses, where formerly they most flourished, and was removed to the courts of princes, now there rather to be found. "O! miras rerum humanarum vicissitudines," &c. "O! the strange vicissitudes of human affairs! heretofore the heat of learning was among such as professed religion; now while they, for the most part, give up themselves 'ventri, luxui, pecuniæque;' i. e. to the belly, luxury, and money, the love of learning is gone from them to secular princes, the court, and the nobility. May we not justly be ashamed of ourselves? The feasts of priests and divines are drowned in too much wine, are filled with scurrilous jests, sound with intemperate noise and tumult, flow with spiteful slanders, and defamations of others:‡ while, in the mean time, at princes tables, modest disputations are had concerning such things as make for learning and piety."

And then he goes on to prophesy of the rise of good learning, and religion, after the fatal decay of it for divers ages past, in his address to the above-said Sir Henry Guyldford. "Indeed I see a certain golden age ready to arise: which perhaps will not be

* Erasmus's character of Pace.

† Nihil ejus ingenio candidius; utriusque literaturæ peritissimus; pro suis virtutibus regi, cardinalibusque, atque adeo Romano pontifici, gratissimus est.

‡ Madent vinolentia, scurrilibus opplentur jocis, tumultu parum sobrio perstrepunt, virulentis obtreactionibus scatent.

my lot to partake of (being now drawing near to the end of his life) yet I congratulate the world, and the younger sort I congratulate, in whose minds, howsoever Erasmus shall live, and remain, by reason of the remembrance of the good offices he hath done.”* 1521.

I go not out of my way in relating these passages, being historical of these times we are now in: wherein learning began in this part of the world to shew itself; and the monks and friars here noted for their degeneracy into ignorance and vice; while the king, and his court, at least many of them, and his servants and ministers of state, were brightned with learning and knowledge; and the cardinal none of the least.

The king seemed to boast much of this titular honour bestowed upon him so solemnly by the pope and cardinals, and the high praises accompanying the same, in such words as these: “That he (the pope) had diligently and accurately looked into the doctrine of that book, naming it, ‘A certain admirable doctrine, sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace:’ and he gave thanks to the Omnipotent God, from whom every the best and perfect gifts do come; who had vouchsafed to inspire the king’s excellent mind, inclined to every good thing, to write such things for the defence of the holy faith, against the new stirrers up of damnable heresies; and whereby he might invite other kings, and Christian princes, by his example, to give all their aid and favour to the orthodox faith, and evangelical truth, then brought into great danger and hazard. And therefore he thought it meet and just, that they, who undertook such pious labour, in defence of the faith of Christ, deserved all praise and honour. And accordingly, he (the pope) not only extolled and magnified with deserved praise, what his majesty had wrote against the said Martin Luther, with most absolute learning, nor less eloquence, but did approve and confirm it by his authority, and would adorn and grace his

The pope
highly ex-
tols the
king’s
learning
and piety.
p. 36.

* Equidem aureum quoddam sæculum exoriri video: quo mihi fortassis, non continget frui, &c.

1521. majesty with such honour and title, that all the faithful people of Christ in that, and in perpetual time to come, might understand, how grateful this gift, presented to him, was, especially at this time. And therefore he, the true successor of St. Peter, in that holy see, whence all dignities and titles flowed, and consulting with the rest of his brethren, after mature deliberation, had decreed to give to your majesty this title," &c.

This matter was contrived by the cardinal, to engage the king the more against Lutheranism, which now began to spread in the kingdom, and such books and writings to be brought over. And being backed with the title granted to the king, the cardinal used his diligence effectually to suppress the same, by a strict commission from himself, invested with the legantine power, to all the bishops in England, by a general visitation, to take order, that any books, written or printed, of Martin Luther's errors and heresies, should be brought in to the bishop of each respective diocese. And that every such bishop receiving such books and writings, should send them up to him. And in order to this, notice was to be given in every church at mass-time, before the people present, that whosoever had such books in their houses, or possessions, should forthwith deliver them up to the bishop, or his commissary, or other officer, within fifteen days. And this upon pain of incurring the greater excommunication; and being esteemed concealers and favourers of heretical pravity; and so reputed and judged as hereticks, and liable to be punished as such. And that all abbots, priors, and governors of religious houses, all deans, presidents, &c. of cathedral churches; all rectors, vicars, curates, &c. of parochial churches, be by the bishop admonished and enjoined, to bring in, and deliver up to him any such books, composed, or set forth by the said Martin, under his name. And to do the same, under the penalties abovesaid. It was dated from his house near Westminster, the 14th of May, 1521.

A commission from the cardinal to bring in all Luther's books.

It began with a pompous enumeration of all his titles; and was directed first to the king, and then to the universal kingdom of England, and all and singular provinces, cities, places, &c. of the said kingdom. And therein he required, that the bishops should do their parts, “Before those damnable and pestiferous errors and heresies, broached by Luther, took place in this kingdom, lest they should take root, as a noxious briar here; and that by the express will and command of the most potent and illustrious prince, (whom the most holy father, namely, *The Defender of the Faith*, called, *The Catholick Faith*) required him (the cardinal) with all possible endeavour to root out, and abolish this heresy, from this his noble kingdom: which resolution was accompanied with a diligent treaty, and exact deliberation with William, archbishop of Canterbury, and other his reverend brethren, prelates of the kingdom: and by his (the said cardinal’s) apostolical authority, commanded all bishops,” &c. But this remarkable commission I recommend to be read at large in the Appendix.

1521.

p. 37.

No. IX.

In the foresaid commission, the cardinal enjoined every bishop to set up upon the folding doors of their cathedral churches, (as likewise they were to order it to be done upon the doors of the churches of the regulars, and parish churches) a list of some of Luther’s pestiferous errors, for all persons to read and avoid, according as they were expressed in a bull of the pope’s (set out in the year 1520, damning Luther, and his writings,) being forty-two in number. And they are these that follow, taken exactly as they stand in the end of the cardinal’s said commission; only I put them into our English language out of the Latin. But whether the pope, and the cardinal from him, have represented all Luther’s doctrines aright, or strained or perverted the sense of any of them, I leave to those that have read his books.

1. It is an heretical opinion, but common, that the sacraments of the new law give justifying grace to them, who do not *ponere obicem*.

Luther’s
pretended
errors
damned by
the pope.
Regist. Ep.
Heret.

1521. 2. To deny sin remaining in a child after baptism, is to trample upon Paul, and Christ.

3. *Fomes peccati*, *i. e.* the fewel of sin, although no actual sin be present, “*Moratur exeuntem è corpore animam ab ingressu cœli;*” *i. e.* stayeth the soul going out of the body, from entrance into heaven.

4. The imperfect love of him that is dying, carrieth necessarily with it great fear, (“*Qui, se solo, satis est facere pœnam purgatorij;*” *i. e.* which alone is sufficient to make the pain of purgatory,) and hindereth entrance into the kingdom.

5. That there be three parts of repentance, contrition, confession and satisfaction, is not founded in the sacred scripture, nor in the ancient, holy Christian doctors.

6. Contrition; which is begotten by discussion, collection, and detestation of sins: whereby one looks back upon the year (past) in the bitterness of his soul, by weighing the weight of his sins, the foulness of them, the loss of eternal happiness, and the procuring of eternal damnation: this contrition makes a hypocrite, yea rather a sinner.

7. It is a most true proverb, and better than all the doctrines of contrition hitherto given, “*De cætero non facere;*” *i. e.* To do so no more.

p. 38. 8. “*Summa pœnitentia, optima pœnitentia, nova vita;*” *i. e.* The chiefest penance, the best penance, is a new life.

9. By no means presume to confess *venial* sins, neither all your *mortal* ones. Because it is impossible you should know all your mortal sins. Whence in the primitive church, they only confessed their manifest mortal sins.

10. While we confess all purely, we do nought else but leave nothing to the mercy of God to pardon.

11. Sins are not pardoned to any, unless, the priest remitting them, he believe they are remitted to him. Yea, sin would remain, unless he believed it remitted. For the remission of sins, and the giving of grace, is not sufficient; but it is needful also to believe they are remitted.

12. Do not by any means believe thereby to be absolved, because of your contrition, but because of the words of Christ, "*Whatsoever ye bind,*" &c. Here, I say, trust; if you obtain the priest's absolution, and believe strongly, you are absolved, and thou shalt be truly absolved, whatsoever become of contrition. 1521.

13. If by reason of some impossibility, the *contrite* be not confessed, or the priest absolve him, not in earnest, but in jest; yet if he believe that he is absolved, he is most truly absolved.

14. In the sacrament of *penance*, and the remission of a fault, the pope, or bishop, doth not more than the lowest priest; yea, where there is not a priest, then any Christian as well; yea, if it were a woman, or a child.

15. None ought to answer the priest, that he is *contrite*; nor the priest to ask it.

16. It is a great error of them, who come to the sacrament of the *Eucharist*; trusting on it, because they have confessed, that they are not conscious to themselves of any mortal sin; because they have premised their prayers and preparations. They all eat and drink, *ad iudicium sibi, i. e.* judgment to themselves. But if they believe and trust, that they shall obtain grace there, this faith alone makes them pure and worthy.

17. *Consultum videtur; i. e.* It seemeth advisable, that the church in a common council, should decree the laics to be communicated under both kinds. Nor are the Bohemians, that communicate under both kinds, hereticks, but schismatics.

18. The treasures of the church, whence the pope giveth *indulgences*, are not the merits of Christ and the saints.

19. *Indulgences* are the pious frauds of the faithful, and the remissions of good works. And are of the number of those things which are lawful, but not of the number of those things which are expedient.

20. *Indulgences* to them, who do indeed obtain

1521. them, are of no avail for the remission of punishment due for actual sins, from divine justice.

21. They are seduced, that believe indulgences are *salutares*; i. e. saving and profitable to the fruit of the spirit.

22. *Indulgences* are necessary only for publick crimes, and are properly granted only *duris et impenitentibus*, i. e. To the hard and impenitent.

p. 39. 23. To six kinds of men, indulgences are neither necessary nor profitable: viz. To the dead, or those that are dying; the sick; *legitimè impeditis*, i. e. those that are lawfully hindred: those that have not committed crimes: those that have committed crimes, but not publick; and them that do better things.

24. *Excommunications* are of external punishment; nor do they deprive a man of the common spiritual prayers of the church.

25. Christians are to be taught rather to love *excommunication*, than to fear it.

26. The pope, the successor of Peter, is not Christ's vicar above all the churches of the whole world; so appointed by Christ himself in blessed Peter.

27. The order to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth," &c. is extended only to those things that are bound by Peter himself.

28. It is certain, it is not at all in the hand of the church, or the pope, to decree articles of faith; no, nor to decree the laws of manners, or of good works.

29. If the pope, with a great part of the church, should think so or so, and should not err; yet it is not sin, or heresy, to think the contrary; especially, in a thing not necessary to salvation; until it be by a general council, the one rejected, the other approved.

30. A way is made us *enarrandi*, i. e. of explaining the authority of councils, and freely contradicting their actions, and judging their decrees; and confidently confessing whatsoever seems true, whether it be approved, or not approved by any council.

31. Some articles of John Huss, that were con-

demned in the Council of Constance, are most Christian, most true and evangelical: which neither the universal church can condemn. 1521.

32. In every good work, the just man sinneth.

33. A good work, done best, is a venial sin.

34. To burn hereticks, is contrary to the will of the Spirit.

35. To war against the Turks, is to impugn God's visiting our sins by them.

36. None is certain, that he doth not always sin mortally, by reason of the hidden vice of pride.

37. Free will, after sin, is a thing *de solo titulo*: and while it doth what in it is, it sinneth mortally.

38. *Purgatory* cannot be proved from the sacred scripture, which is in the canon: (that is, excluding the Apocrypha.)

39. Souls in *purgatory* are not secure of their salvation, at least, all. Nor is it proved by any, either reasons or scriptures, that they are without the state of meriting, or of increasing charity.

40. Souls in *purgatory* sin without intermission, as long as they seek rest, and abhor punishments.

41. Some souls delivered out of *purgatory*, are less blessed by the suffrages of the living, than if they had of themselves satisfied.

42. The prelates of the church, and secular princes would not do ill, if they would destroy *omnes saccos mendicitatis*; (that is, all the habits of the begging friars.)

And then follows, in the cardinal's said commission; p. 40.

Qui quidem errores, &c. "Which errors respectively, how infectious they are, how scandalous, how seducing of pious and simple minds; how, lastly, they are against all charity, and the reverence due to the holy Roman mother church, and all the faithful and the faith, and against the nerve of ecclesiastical discipline, *viz.* obedience: which is the fountain and source of all virtues; without which every man is convinced to be an infidel; there is none of a sound mind is ignorant."

CHAP. III.

Bishop Fisher's book against Luther. The king grants his privilege for printing it; with his commendation of it. A note of the change of the king's mind from the pope afterwards; looked on as a wonder. He shews his zeal for the pope, in an embassy to Ferdinand, archduke of Austria. Sends him the garter. The ceremonies thereof. The cardinal's instructions to the king's ambassadors there. He appointeth a reformation of the clergy throughout both dioceses. Fox, bishop of Winton, his excellent letter to the cardinal thereupon. Stafford reads lectures out of the Holy Scriptures, and St. Paul's Epistles, in Cambridge. Paynel and Thixtel, learned divines there. The cardinal removeth the convocation from St. Paul's to Westminster. The dispute thereupon arising. He summons a new convocation throughout England.

1523.

KING Henry's zeal continued against Luther, and his doctrine; and so much the more from his title, which the pope had lately, by the formal solemnity of his bull, conferred on him: which on occasion he loved to remember and publish. In the year 1523, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, set forth a book against that German friar. As the cardinal, a year or two before, had called in all his books throughout the realm, (as was shewn above) so now it was thought fit to confute him by a learned English bishop's pen. To this book, and the printer, the king gave his countenance, by his letters patents. It was printed at Antwerp, and entitled, "*Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio.*" And round about this title, within a border of pictures, was written in Latin, "*Væ! Prophetis insipientibus,*" &c. And also the same in Greek and Hebrew. That is, "*Woe! to the foolish prophets, which follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing.*" Then on the next page, is King Henry VIII. his privilege to John Addison, B.D. that none should print this book within three years, but himself: "*That so you may not suffer*

Bishop
Fisher's
book
against
Luther,
privileged
by the
king.

p 41.

any loss, in your pious endeavour in furthering this work; as it ran." And in this charter, the king valueth himself for his said title, in these words: "Nos igitur hujusmodi fraudibus occurrere — in iis præsertim promovendis operibus, quæ pro Ecclesiâ Catholicâ et Fide Christianâ militant. Cujus nos DEFENSIONEM suscepimus, quemadmodum ex cognomento nobis à Summo Pontifice piæ memoriæ Leone Decimo nuper indito, tenemur. Ideoque religionis et ecclesiæ susceptum esse gaudemus patrocinium ab antistite roffensi." That is, "he gave him his privilege to hinder the frauds of printing upon him, especially in works that fought for the Catholick Church, and Christian Faith: whereof he had taken upon him the DEFENCE, as he was bound to do by the name put upon him by pope Leo, of pious memory. And that therefore he was glad, that the patronage of religion and the church was undertaken by that bishop."

Insomuch that King Henry's altering his mind some years after from the Roman see, was looked upon as a wonder. Which was thus expressed by a learned writer, and ambassador, near that time; in these words. "Of the miracles and wonders of our times, I take the change of our sovereign lord's opinion, in matters concerning religion, to be even the greatest. There was no prince in Christendom, but he was far liker to have changed, than our sovereign lord. He was their pillar, and bare them up a great while. They gave him fair titles for his so doing, and honoured his name in all their writings. Was it not a *wonderful* work of God, to get his grace from them to him? To make him their overthrow, whom they had chosen for their Defender? I have oft bidden my countrymen to mark the proceedings of God, sithence this change with Henry VIII. his chosen lieutenant in England, and our only lord and head under Christ, and his Father. I still say, as I have said, whoso marketh how tenderly God preserveth his highness; he is either exceedingly blind,

The king's
change
from the
Roman
See. Mory-
son's
Invect.

1523. or else he well perceiveth God to be enemy to all them that love not his grace. Where before he was called king, and yet had, against all right and equity, a ruler above him: which always enforced himself to keep his, and all the rest of his subjects, in servitude, error and idolatry, God hath made him, as all his noble progenitors of right ought to have been, a full king; that is, a *ruler*, and not *ruled*, in his own kingdom, as others were. God hath delivered his highness from the bondage of the Bishop of Rome, his subjects from error, and his realm from the foul sin of idolatry," &c.

These are the words of Sir Richard Morison; a man of note in this king's reign, and sometime his ambassador to the emperor; in a book of his called, "An Invective against Treason."

The king
excites
Archduke
Ferdinand
against the
Lutheran
heresy.

But we return back to the king, in the time when he was this zealous servant of the pope. Another mark thereof, and of his abhorrence of Luther, he shewed in an embassy he sent this same year, *viz.* 1523, to Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria; in the oration made to him by Lee, the king's almoner, and one of the four ambassadors now sent. A part of which oration was, "Highly to commend his zeal against those detestable and damnable heresies of Friar Martin Luther; saying, that nothing could be more acceptable to the king, (who, as well with his sword as with his pen, had always endeavoured himself to the tuition and defence of Christen faith) than to hear and understand, that his good cousin and nephew shall persist in this his godly and meritorious purpose; considering how largely, by little and little, the said heresies have pullute, grown and infected a great part of Almayne: which, remaining the present discourse, divisions and werris among Christen princes, is right daungerous to the hoole Catholick faith; in case the good princes, with their temporal assistance, as the heads of the church, with their spiritual power do not briefly see for the correction, suppression and reformation thereof. Wherein, like as the king's

p. 42.

grace had, doth and woll for his partie, apply his intyre mind and study; so he doth instantly desire the archduke to do his semblable: not doubting, but besides the eternal peace that he shall thereby deserve of Almighty God, many notable good effects, as well general as particular, shall thereof ensue, to the quiet, tranquillity and unity of all Christendome." 1523.

This embassy of the king to the archduke was very splendid, as he affected pomp and magnificence in all his business and transactions abroad, and with foreign princes: and withal sending now the order of the garter to that prince; that it might be done with a high veneration towards that English saint, St. George. Lighting upon this original commission of the king to his ambassadors sent to the said Ferdinand, and his instructions to them, I think it worthy entering; containing things of curious remark, especially as to the ceremonies of admitting that archduke to the order; and our historians taking little notice of this embassy. It therefore follows.

"INSTRUCTIONS geven by the king's highness, to his right trusty counsellors, the Lord Morley, Sir William Hussey, knight, and Master Edward Lee, Archdeacon of Colchester, and almoner to his highness: touching such order, form, and maner, as they with the principal king of armes, named Garter, shall observe, in presenting and delivering of the gartier, and habit of that noble order, with the other ornaments thereunto belonging; unto his dearest cousin and nephew, Don Fernando, Archduke of Austrice, Earl of Tirol," &c.

"HENRY R.

"FIRST, After most cordial and effectual recommendations, with presentation of the king's letters unto the said archduke, the said Master Edward Lee, for and in the name of his collegys and himself, shall make a convenient oration, in as compendious maner

The king's instructions to his ambassadors to Archduke Ferdinand. MSS. Joh. D. Episc. Ely.

1523. as he can devise. Wherein, after lawds given unto the said noble order of the garter, and mention of the manifold excellent vertues, and merits of the king's highness, being head and sovereign of the same; he shall say, That the king's grace having in continual and fresh remembrance the auncient amities, intelligences and confederations of long time, formerly rooted and established betwene the House of Englon, and the House of Spaine, Austria, and Burgoyne: whereof the archduke is lineally descended; and remembring also, that by sondrie ways the fast conjunction betwene the same houses, is of late days more and more increased, and augmented with indissoluble knots of love, as well by proximity of blood, affiance and alliance, contracted on either side; as also by most necessary bonds, treaties and conventions past, in that behalf:

p. 43.

“Considering furthermore, the vertuous, princely and honourable qualities, wherewith Almighty God hath endued the said archduke, largely reported to the king's highness by many ways to his great renowne, and the king's singular joy and gladness;

“Hath of long time studied and devised, how or by what means, his grace might, not only shew some manifest demonstration of gratuity and kindness, in comprobation of the great love, singular and tender affection, which his highness beareth to his seid dearest cousin, and nephew, but also attribute and give unto him some increase and furtherance of honour and reputation: And forasmuch as the ancient and noble order of the garter, which of old time hath been founded and established within this realm, with many lawdable, vertuous and honourable constitutions, in the honour of Almighty God, our Lady St. Mary, and the blessed martyr St. George; hath been and is conferred by the sovereign and companions of the same, to many great emperors, kings and princes, and also to other noble, active, and valiant persons; whereby hath ensued unto them, great increase and exaltation of honour and glory: the king's highness

could not, ne can imagine or devise a thing of higher or greater estimation, wherewith at this present time, his grace might honour his seid good cousin, and nephew, than with the said order. 1523.

“And for that cause, by the common consent, concord and agreement of the said companions, his grace, in a chapitre of the said noble order, lately celebrate and holden, hath elected, chosen, admitted, and taken the said archduke, to be oon of the companions of the same: and hath at this time depeched towards him his said counsellors, not only to visit and salute him on his graces behalf, but also to present and deliver unto him all such habit and ornaments as belong unto the said order; and further to ripe, inform and instruct him in the specialities and particularities of all such goodly and notable ordinances, provisions and statutes, as be to be observed by the companions of the same: according to a book, containing the verray true copie and tenor of the said ordinances. And albeit this usage and custom is, after such election past, first, to intimate and notify the same unto the prince, or other person elect, for knowledge of his mind and pleasure, whether he can be content to receive and accept it, or not: yet, nevertheless, forasmuch as both from the emperor, as from the Lady Margaret, and otherwise, the king's grace hath been many times advertised, that the said archduke hath been, and is desirous to be accompanied, associate and taken into the said noble order: his highness therefore, without other intimation preceding, hath frankly, liberally, and lovingly sent unto him at oon time, as well knowledge of the said election, as also the habits and ornaments aforesaid. Trusting undoubtedly, that like as this election hath proceeded of intyre, perfect and singular love, favour, and special affection, which the king's highness, and all the said companions, have and do bear to the said archduke; so he will thankfully receive, admit and accept the same. Wherein, or any other thing, the king's grace may do to his honour, surety or exal-

p. 44.

1523. tation, his highness wol be always ready and joyous, as may be devised: offering unto him, that if in this realm, or other the king's dominions, there be any thing which may be to the contentation and pleasure of the said duke, the king's highness being advertised thereof, shall and wol see the same his pleasure, to be furnished with glad and good hert.

“And in the latter end of his oration, the said Master Lee shall largely and amply extend the great lawd, praise and estimation, which the said duke doth attain, in that he, like a good Catholick, and vertuous prince, doth with all effect impugn the detestable, dampnable heresies of Freer Martin Luther: saying, that nothing can be more joyous, or acceptable to the king's highness, who as well with his sword, as with his pen,” &c. as before.

Then the king's instructions proceeded after this manner: “That upon a time convenient, being assigned, either at the same open audience, or apart, the king's said ambassadors shall perceive to stond with the pleasure of the said duke, for due solempnities to be observed, and he first made privy to the tenor, as well of the oath, as of the statutes of the said order, as to reason it doth appertain, there shall follow in his investiture, the ceremonies hereafter following.

The manner of the investiture.

“First, they shall present their commission, causing the same to be openly redd: and that don, the said Master Edward Lee, shall exhibit unto him the copy of the othe, appertaining to the companions of the said order; requiring him, after the same seen and perused, to make his corporal othe, for the inviolable observance of all such ordinances and statutes as appertain to the same; like as by the tenor of the statutes, every companion of that order is used to do; in form following.

The oath taken.

“Ego FERNANDUS Dei Gra. Archidux Austrie, Comes Tirolis, et Honorificentissimi, atque approbatissimi Ordinis Garterij Miles, et Confrater Electus, Juro ad hec Sancta Dei Evangelia, per me corpora-

liter tacta, quòd omnia, et singula statuta, leges et ordinationes ipsius dignissimæ, benè, sincerè et inviolabiliter observabo. Ita me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia.” 1523.

“Th’ othe taken, the Lord Morley shall deliver the garter unto him, and cause the same in good and honourable manner, to be put about his legg: the said Master Lee saying these words, ‘Ad laudem et honorem summi ac Omnipotentis Dei, intemerate Virginis, et Matris sue Marie, ac gloriosissimi Martyris GEORGIJ hujus ordinis patroni, circum cingo tibiam tuam hoc garterio; ut posses in justo bello firmiter stare, ac fortiter vincere, in signum ordinis, et augmentum tui honoris.’ The garter. p. 45.

“That done, the said Lord Morley shall deliver unto the said archduke, the gown of purple colour; causing him to apparel himself with the same; the said master Lee saying these words following, at the doing on of the same, ‘Accipe vestem hanc purpuream: qua semper munitus non verearis pro fide Christi, libertate ecclesiæ, et oppressorum tuitione, fortiter dimicare, et sanguinem effundere, in signum ordinis, et augmentum tui honoris.’ The gown.

“Followingly, the said Lord Morley shall cause the said archduke to do unto him the mantle of blew velvet, with the scute of the cross of St. George, environed with a garter: the said Master Lee saying these words, ‘Accipe chlamydem celestis coloris, clypeo crucis insignitam: cujus virtute atque vigore, semper protectus hostes superare, et preclarissimis tuis meritis gaudia tandem celestia promereri valeas, in signum ordinis, et augmentum tui honoris.’ The mantle; with the shield of the cross

“And when the said duke shall be so apparelled, the said Lord Morley shall put the image of St. George about his neck: the said Master Lee saying these words: ‘Imaginem gloriosissimi martyris GEORGIJ hujus ordinis patroni, in collo tuo deferas. Cujus fultus presidio hujus mundi prospera et adversa sic pertranseas, ut hostibus corporis et anime devictis, non modo temporalis militie gloriam, sed perhennis The Image of St. George.

1523. victorie palmam recipere valeas, in signum ordinis, et augmentum tui honoris.’

The pride
and obsti-
nacy of the
French
king.

“ And after solempnities done and performed, the king’s said ambassadors, among other devices with the said duke, shall, on the king’s behalf, give unto him lawds and thanks for his good conformity, in sending his consent and commission for the treaty with the Venetians : which after long tracts of time, thanked be God, is now comen to good, perfet, and final effect. Whereby undoubtedly, shall ensue grete advantage and ferdele to the common affairs of the emperor, the king’s grace, and other their friends, confederates and allies. Praying him from time to time to incline, herken and lean to such things as may be to the benefit of the seid common causes, and to the mitigation of the insatiable pride and obstinacy of the French king. By whose means the contentious discords and werres be raised and continued in Christendom. So as by his good assistance, and joyning effectually, as is aforesaid, the seid French king may be the rather enforced, and compelled to know himself; and to come to such reasonable and honourable conditions of peace, as may be to the pleasure of God, the reasonable satisfaction of other princes grieved, and the quiet of all the states of Christ’s church and religion.

p. 46.

“ Finally, the king’s seid ambassadors shall omit no good and kind demonstration, which they can make in confirmation of the sincere love which the king’s grace berith to the seid archduke. And in all their communications and devices, so to use themselfe, that he may perceive, what good favour, mind and affection, the king’s grace bereth unto him. So as by their good dexterity and wisdom, good love, integrity and amity, now much more necessary to be advanced among princes, may the more perfectly and assuredly be increased between them both. And their seid affairs, and business spedily don, and honorably executed, they shall, at a time convenient, take their leave, and so return.”

To which the cardinal subjoined his own letter to the said ambassadors, being still the great director of all state affairs. 1523.

“ To my loving friends, the Lord Morley, Master Edward Lee, the king’s almoner, Sir William Huse, knight, and Master Garter, king at arms.

“ Right well beloved, this shall be oonly to advertise, that albeit the king’s commission made unto you for presentment of the order of the garter, unto Don Fernando, and his investiture with the same, there is no special mention made, in what articles yee shall now dispense with the said archduke : yet nevertheless, by a general clause in the latter end in the seid commission, yee be amply authorized to do as much in all things that may concern that matier, as though the king’s grace were present himself : by authority of which general words, the king’s pleasure is, that if there shall be reasonable exception made by the seid Don Fernando, at any of the articles and statutes of the seid order, bicause he percase may think the same to be somewhat strait ; yee shall, by your discretion, moder and qualify, and dispense with the same, as by your wisdomes shall be thought convenient. Foreseeing always, that the principal and material points of the order be not omitted, or forborn. And the semblable may ye, Master Almoner, and Sir William Huse, do with the Duke of Ferrare, in case ye, being advertised that he wol receive the same order, shall procede and pass unto him for that purpose. And fare yee hertily well. At Hampton Court, the 26th day of August.

Your loving friend,

T. CAR^{lis}. Ebor.

Complaints now abounded against the manners of the clergy, their oppressions, extortions and vexations of the laity, as well as against their corrupt and loose lives ; the cardinal, to shew his resentment of these crimes, as well as the exercise and shew of his legantine authority, did, about the year 1523, or 1524,

The cardinal to the abovesaid ambassadors, in case of an exception of the archduke.

The cardinal institutes a visitation for reformation of clergy and laity.

1523.
Regist.
York.

resolve upon a remedy, by a general visitation. And for that purpose summoned the clergy of both provinces in the kingdom, “*Ad tractand. de reformatione tum laicorum, tum ecclesiasticorum;*” 22. Apr. to appear before him in the church of Westminster.

Excited
thereto by
Fox, bishop
of Win-
chester.
Cott. Libr.
Faustina.
c. 7.

Fox, bishop of Winchester, to whom Wolsey had been chaplain, and who had preferred him at first to court, took this opportunity to excite the cardinal to this good work of reformation, so much needed; the cardinal having before signified the same to him. In answer to which, he wrote the cardinal a large letter, which coming from such a person, could not but bear a sway with him. It began very endearingly, “*Reverendissime Pater, et domine mihi unice semper observande, saltem. plurimam et optatum votorum omnium successum.*” The sum of his letter to him consisted, “*In shewing him the great pleasure and comfort he took in his (the cardinal’s) letter that he had sent him; understanding thereby his purpose of entring upon a reformation of the whole body of the clergy, and had resolved upon a particular day to proceed upon it; and given notice to him, and others concerned, accordingly.*” And that such a happy day, he (the bishop) had now a long time as earnestly desired to see, as Simeon in the gospel looked for the Messiah’s coming. And that since he had received the cardinal’s letters, he seemed to taste and feel a reformation of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy of England, more full and exact, than he could before in that age have divined, much less hoped for. That he (the bishop) for his part, according to his power, had endeavoured to do it, in that peculiar and small jurisdiction of his, which his excellent lordship had resolved to do in both provinces of the kingdom: and that for almost three whole years, he had diligently set himself to do, and placed all his study, labour, vigilancy and pains about. Wherein he came to understand, (which he could not so much as have thought before) that all that belonged to the antient integrity of the clergy, and especially of the monks,

p. 47.

His letter
to the car-
dinal here-
upon.

were so depraved by licences, and corruptions, or by the malignancy and length of time quite abolished, that it encreased both labour and pains to him, now spent with age, and took away all hope ever of seeing a perfect and absolute reformation, in that his private diocese. 1523.

“ But now, by his lordship’s letters, he was arrived to an assured hope and expectation, shortly to see an universal and publick reformation; since it was well known, and evidently perceived, by many experiments, that whatsoever his lordship attempted, and took in hand, he did most prudently and constantly, without interruption or delay, dispatch and most happily finish. That there was in him an incomparable knowledge, both of divine and human things; and was in special favour and authority, both with the king, and his holiness the pope: which he had hitherto made use of with such circumspection, that he had obtained throughout the world the greatest praise, and the most ample fame. And that now from his most renowned legation, wherein by his sole pains were now made and confirmed the leagues between the Most Christian Princes, he determined to turn to the reforming and composing of the state and order ecclesiastical: whence he would cary away solid and immortal glory, both with God, and all posterity: and was so much more preferable to all others, who, in people’s memory, had been sent any whither, from the pope *a latere*, as peace was more desirable than war, and the clergy more holy and venerable than the laity,” &c.

He praiseth the cardinal, for his conduct.

“ He doubted not, (as he proceeded) but that he would make and establish many good laws, for the regulation and government of both clergy and regulars, so much the more easily and happily, since the king, he believed, had exhorted and given him encouragement to undertake it; and would impart to him all his authority and assistance that he should desire; as also all the prelates, the bishops especially, (unless he were much deceived) would cheerfully give their

1523. assents and endeavours thereto. And that for his
 part, his mind was most gladly forward to do the
 p. 48. same. And by this means of a reformation of the
 clergy, he thought the common people would be
 pacified, that were always crying out against them;
 and would give a lustre afterwards to them, and
 reconcile the king himself and all the nobility to
 them: and so being more pleasing to Almighty God
 than all sacrifices, whatsoever remained of his course
 of life, he would willingly lay it out to compass the
 same." He dated this letter from Marwells: which
 is now a fine manor belonging to Corpus Christi
 College, Oxon; of which that good bishop was
 No. X. founder. This excellent letter in Latin must be
 preserved.

This good resolution of the cardinal, and this
 letter of Bishop Fox, gives a better representation of
 his virtues, than is commonly received and taken up
 of him. And that no more good came of this com-
 mendable purpose of his, to reform the ignorance
 and vices of the priests and monks, may probably
 be attributed to their craft in diverting this reforma-
 tion from themselves, towards those that favoured
 Luther and his doctrines.

Stafford
 reads lec-
 tures out of
 the holy
 scriptures
 in Cam-
 bridge.

Something at this time looked towards reformation
 of corrupt religion. For the holy scriptures came
 into some request, by occasion of the readings of
 Stavord, or Stafford, a learned man of Pembroke
 Hall, in Cambridge: who read publick lectures in
 divinity out of the sacred books of scripture. A
 thing so much taken notice of, that in a MS. kept
 in that college, concerning the masters and fellows
 of that house, George Stavert, alias Stafford, of
 Durham, B. A. anno 1515, and chosen fellow of
 Pembroke Hall; and made deacon at Ely, anno
 1517, is noted to be the first, who publicly read
 lectures out of the scriptures, when before they read
 only the sentences. He was reader of divinity, 1524,
 for four years; and about the same time, B.D. And
 anno 1530, his books were brought into their library,

De Custod.
 et Sociis
 Pembro-
 chian.
 T. Baker,
 B.D.

as it seems, being his gift; and had this epigraph written on them, in memory of him and his lectures. 1524.

Augustini opera oia', Testamentum et utrùmque
Hebraicè et Græcè, huc contulit ille Stavert.
Contulit ille Stavert, nostris studiis promovendis;
Qui Paulum explicuit ritè, et Evangelium.

The false quantities in the verses must be excused to that age, or to some young versifier; but the sense of them is, that this Stafford, or Staverd, bestowed on them all S. Augustin's works, and the whole Old and New Testament in Hebrew and Greek: and as he gave them these books, so, for the furthering their studies, he explained and gave the right sense of S. Paul, and the Gospel.

He was proctor of that university, 1523; and university preacher. A reverend and worthy member of S. John's College, added in the margin a passage of great remark, shewing one of his auditors to have been afterwards a bishop and martyr; *viz.* Latymer. Who, in his seventh sermon upon the Lord's Prayer, thus speaks: "When I was at Cambridge, Mr. George Stafford read a lecture there. I heard him. And in expounding the Epistle to the Romans, where he came to that place where S. Paul saith, that *we shall overcome our enemy with well doing*, &c. It was even at that time, when Dean Colet was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary."

Rev. T.
Baker.

p. 49.

Contemporary with Stafford, were also two of the same college, great scripture-men; *viz.* Nic. Paynel, of Yorkshire, elected fellow 1515; publick mathematick lecturer. One of this surname set forth a little book in the year 1550; containing only remarkable sentences taken out of the holy scriptures, suitable to the Christian on all occasions; and dedicated it to the Lady Mary's grace. The other was John Thixtel, of the diocese of Norwich, university preacher, 1522. This man was reported to be of authority in divinity; and that the disputants used publickly (and he pre-

Paynel and
Thixtel, his
contempo-
raries.

1524. sent) to say, Thixtel *dixit*. And Caius said, “Thixtel homo singularis eruditionis nostrâ memoriâ.”

The convocation sits at Paul's : called by the cardinal to Westminster.

A parliament now sat, anno 1524; and a convocation also was summoned at the same time by the Archbishop of Canterbury : and the clergy of the province, as customary, sat at S. Paul's. The chief business the king had with his parliament now, was money : which he was in such need of, that a very extraordinary subsidy was required ; greater than had been ever known to be laid upon the subject at once. This occasioned mighty opposition in the house ; such only as depended upon the court favouring this bill. But at last, by means of the court party, it passed. And the king's necessities requiring ready money, the cardinal took it upon him, and swore to get a loan soon ; and that with the good will and thanks too, from certain, by such methods as he should take.

The convocation also, that he might probably shew his superior power to the archbishop, but chiefly to have the clergy nearer to him, to compass his ends upon them, he cited the very next day after their first session, from Paul's to Westminster, to sit and transact business there. In obedience to him, they did so. But a few days after, better considering what they had done, or were to do, some of the priests shewed at that convocation, that that removal was irregular ; and that all that they should do there, would be of no force. So that the cardinal was fain to institute, and call anew, another convocation, of all the clergy universally.

But to take a larger and a more particular view of this remarkable occurrence, both in parliament and convocation, take it in a secret letter, written by some member of parliament, without name, to the earl of Surrey, then the king's chief lieutenant of his army in the north parts.

Opposition to a money bill in parliament. Titus, B. 1.

“ Pleasith your good lordship to understand, that sithence the beginning of the parliament, there hath been the greatest and sorest hold in the lower house

for the payment of two shillings of the pound, that ever was seen, I think, in any parliament. This matter hath been debated, and beaten fifteen or sixteen days together. The highest necessity alledged on the king's behalf to us, that ever was heard of: and, on the contrary, the highest poverty confessed, as well by knights, esquires and gentlemen of every quarter: as by the commoners, citizens and burgesses, there hath been such hold, that the house was like to have been dissevered. That is to say, the knights being of the king's council, the king's servants and gentlemen of the one party; which in so long time were spoken with, and made to see, yea, it may fortune, contrary to their heart, will and conscience. Thus hanging this matter yesterday, the more part being the king's servants, gentlemen, were there assembled: and so they, being the more part, willed and gave to the king, two shillings of the pound of goods or lands, the best, to be taken for the king. All lands to pay two shillings of the pound fro the laity, to the highest. The goods to pay two shillings of the pound, fro twenty pound upward: and from forty shillings of goods, to twenty pound; to sixteen pence of the pound. And under forty shillings, any person to pay eight pence. This to be paid in two years. I have heard no man in my life, that can remember, that ever there was given to any one of the king's auncestors half so much at one graunt. Nor, I think, there was never such a president seen before this time. I beseeke Almighty God, it may be well and peaceably levied; and surely passed unto the king's grace, without grudge; and especially, without loosing the good will and true hearts of his subjects: which I reckon as far greater treasure for the king, than gold and silver. And the gentlemen that must take pains to levy this money among the king's subjects, I think, shall have no little business about the same."

This gentleman's conjecture proved true in the parts of Suffolk; where there was an insurrection of

Summary
of Chron.
fol. 318. b.

1524. four thousand people against the duke, and other commissioners, upon their collection of this tax; but appeased by the Duke of Norfolk: as there was a murmuring about it in other places of the realm. But to go on with the letter.

“ My lord cardinal hath promised on his faith, that the two shillings of the pound of loan money shall be paid with a good will, and with thanks. But no day is appointed thereof,” &c.

The cardinal's convocation at Westminster.

“ Also, the convocation among the priests, the day of their appearance, as soon as mass of the Holy Ghost at Paul's was done, my lord cardinal acited also them to appear before his convocation at Westminster: which so did; and there was another mass of the Holy Ghost. And within six or seven days, the priests proved, that all that my lord cardinal's convocation should do, it should be void; because that their summons was to appear before my lord of Canterbury. Which thing so espised, my lord cardinal hath addressed a new citation into every country, commaunding the priests to appear before him eight days after the Ascension. And then I think they shall have the third mass of the Holy Ghost. I pray God, the Holy Ghost be among them, and us both.

“ I do tremble to remember the end of all these high and new enterprizes. For oftentimes it hath been seen, that to a new enterprize, there followeth a new maner, and strange sequel. God of his mercy send his grace unto such fashion, that it may be for the best. Written on Ascension Day, by him that, during his life, shall be glad to be at your commaundment with his service.”

No name subscribed.

CHAP. IV.

p. 51.

The king assisteth the emperor against France. He consulteth with the cardinal about forces to be sent to him to Italy. Six thousand archers. The cardinal's book drawn up for that purpose: and his letters thereupon to the king. The king's ambassadors at Rome. The cardinal's letters of instruction to them, concerning the affairs then in hand. To Clark, bishop of Bath: to Pace, ambassador to the Venetians. And to Dr. Knight, ambassador with the Lady Margaret, governess of the Low-Countries. His instructions to him concerning the King of Denmark; beaten out of his kingdom.

IN this year 1524, King Henry the VIIIth, and the emperor, were in league against Francis, the French king. Who was now with a very potent army in Italy, laying siege to Pavia; and had before attempted the taking Milan, and Naples. This awakened all Italy, and put both pope and emperor under great apprehensions. Now it was certain, the vigorous interposing of the king of England in these affairs, would tend much to the stopping of Francis his successes. From the emperor, Wolsey was in expectation of his interest for the papacy, when it should become void. By several popes he had been greatly obliged before: having been made a cardinal by Leo, in the year 1515; invested by the next pope, Adrian, in the legantine power, from five years to five years. Pope Clement, anno 1524, upon the application of Secretary Pace unto him in that behalf, confirmed the said power to him during his life (a thing never done before) and besides, gave him a bull to suppress the monastery of St. Frideswide, Oxon, in order to the building of a college of learning there. He therefore for these causes, partly out of gratitude, and partly out of further expectation, was very industrious in aiding the emperor, and pope, against the French king, and in keeping King Henry warm in the quarrel.

1524.

The cardinal obliged on the pope and emperor's side. And why.

1524.

The king
prepares
to assist
the em-
peror: con-
sults the
cardinal.

The king was now hastening his preparation of forces for the assistance of the emperor, being in league with him; and the French king having lost his friendship by divers fractions of the peace with England. And here the cardinal (being now, as it seems, in Calais) was again by the king, required to give his advice, in divers respects; as what supplies were fit to be sent; and under what commanders; and for the raising them. For all which purposes he sent the king a book, by him devised. And therein he had concluded upon providing six thousand archers: (in which warlike skill, the English nation were renowned) sending the names of such captains as should have the command over them: and that he had appointed Sir William Sandes their chief. The king liked all the cardinal had done; only making some enquiries and scruples in some particulars. In all which he gave the king his reasons and considerations, in matter of policy, and foresight; but with great deference ever to the king's wisdom and pleasure. All which will appear at large, by the cardinal's own letter to the king, which I set down from his own minutes.

p. 52.

The cardi-
nal to the
king, con-
cerning
forces to be
sent to the
emperor.

“That by letters from his secretary, bearing date at Windsor, the 4th day of that instant month, he perceived, that his grace had thoroughly viewed, perused and seen the book by him (the cardinal) devised, for putting the number of six thousand archers in a readiness. And that albeit his highness allowed the most part of the said book; yet as touching the deputing of Sir William Sandes to be chieftain, he (the king) thought it not expedient, as well for such cause and considerations, as in other letters heretofore sent to him by his commandment, were expressed; as also for the sure keeping of his town of Calais. Shewing furthermore, that in the lieu and place of the said Sir William Sandes, he had named the Earl of Essex, for his hardiness to be right meet for that purpose, having sad counsellors adjoining to him.”

Concerning which he thus bespake the king: "Sir, when I devised the said book, though I had little leisure, in journeying by the way, to permit a matter of so mighty importance; yet after my best intendment, I applied myself in such wise to direct and order the same, as should be to the contentation of your pleasure. And albeit, some business was in foreseeing and devising, where the said archers mowght be found, yet I fear me, it shall be more difficulty to compleat the number, when certificates shall be made. And inasmuch as in my last letters I have declared unto your grace, the cause and reasons moving me to name said Sir William Sandes to be chieftain, rather then any of the other lords, by your grace before named, therefore I can no more say, but conform my mind to your gracious pleasure; and, like as your grace thinketh the Earl of Essex to be covenable and proper for that room, so am I of semblable opinion. Though the degree of the person considered, he should be more costly to your grace, than the other. And as to any danger that should ensue to this, your town of Calais, (over which Sandes was the king's deputy) by the absence of the said Sir William Sandes, I see no such imminent peril by siege, or otherwise. For when your archers shall be joined with the emperor's puissaunce, the army of France shall be in such wise occupied, that they shall have little leisure, either to mind, or accept the siege of Calais, but rather enforced to look to the defence of themselves, their own towns, and holds. And for that cause, the Knights of Kent being neer hand, and soonest in a readiness, were thought right meet, when they, with the emperor's puissance, proceeding in war against France, should not need to be sent to Calais, as above.

"Yet nevertheless, (as the cardinal proceeded submissively to the king) as it should stand with his pleasure, so he must and would be contented: thinking Sir Randolph Brereton, with the other knights by

1524. his grace appointed, to be convenient in the lieu and places of the Knights of Kent.

p. 53. “And that whereas his grace supposed, that after the aid of six thousand archers were sent to the emperor, he (the king) should soon after be driven to pay another army to be sent after; Sir, (said he) I consider the time of the year so far gone, that after the expiring of two or three months, the war for this year must of necessity cease. And therefore, if more speedy provision be not made for putting the archers in a readiness, I suppose that two months shall expire, before yee may send them to the seaside; and so their coming thither to give assistance, wol be too late. And thus, finally, the time of the year would be then passed, to prepare any other army to be sent after.

“And whereas his grace thought, that so few halbardiers, with so many archers, did not well agree; he replied, Sir, if the halbardiers had been by me appointed to back your archers, verily, it had been a proportion full unmeet, and not equal. But inasmuch as your archers shall be backed and defended with the horsemen of the emperor’s army, this small number of halbardiers were appointed, not only to establish every captain of your archers, but also to conduct and keep the carriage and baggages. And therefore the cause, why the same albardiers were appointed, was well considered to the proportion of the number (of archers) and is convenient.

“And whereas his grace (the king,) knowing, by experience, of his last wareys, that so many archers could not shoot together, unless one should slee another, thought therefore the number to be very large, though hee was minded fully to furnish the same, (which was another scruple of the king’s to the cardinal.)” Hereupon he again gave this reply: “Sir, as to that, I confess your opinion to be true. Howbeit, taking respect to the sundry and many wards, and armies, that the emperor intendeth to set forth,

your archers shall be lotted and appointed in good number to every part. So that they shall have room inow to bestow their shot, without such damage to kill each another. And, Sir, sorry I am, that your grace doth defer sending forth of your letters, for putting your archers in a readiness, till the receipt of this my answer. For albeit yee mowght have respited the directing of your letters to such as yee mind shall not pass this voyage, yet to all others it had been expedient to address the said letters with all diligence. For the time so passeth away, that your said archers can scant be ready to pass the sea, within the space of these two months. And then percase it wol be too late to send them. For remembring the time of sending forth your letters, with the season that the parties must have to elect and put the archers in order, considering the respite that they must have to make their certificate, and the tract of time that is requisite to conceive and send forth your other letters unto them, and every of them, for declaration of your pleasure; sending up such number of archers as they have prepared; the time of two months wol be soon spent, and pass. Wherefore, Sir, diligence would be used therein.

1524.

“And though more number than six thousand were put in a readiness, it were none inconvenient. For percase every man to whom your letters be addressed, shall not completely furnish their numbers; and though they do so, yet when musters shall be taken of them, they may be found insufficient, and not able to be sent forth. Besides other casualties by death, or otherwise; whereby they should lack of the six thousand. And therefore it were right expedient to provide above your number, to serve for any purpose by sea or land, when the case shall require.

p. 54.

“Finally, whereas his grace had reserved Sir Richard Sacheverill for such a consideration as was touched in his secretaries letters: to this he answered in these words: I signify unto your grace, that one cause moving me to set him in the book, was, for his dis-

1524. crete wisdom to be treasurer of your warrys; and the other, for that betwixt the Lord Hastings and him, a good number of archers might be provided. The order whereof, I now commit to your high wisdom and pleasure."

His letters
to the
king's am-
bassadors
in Rome,
viz.
No. XI.

There were now at Rome, in quality of ambassadors from the King of England, Clark, Bishop of Bath, Richard Pace, the king's secretary, and Thomas Annibal, master of the rolls. I have inserted in the Appendix, a letter of Pace to the king, from the emperor's camp, concerning the state of his army in Italy. In this juncture, to the two former the cardinal wrote his letters. Wherein may appear his great dexterity in the managery of publick affairs, the fineness of his politicks, and what a great over-ruling hand hee had in the English state. And by all these we may collect, what a great figure he made in the Christian world at that time.

To the
Bishop of
Bath. The
contents of
his letter to
him.

To the Bishop of Bath he wrote, how considering the great intricacy of the matters of Italy, and the fear of the Frenches overpowering the emperor, and of his gaining those two important places of Naples and Milan, the best means, that the king and hee could invent for the remedy of the same, consisted in these three devises. One, the giving the French king battel; and to suffer the Duke of Albany to pas into Naples, whether he was sent by the French king, but had been under difficulty of arriving there, by the adverse army lying in the way thither. Secondly, That an enterprize should be made upon the Duke of Albany, and his company, in his passage toward Naples. Thirdly, A compromission to be made on such parties, as either the emperor, or the French king, have in the Dutchy of Milan, into the pope's hand *per viam depositi*. These English counsels were by the said Bishop of Bath, to be communicated to the pope. And withal hee was to bee told, that Pace should be dispatched to the Venecian, to solicit the speedy setting forth their army, to join the emperor.

By the same post he writ also to Pace, signifying how the king was enformed by sundry wayes, and particularly afterward by letters, sent from the Duke of Milan unto his ambassador, resident in England, dated December the 22d, how affairs stood between the French and emperor; and what methods and stratagems were in hand by each. The French for the gaining of Milan and Naples, and the other for the preventing of him. Then he writ of what great importance this matter was: upon the success whereof, as he said, depended many things in Christendom, and particularly in the King of England's affairs. That if the French should conquer Naples and Milan, it would excessively elate him, and remove him further from inclination to peace, than ever he was before. That on the other hand, if the emperor and the allies in Italy were successful, and that the allies were not neglectful in doing their endeavours, according to the pact and league between them made, it might bring the French to great extremity. But that if the Imperialists (as he seemed to fear) should not be strong enough to withstand the French; and that those in alliance with him should, by their remisness and negligence in putting their hand to the remedy, be instrumental to further the French designs; then it were convenient, some politick means should be taken, and entred into in time, rather than to put those two places to extreme hazard. And for these measures, he referred himself to the king's letters, and his to the Bishop of Bath.

1524.
And to
Pace. The
contents of
his letter to
him. Anno
1524.

p. 55.

And then, as to that point of his being appointed by the king to resort to Venice, to oblige that state not to aid and assist the French king, as it seems they had done before, against the Imperial army in Italy; but, on the contrary, to declare themselves enemies to him, according to certain articles of treaty between the king and that state at London; the cardinal advised him to take pains in the bringing this to a good effect. And the rather, because he knew the Venetian now had no great stomach to assist the

And particularly, the cardinal gives directions to Pace, concerning his management of his embassy to Venice.

1524. emperor, as having suspicion of him; as the Lord Herbert mentioneth in his History.

Then he went on to furnish him with arguments, to use to the Venetian: as, the great and imminent danger that would ensue unto all Christendom, and particularly unto their own state, if it should so happen, the French should become masters of Naples and Milan; that they might be sure, he would be no good neighbour unto them. And as an evidence thereof, that the ambassador should mind them, how the late French king brought about a very formidable league against them, of the pope, the emperor, himself, and the King of Spain, and other great princes. And then to take off that, which the cardinal knew was the great matter, which would make them cold in this affair; namely, their jealousy that the emperor would take Milan to himself, and deprive the duke thereof; and that they, knowing how inhumanly the Spaniards had carried themselves in Italy, they might therefore be more willing to suffer the Frenchmen there, they not being so cruel: therefore the ambassador was to say secretly, to the duke and the council, that if the present matter well proceeded, that king trusted to deal so with the emperor, that he should give the investiture of the duchy of Milan unto the duke thereof. Whereby Italy should be delivered both from French and Spaniard. Lastly, that if by their breaking their pacts and conventions with the emperor, they should hereby give the French king advantage to obtain Naples; the King of England must be forced to esteem them the emperor's enemies, and not his friends. Whereby might ensue cause of enmity between the king and them. That he should be tender how he mentioned this; treating them in dulce and gentle manner: mentioning the good intelligence, that had long continued between the realm and that seignory: but not to mention at all a breach with them, unless the ambassador should see a despair of prevailing on them by any other means. And, lastly, that at some convenient time, he should, as from him-

self, persuade the Duke of Venice, how expedient it would be, that the state should have an ambassador in the English court, as well for the continuance of a good understanding between the king and them, as for the forwarding of important matters concerning the seignory. 1524.
p 56.

This letter was dated January the 16th, from his place besides Westminster: which, together with the king's instructions to the said ambassador, may be met with in the Appendix.

No. XII.
XIII.

Near the same time, viz. in March following, the cardinal wrote a letter to Dr. Knight, who was afterward bishop of Bath and Wells, the king's ambassador with the Lady Margaret, governess of the Low Countries. The contents of which letter were, first, to give resolution to the burghmasters of Antwerp, who had complained to that ambassador of gunpowder, which the English merchants had procured for the king, and laid up in the English house. The dangers, that were apprehended thence unto the whole town, made them unwilling it should any longer continue there. They offered also to bear the charges of removing thereof; and to assign a sufficient strong tower for the safety of the same. To which the ambassador had advised the said merchants to condescend and agree. The cardinal writ, "That his advice the king was well pleased with, and was willing that the said powder should be removed unto the said tower; so that good regard were had to the surety thereof, and a watch assigned at the king's charges. That he, the ambassador, should write unto the burghmasters, and acquaint the Lady Margaret, that were it not to have the powder in more readiness, whensoever the common enterprizes should require it, it should have been brought unto Calais before that time. And that it was done, as well for the advancement of the emperor's affairs, as the king's. And that the said burghmasters would take care, that the powder be not in danger by any suspect person."

His letter to Dr. Knight, the ambassador with the Lady Margaret. The contents thereof, Concerning the king's gunpowder in Antwerp.

1524.
Concern-
ing English
men, to be
sent over to
lye in gar-
rison there.

“ That whereas some of the officers in those parts had propounded to the ambassador, that certain English men should be sent over, to lye in garrison on those frontiers; he advised, that that should be passed over in silence by him. Because it were only to draw a charge and expence on the king, for the conservation of those countries; thinking, by such ways and inventions, to burthen the king, and spare themselves.

To dismiss
the provost
of Utrecht
out of her
council,
being of
the French
faction.

“ That the provost of Utrecht was a man always inclined to the French faction; and therefore not safe that he should be participant of the secret affairs and counsels of the king's grace, and the emperor's. That therefore it was dangerous to delay the time of outing him out of the council, until such season as the Lady Margaret might send information to the emperor against him, and receive his answer thereunto. That therefore it was the king's plesure, the ambassador should rehearse unto the Lady Margaret the great danger, wherein the common affairs may be, in case a person so vehemently suspected, should either be present in the counsils there, or have commodity, by such familiarity as he had with any of the council, to hear and understand the secrets of the said common causes. That therefore she should be urged, speedily to expel and remove him out of the said council. And that she should admonish, or compel him to retreat to some place, where he might have no opportunity of coming to the knowledge of any of those affairs. That if he (the ambassador) perceived, this man might be so favoured by any, as that they would not be minded to do this, that then he should assure them, that thenceforth the king would forbear to make them privy to any part of his mind, touching the said common causes: nor would communicate his affairs with the said Lady Margaret, and her council, till such time as the said provost were removed. And that the emperor's ambassador, resident in England, had wrote to the Lady Margaret effectually to the same intent.

“ That whereas he had informed him, that the king was about sending William Gonson, to treat with the king of Denmark’s chancellor, for the buying of a great ship, belonging to the said king; the king being since informed, that the ship was very old and naught, he had changed his mind, and would not intermeddle with it. That therefore he should, by some good policy and device, put off that matter; giving the chancellor notice thereof, that he might dispose of the ship where he pleased.”

1524.
Concerning buying a great ship of the K. of Denmark.

The Lord Houghstrate, one of the Lady Margaret’s court, or council, and herself, had spoken some reflecting words upon the cardinal, and upon the king, on his account. Which coming to the cardinal’s ears, he had stomached. The lady understanding this, probably from Dr. Knight, intreated to have the cardinal himself rehearse what words, it was reported, she, and the said lord, should have spoken against him. This Dr. Knight having, according to her desire, mentioned to the cardinal, he (according to his smooth and courtly temper, namely, to be outwardly very complaisant, whatsoever grudge lay secretly within) instructed the ambassador to make this reply to the Lady Margaret: “ That he was not minded to renew, or report things of displeasure, nor to have any more rehearsal of those words, spoken lately at plesure by the said lady and lord: but that he, the ambassador, should say, that howsoever they were spoken in one way or the other, she and the said Houghstrate made other interpretation then needed, or that they had cause to do. And that the king and he, for the singular affection which they bore to her, knew her of such vertue and wisdom, that whatsoever they might speak in passion, or otherwise, there was no lack of her cordial mind towards his grace, nor of her good will toward him; and so could well pass over. And that whatsoever had been spoken, that she would assuredly persuade herself, that she should find of the king’s highness a fast, constant and perfect friend; and him to be her kind, faithful and loving

The cardinal’s courtly message to the L. Margaret, upon some reflecting words she had spoke concerning him.

1524. son, glad to do her honour and service. And so leaving such rehearsals of words, it should be expedient to think, and attend, and speak of things that concerned the benefit of the common causes. Wherein he should employ his labour, travail and study, to the best of his power, as he had always done hitherto."

p. 58.
That the
ambassa-
dor should
solicit con-
cerning
two Eng-
lish ships
taken by
Flemings,
before
Calais
Haven.

Another instruction he gave the ambassador, was concerning two ships coming out of France toward England, which were taken by certain men of war of Flanders. There being now wars between the emperor (to whom Flanders belonged) and the French king. But these ships had the safe conduct of the king, the emperor, and the French king. They were taken before Calais Haven, and carried into Zealand, or some parts thereabouts. In one of these ships were wines, for the cardinal's provision, and for divers other noblemen. He instructed him, "to make enquiry into this matter; and if he found they were ships coming hither, and had such safe conduit, it was then far disagreeable, he said, to right order and reason, that they should be thus taken for prizes; or that Flemings should lay wait for prizes before Calais Haven. That he should diligently sollicite, that such ships should be redelivered incontinently, and the goods intyrely preserved; and to suffer them to repair hither, according to the safe conduit; as the king's highness daily did permit ships quietly to pass to and from Flanders, by like safe conduit: and that recompence be made for the damage sustained." And to this purpose, the said cardinal had wrote his letters, as he said, to the Lady Margaret.

His in-
structions
in refer-
ence to the
K. of Den-
mark,
beaten out
of his king-
dom.

The last matter of this letter concerned the king of Denmark, who had been beaten out of his kingdom by his people. The king had married the emperor Charles his sister, and had a son by her. A diet was appointed at Hamburg, to treat about the reduction of the said king; to be kept the tenth day of April, anno 1525. The matter between this king and the realm of Denmark, was to be laid before the emperor, and the king of England, and some other princes,

as honourable umpires. The Lady Margaret judged it expedient, that the ambassadors of those princes, arbitrators, should resort to her court first, for knowledge of the certainty of all things, that might be requisite for them to be instructed in concerning this affair. Accordingly, the cardinal gave the ambassador intelligence, "That the king had appointed his ambassadors for this matter, the bishop of S. Asse, whose name was Henry Standish, and Sir John Baker, to be present at the said diet on his behalf: and that they were ready, only desiring to be enformed who were the emperor's ambassadors, and those of the other princes; and in what place they should meet with them; in what manner and form they should order themselves in their journey: whether the emperor's ambassadors should treat with any estates or commissioners, to be deputed from the realm of Denmark: whether the emperor's ambassadors, if need be, should pass into Denmark, or not. Because, as he said, the determination of the king of England was, and is, that his ambassadors should be sent into the said realm, to procure, labour and solicit such things, as might concern the said king's reduction. Wherein the specialties would be known, with the articles and points necessary for them to treat upon. And so praying him to advertise him of all these things, he concluded from his place besides Westminster; dated March 2."

But this embassy had no success; the Danes utterly refusing either to readmit the king, or his son to succeed his father. Such a prejudice had they conceived against the father, for his former cruelties; and such a jealousy of the son, lest he might either imitate his father, or revenge him.

p. 59.

CHAP. V.

The king's letter to Luther, upon his book; and Luther's former letter to the king. The French king taken prisoner by the emperor. By the cardinal's policy, K. Henry enters into a league with that king. Dr. Knight, and Sir Thomas Cheney, and Dr. Taylor, ambassadors to France. Their instructions from the cardinal. Form of the peace drawn up by the cardinal, between the two kings. The king's letter to the emperor, drawn up by the cardinal.

1525.
The king's
letter to
Luther, in
answer to
his. MSS.
D. J. Ep.
Elien.

IN the year 1525, came forth a royal book, being a Second Letter of King Henry against Luther. Luther had taken notice of the king's work with too much freedom, and not with that respect that was due to his crown: so that the king held himself bound in point of honour, as well as in vindication of the Catholick religion, to answer it: and that he thought fit to do, by way of letter again to Luther. And to which was added, Luther's former letter to the king.

This book, being in Latin, bore this title: "*Litterarum, quibus invictissimus princeps HENRICUS Octavus, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor, respondit ad quandam Epistolam Martini Lutheri ad se missam; et ipsius Lutheranæ quoque Epistolæ, Exemplum.*" Upon this book (which I once saw in the late Bishop of Ely's exquisite library) was written, "*Rex Anglorum Regi Hæreticorum scribit.*" It hath a preface "*Pio Lectori.*" Therein is given the occasion of this letter of the king to Luther: viz. "That when Luther began so foolishly to get himself into the king's favour, (by his letter to him) whereby he might abuse his name, the better to commend his faction; the king thought it necessary to signify to all men, that he was not so light to be ensnared by the flatteries of a (*fatui fraterculi*) foolish friar; nor so inconstant, to be driven away by any means from that which he knew to be

See L.
Herb. Hist.
p. 237.

right, and what had been writ by him. And therefore he had answered to all the parts of Luther's letter; that he might shew Luther, not only to Luther himself, but to every one else." 1525.

And then the king's letter began; "Quas tu, Luthere, prima Septemb. An. D. 1525, ad nos mittendas curasti, eas nescio ubinam terrarum diu peregrinatas, tandem aliquando accepimus," &c.

Luther's said letter to the king began,

p. 60.

"Gratiam et pacem in Christo Jesu, Domino et Salvatore nostro, Amen. Luther's letter to the king.

"Quamquam vereri meritò debuerim, Serenissime Rex, Illustrissimeque Princeps, literis majestatem tuam tentare; ut qui mihi conscius maximè sum, gravissimè offensam esse Majestatem tuam libello meo, quem non meo genio, sed incitantibus iis, qui Majestati tuæ parum favebant, stultus et præceps edidi: Tamen," &c.

Then he goes on to excuse his writing against the king's book; and that for this reason: "Because from good witnesses he had learned, that that book, set forth against him under the king's name, was not indeed the king of England's book, as cunning sophisters would pretend, abusing the name of his majesty. But he now was ashamed, he said, to lift up his eyes to his majesty; who had suffered himself by that credulity to be moved against so great a king, by means of those evil workers: especially since he himself was but *fæx et vermis*, i. e. dregs and a worm, in comparison to so great a king," &c.

It was dated from Wittenbergh, the first of September, 1525.

But however this his exaltation of the king, and humbling himself to him, might tend to the appeasing of the king towards him; yet his attempt to deprive him of the glory of that book, could not but provoke him: and especially, that he had reflected with ill words upon the king's great favourite, the cardinal: calling him in this his letter, "Monstrum, et publi-

1525. cum odium Dei et hominum;" and again, "Pestis illa regni tui," *i. e.* A monster, and the publick hate of God and men: and, that plague of your kingdom.

But we turn to the king's great transactions with his neighbour potentates, and the cardinal's considerable influence, and pains taken therein.

The king suddenly estranged from the emperor, by the cardinal's means.

This year there happened a mighty change in the scene of publick affairs; when the prosperous Francis was taken prisoner at Pavia, by the emperor. The king of England, how zealous soever he had been, but a little before, against him, joining with the emperor to pull down Francis, yet now grew cold with the emperor; and even whilst Francis was a captive, entred into a treaty with Louize his mother, the regent of France, in the year after. Such a sudden alteration in the king's mind seemed strange: but it was done by the instigation of the cardinal; who had lately conceived a secret displeasure against the emperor, because he found him not so cordial for his advancement to the popedom, and bare him not so great favour as he expected.

There was a secret overture made by the cardinal to the French king, that he would procure King Henry to break with the emperor, and make peace with him. This the cardinal did: and so both revenged himself upon the emperor, and got 400,000 crowns from France for his pains. This was ordinarily spoke of in France, in those times.

p. 61.

The cardinal suppressed his private malice, and insisted, before the king, upon those more specious causes, of the growing greatness of the emperor, and the danger of the union of two such great princes. Especially, since the captive king had lately at Madril, by a treaty betwixt him and the emperor, commonly call'd The Concord of Madril, agreed to divers things very advantageous to the emperor's affairs. It was thought advisable therefore by King Henry, and his great minister, first, to break that Concord; and, secondly, to enter into a strict league with K. Francis;

though the king were moved by some reasons, and the cardinal by others. And this was the more vigorously attempted by our king, because his jealousy grew high, that the Emperor Charles was driving at the universal monarchy; he saw the princes of Italy had entred into a mutual league against him, into which they agreed, that the king of England might, if he pleased, come in. And lastly, the articles between the emperor and Francis, made at Madril, whereupon that king was to enjoy his liberty, were reckoned very hard and unreasonable, in the judgment of the neighbouring princes. 1525.

Herein therefore our cardinal shewed all his skill, and the fineness of his policy. The first step, which he advised to be taken, was, that our king should use all the obligingness and civility possible, to possess the French king with an opinion of the king's hearty friendship and love. And for that purpose, first, order was sent to Dr. Taylor, Archdeacon of Buckingham, and the king's ambassador then in France, to hasten to the place where the French king should first enter into his own realm, after his deliverance, to congratulate his liberty in the most obliging manner possible.

The cardinal strains his policy, in setting on foot a league with K. Francis, and dissolving that lately made between that king and the emperor.

Soon after, Sir Thomas Cheney, one of the six gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, was dispatched in embassy into France, there to join with Dr. Taylor, already resident there. Here Sir Thomas was instructed to sweeten Francis after this manner. "That he should mention first the mutual interview, that was between the two kings in the year 1520; and that he should tell him, that the hearty kindness, established then between them, took such impression upon the king, that no storms or clouds since happening, could quench the sparks, or dry the roots. That the king did often revolve that fast-rooted friendship; and could not be satisfied after he had heard of his delivery, until he had sent to see him. That his ambassador could not visit him before, because of his streighter keeping. That as he (the king) lamented

His instructions to the ambassador.

1525. with him a great time, so now he rejoiced. And that he, the ambassador, with his colleague, Taylor, had in command to offer him any stead, pleasure, honour."

And he was moreover instructed by the cardinal, "That this, or the like in effect, would be well couched, not as an oration, but as a familiar, friendly and kind message: with addition of such other loving and kind words, as should be then thought meet and accommodate for the company present, and for that purpose."

And this was to serve for the first audience; being the whole of the first part of the charge committed to him.

P. 62. The second, and main part, which was to tend to the breaking of the peace betwixt the emperor and King Francis, was next to be managed. And this, they both were instructed, should be handled and done with great dexterity, policy and wisdom.

And, first, "the estate of the affairs in France must by them, as far as they could attain to, be well and thoroughly enquired into, searched out and understood. What were the conditions of the peace. Whether they were such matters for the most part, as had been bruited and divulged, or not. How they found the king, the regent, the council, nobles and commons, affected, and contented with them. Whether any grudge, or contradiction were risen about the performance, or difficulty. Whether they thought or devised any thing, how the same might be infringed, or qualified. Or whether they were totally and with effect inclined, disposed, determined inviolably to observe the conditions passed and promised."

Then they were instructed to search, "What appearance there was of sincere proceeding, and faithful dealing between the emperor and the king: and whether the intelligence between them were suspected, doubtful, strange, uncertain."

Next; "After they had well pondered, foreseen, and ensearched into these things; that they, by mutual consultation and conference, should facily per-

ceive, how they might best order themselves; and proceed in the second article, and point of their charge. And that they should so deal herein, that their speech might rather be thought to be occasioned by something said by the king, and the regent, than of themselves; and might serve as an introduction into the matter. That as they found the king, and found commodity, they should always fall into devises, as secretly as might be, as time and place offered convenience, touching the things that sounded to the disherison of the crown of France, its rights and patrimonies, and the renunciation of his title to the realm of Naples, or any thing else, whereupon any good ground or foundation might be taken. In which devises they should, as of themselves, soberly, and in manner with stupefaction and mervail, say, that these be great and high conditions, the like whereof had not been heard of; and, as wise men had thought, were either not agreed upon, or were not meant to be performed. And that by such words, the ambassadors might perceive easily, whether the king, the regent and the council, should open themselves against them; making any reasons for the justification of them: which should be a convenient leading to them, (the ambassadors) how they should proceed, or stay, for that time, till a more fit season.

“That they should extend, and speak at large, what great honour, profit, and high renown the emperor should attain thereby, if in all parts it were observed. That this would be the ready way to bring him to the monarchy of Christendom, or at least to the possession of the greatest part thereof.

“That they should always so order their speech, that it might seem rather a demonstration of their opinion and reason, falling out by chance in discourse and conference, then spoken of purpose; until they should assuredly perceive the king, or his mother, (the regent) and other lords minds adverse, and studying how the same might be avoyded.

p. 63.

“And so proceeding, they (the ambassadors) might

1525. recount, what great regions, and countries, and dominions the emperor then had in Europe, and should have by the performance of this treaty, beside those he had without. And so they should begin with the realm of Naples, the realm of Sicily, the dutchy of Milan, the seignory of Jeames, the county of Ast, and other possessions in Italy. Which, united to the crown imperial, would not be unlike to bring to him the whole monarchy of Italy: whereunto joineth the whole country of Germany, being the greatest part of Christendome. Which was either totally in his possession, or would easily be at his commandment; having on the lower part, Artois, Flanders, Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Hainalt, and other provinces. From the which is direct passage to the dutchy and county of Burgoign, bounding upon Bourbonois, and so to Averne: which, by means of the Duke of Burbon, could not but be at the emperor's commandment.

“On the other side, are the realms of Castile, Aragon, Granat, Gallicia, Asturia, and other parts of Spain. So that the realm of France should be environed in three parts; and situate, as it were, in the midst of the emperor's countries, power, and dominions. So that when the emperor should make war upon France, the king must defend three parts; and so likewise the sea on the fourth part. So they were instructed to say, that in their opinion, a realm so situated, seemed rather to be in servitude and perpetual captivity, with the prince thereof prisoner at continual commandment, and in danger always to be oppressed. All which, as the instructions ran, might be so spoken, as nothing should sound to the derogation of the emperor, but breed discontentment of the French party.

“But then, as the cardinal's instructions proceed; that, if after all this, they should find the French king's mind doubtful, and not perceive an express determination to approve and observe the conditions, and the minds of the king's council remaining in suspence,

and incertain; then they should, by way of demand, or question, ask the king, or the regent, whether they were minded duely and throughly to fulfil their conditions? Or whether they thought themselves in conscience, honour, law and reason, bound and astringed so to do? Whereunto they should suffer them to make answer. And then Mr. Cheney was to ask Dr. Taylor, what he thought therein, by such learning as he had in the law? Whereunto he might answer, of what small effect a promise, bond or convention, made in captivity, is: which he should extend (that is, enlarge upon) for that purpose. Inforcing therby the hearers to shew their opinions the more openly and frankly.” 1525.

This, I confess, is but an exscript from the original instructions, taken thence by Sir Michael Hicks, secretary to the Lord Treasurer Burghley. But it is easy to see who drew them up. They are the very style and subtilty of Wolsey; laying a train to bring the French king to violate the terms and conditions of his deliverance from captivity, to which he had solemnly sworn.

After the king's ambassadors had, by Wolsey's policy, succeeded well thus far; the next step was to enter into a league reciprocal with France; which was left to the management of Dr. Taylor. For which purpose, the cardinal, in the year 1526, and not long after the former instructions, shewed all his skill and diligence in a large letter; giving directions to the said Taylor, for his proceeding in the king's business at this juncture. He was, it seems, a very able person; and had hitherto dextrously acquitted his office. Which the cardinal took notice of, and so had the king: telling him, “That he had shewn his letters from time to time to the king's highness: and that he was right glad, that he did so discreetly and substantially please and content the king's grace, and him also; which, no doubt, would be to his weal and furtherance hereafter.”

p. 64.
His letter
to Dr. Tay-
lor, to the
same pur-
pose.

And thus having whet his future diligence by com-

1526. mendment and promise, he proceeded to tell him; "That the king's highness, and he, took great consolation to hear the good success of the French king's affairs, and to perceive daily evident demonstrations of his hearty and unfeigned affection and kindness he bore to him," (the cardinal.)

The cardinal insinuates himself into the French king.

For the French king knew, that was the way to come to the better terms with the king of England: he being his chief favourite: and well knowing also, that the said king's alienation from the emperor, was owing chiefly to the emperor's neglect of the cardinal. This was the cause the French king had told Taylor, the English ambassador, and which he accordingly had signified to the cardinal, what a sincere affection and kindness he bore to him; and likewise of the great confidence he reposed in our king. "For both which, as the cardinal wrote to Taylor, he should not fail to have like correspondence. That no prince did more desire his honour and weal; and meant to pretermitt nothing, that might sound to the advancement of his causes; but, like a fast and stedfast friend, to join and concur with him, knit in an assured perfect love, and sincere amity. "And bad the ambassador shew this to the French king, with the king his master's most cordial and affectionate recommendations. That he (the cardinal) also meant to bend himself to the nourishing of amitie established."

Acquaints the ambassador what progress had been made in concerting a peace between both kings.

See L. Herb. Hist. H. VIII. p. 194.

Then he proceeded to discourse of matters tending to a mutual peace, and to the corroboration of it. The cardinal advised the ambassador, that he had made an overture to the chancellor (who was some person, as it seems, sent from Louize, or the French king, as their ambassador) of the conventions and pacts, passed, (already, I suppose, at a former treaty,) and to be passed by virtue of the said treaty: which, he said, was but a porch unto a succeeding peace and friendship. Upon this motion of the cardinal before the French king's ambassadors, and the king of England's commissioners, appointed to treat with them, he started, that an obligation reciprocous, be-

tween both kings, should highly answer to the advancement of both their affairs. And the rest were of semblable opinion with him in that matter. 1526.

Then he descended to the consideration of the treaty at Madril, made between the emperor, and the captive king there; of which he wrote, "That it was very hard, that it should be thought to stand good, notwithstanding any former treaties: and that it bound the French king, and left the emperor at large. To be sure, when the emperor had Francis his prisoner, he would make the terms as advantageous to himself as might be. There had been a form of articles drawn up, and now laying before the French king's ambassadors, and the king of England's commissioners." Therein were some terms that seemed hard; as, not to treat or conclude any thing without the king's knowledge or consent. For the removing of which imparity, the cardinal acquainted Taylor, "That he had devised to make the band reciprocous and egal: and that there should be inserted a special article to promise not to take any advantage: that this clause added was thought sufficient, both by the chancellor, (that is, the chancellor of France) and him. But that this being sent into France, out of design to have particular resolution of their liking or disliking, no fruitful answer to the same was sent, but letters of instruction and commission, authorizing the French ambassador to conclude an obligation reciprocous, after such force as the instructions purported: which was of another sort and nature then he (the cardinal) had proponed. Yet, however, that upon the receipt thereof, he (the cardinal) had made overture to the lords, and moved the king: and so had conduced the matter with him." The effect of which (such was the cardinal's great interest with the king) was, "That to remove all scruples and doubts, and to do the French king honour and pleasure, the king of England was contented to allow the mutual obligation to go according to the instructions sent to the French ambassador, though of another nature, then

p. 65.
His judgment of the captive king's treaty with the emperor.

1526. the cardinal had propounded. Which were as large and ample, and as beneficial to the king, and his affairs in every point, though it were under other terms and words. That the king of England articted to make war upon the emperor, for recovery of his hostages; (namely, Francis his two sons, that were delivered to the emperor, when Francis was dismiss into France.) "That this should be upon reasonable recompence of money. That he should resist his army coming into Italy, with a power and puissance formidable, and to expulse his army out." Some other matters propounded by the form brought by the French commissioners for our king to yield to, as to be bound to others out of the contract, the cardinal disproved, saying, "That if the articles had so passed, it had been a great disparity, and contrary to all reason."

Sends the ambassador the copies of two forms of a peace, which he had drawn up, and delivered to the French ambassador.

p. 66.

"That after such debating of this matter, there were two forms devised, the copies whereof he sent unto Dr. Taylor. These forms were drawn up by the cardinal, and delivered unto the French king's ambassador, who was Seigneur de Vaulx, *maître d'hôtel* to Louize, the regent and mother of Francis; who had been one of her commissioners, dispatched into England for concluding of the treaty between King Henry and the French king. These forms being delivered to him, he desired to send them into France, and promised, within eight days, to return an answer concerning them to the king's commissioners. Although he in his own judgment, did know, perceive, and would not deny, but that these forms, being so conveyed and devised, were as effectual and beneficial to the French king, for his content and purpose, as that which had been sent out of France to the ambassador here. Yet he dared not, nor would conclude, until the French king were first advertised, and his pleasure known. Affirming expresly, that that his refusal proceeded of no manner of compass or intent, to protract time for any sinister purpose: but only for fear to transgress the limits by him in his instruc-

tions assigned. And that, as the cardinal wrote, our ambassador might be fully riped in the specialities thereof, he sent him copies: upon the substantial perusal, and reading whereof, he might make himself fully master of the contents thereof. That the French king, and his counsil should find, and that he, the ambassador, should affirm, that whichsoever form he should consent unto, should be found as beneficial. And that concerning this, he, the ambassador, should desire to be speedily advertised of the king's pleasure, to the intent the same might be with all diligence notified hither. 1526.

Then he proceeded to another matter, namely, concerning the emperor's restoring back the French king's sons, then hostages for the king their father. About this, the cardinal advised Dr. Taylor to shew, "That the king's highness minded and intended to have sent an honourable personage on ambassiate to the emperor, for requisition first to be made unto him, for delivery of them upon reasonable recompence of money, without demanding lands or towns." Next, for speedy contentation of the money the emperor owed to the king of England. The occasion of this debt was thus: the Emperor Charles, for the better drawing of King Henry to his party, against Francis, had promised to pay unto the said Henry, the sum of three hundred thirty three thousand, three hundred and five crowns yearly, in lieu of those pensions and rents, which the said Francis was bound to pay to Henry. "That it was thought expedient for the accelerating the matter," (that is, to force the emperor to return the hostages, and to demand some reasonable sum of money for the restoring of them, or to make war upon him: for which purpose, the army in Italy was now in good readiness,) "to send letters with substantial instructions to the king's ambassador resident there, in the emperor's court. Which were appointed to be carried in post by a gentleman of his house, (*viz.* of the English ambassador with the emperor) named, Osborn Ichingham, who had

Certifies him of letters dispatched to the king's ambassador with the emperor, in the French king's behalf.

Herbert's Hen. VIII. p. 177.

1526. knowledge of the country, and good language to pass. And who was ordered in his way, to call upon him, the ambassador in France.

Sends him
a copy of
the letter
sent by the
king to the
emperor.

p. 67.

And in-
structs him
to shew it
to the
French
king.

“ And because the French king might perceive after what good manner and fashion the king’s grace had in a letter exhorted the emperor, alleccting him first by doulce and pleasant introductions, adding afterward matter sounding perfectly to sharpness and commination, to descend to the king’s desire; the cardinal had sent him therewith a copy of the said letter to the emperor: and that in declaration thereof, he [the ambassador] might vary and digress in no point from the king’s meaning. That he should substantially consider and digest the said letter addressed to the emperor. That he (the cardinal) hoped the emperor would have that respect and regard, as to beware how he did rashly refuse or deny the same. That the words being well marked, in many points were no less then a summonition and warning, that if the emperor condescended not to the king’s request, he would enter the league with Italy.” (Which could not but have an impression upon the emperor, it being a strong league, not only of the French king, but the pope, the Venetian, the Florentines, and Sforza against the emperor.) “ That he should shew this letter to the king and counsil, but in no wise to leave the copy with them, or suffer any doubt thereof. That, if they should desire it, he should say, as of himself, that it was not convenient to give a copy of the king’s letters sent to another prince, nor that he had any such commission, but that as to the suffering them to read it in his presence, in that he should let them take their pleasure. And that this might suffice for their knowledge, how, and in what good sort the king did proceed in that behalf. That if they should demand, if the king had written any other matter besides, more then was in that letter, he should say, that over and beside the effect thereof, his highness had given other secret charge to his ambassador, how to use

himself for the conducting of every thing to the desired purpose. Which was matter not to be communicated abroad. That the king had hopes to train the emperor to reason by doulce methods : which failing, he would go on to more angry courses.” 1526.

Moreover the cardinal instructed him, “ That after he had made these declarations aforesaid, and finding the French king fully determined to accept one of the two forms for conclusion of the league between him and the king of England, Dr. Tayler should, with all diligence, dispatch Ichingham, in his way to the emperor. But that, if the French king should say, he would shortly send order to his ambassador here, to conclude, then he should accelerate the expedition thereof, as much as conveniently he could : taking order with Ichingham, that he depart to some place on his way by soft journeys, until such time as it may be thought the French king’s commandment were brought to England. For it were not convenient, he said, if he should arrive in Spain with letters and intimations to be made by the king’s ambassador to the emperor, until the obligation reciprocous were concluded here. That therefore he should take special regard by his wisdom, to order Ichingham’s departure from him, as he might well think the obligation past, or in good likelihood to be past, a good season before his arrival in Spain.” (And indeed this league was finished soon after this letter, which was writ July the 15th, and the league was concluded August the 8th following.)

Directs him concerning the dispatch of Ichingham to Spain.

The cardinal gave him moreover to understand, “ That my Lord of Bath had all his instructions and other matters in readiness, and had taken his leave of the king, intending within two days to depart, and set on his voyage toward the French king. He advertised him also, that forasmuch as divers errors were deprehended in the treaty, prejudicial to, and something also omitted, which might concern the king, in case he should hereafter enter, (the Italian confederacy, against the emperor,) that therefore it

Sends him word that my Lord of Bath was ready to set forth for France.

p. 68.

1526. was thought convenient, that commissions should be sent hither, as well from the French king, as the pope's holiness, and the Venetians, to their orators and agents here resident. And that he had devised a form of such a commission, which he had sent unto him, (the ambassador) which he should shew unto the French king, and his counsel. So as if they should call upon the king to enter the league (of Italy) the same might be qualified in such points as was necessary. Letting him to wit, that such forms were likewise sent to the pope and Venetians, and the point sufficiently declared to the French king's ambassador here resident: and a copy delivered to the Bishop of Bath. And that therefore, if they should call upon entering the league, he should accelerate the sending the commission. So dating his letter from his place beside Westminster, he subscribed himself,

Your loving friend,
T. Car^{lis}. Ebor."

This is a brief and epitomized extract, taken by Sir Michael Hicckes, before mentioned, out of the original letter of the cardinal. Wherein, if some things be met with, not so full and intelligible as might be wished, it must be attributed to that cause.

Hen. VIII.
p. 194.

The Lord Herbert tells us, that the contents in short of this league reciprocous, which the cardinal gave all these instructions about to Doctor Tayler, were, "That both kings did oblige themselves not to treat or agree apart, or separately, with the emperor, concerning the restitution of the two children of France, nor concerning the money due from the emperor, but jointly and together. And for all other businesses, they should pass without derogation or prejudice to their former treaties, which were understood to remain entire. And that neither of the said kings should in any kind assist the emperor, whensoever he were invaded by the other. Which brief relation of the historian the former letter doth more expatiate upon, and explain."

CHAP. VI.

p. 69.

The pope imprisoned by the emperor. The cardinal draws up a requisition to him in favour of the pope. Goes himself ambassador to France. Made vicar-general by the pope. The cardinal's legantine courts. His court for wills and testaments. The archbishop's contests with the cardinal about his courts. Complains to the king.

IN the year 1527, the emperor had entred into Rome, and seized the pope, and made him his prisoner. This, as it made a great noise in the world, so it served as a good pretence for some further revenges to be taken by the cardinal upon him. This, by the cardinal's blowing the coals, begat new counsils between the two kings. For this purpose, the cardinal had devised an instrument, called a requisition, that was to be offered to the emperor, by the English and French ambassadors in the court of Spain. It related to the injuries he had done to the pope, and the see of Rome. This requisition was made on purpose, the better to justify that war, that they were bringing upon him in Italy. A copy of this requisition being framed by the cardinal, was sent by him to Louize, the Lady Regent, who liked it well; and added words to this effect, to the Bishop of Bath, and Sir Anthony Brown, our ambassadors, "That Christian princes could not in honour suffer their head, Christ's vicar, to be kept a captive: and, that no prince of his own authority, could keep a pope in prison, or demand a ransom for him; and, that princes should no longer obey a pope, detained contrary to his will." Which propositions were left to the cardinal, to improve and dress for their purpose.

1527.
He draws up the requisition in favour of the pope, then a prisoner.

There were several strict treaties made of late betwixt the two kings, in prejudice of the emperor, in which the cardinal still had the great hand, covering over his malice against him, by his specious shew

He goes ambassador into France.

1527. of devotion to the papal see : and now to establish all, he himself resolved upon a journey into France, in the quality of an extraordinary ambassador from the king. His coming he signified unto the Lady Regent, and King Francis, and that he would meet him at Amiens, or further, if she, and the king, her son, thought good ; and if a journey so far might not be prejudicial to the king, having lately been ill of a fever. But she heartily thanking the cardinal, signified to him there would be no danger, and appointed the time, and place for the congress. So he entering on his journey about the beginning of July, 1527, in very extraordinary state and splendor, and accompanied with a mighty train, (the account whereof I leave to Cavendish, the writer of his life, to relate ;) he arrived at Calais, and at the time appointed, met Francis at Amiens. Where he tarried with that king fourteen days, feasting, and being feasted, and concerting matters, for a firmer league between the two kings, and for a more vigorous opposition of the emperor. I have put into the Appendix, the letter of the English ambassador's, wrote the day before his departure from the court, which relates to these affairs.

Cavendish,
Life of the
Cardinal

p. 70.
No. XIV.

The cardinal made
vicar-general by the
pope.

In this year he was at the top of all his earthly glory. His dignities may be understood by the style and title, that was then ordinarily ascribed him, *viz.* "The most Reverend Father in God, Lord Thomas, of the title of S. Cicile, Priest Cardinal, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, Chancellor of the same, of the See Apostolic Legat de Latere." To all these titles, he received one more from Pope Clement this year, namely, that of "Vicar-general." Whereby he was empowered to perform all that the pope might have done himself. For when he was now under restraint, after the sacking of Rome by the Spaniard, the cardinal, by a bull sent him by the pope, was made Vicar-General throughout all the king's dominions, during the pope's captivity. So that whatsoever was determined concerning the ad-

ministration of ecclesiastical affairs by the cardinal, assisted by the prelates of England, who should be assembled by the king's authority, that should be decreed and observed, the consent of the said king being first had: and so it was in France. This was brought about by the cardinal: who in a conference with certain other cardinals at Compeign, 1527, being then ambassador extraordinary from King Henry to the French king, resolved, that the foresaid order of the government of the church, was at this time requisite. And so he took on him the supreme charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the realm. Where, as the historian makes the observation, began the tast the king took of governing the clergy in chief; and I may add, of constituting a vicar-general immediately next under the king, over all matters of the church, throughout the nation. And the king having much to do in the church, and among churchmen, some years after, substituted Cromwel under him, with that title.

1527.

L. Herbert
Hist. p. 209

By virtue of this overtopping legantine authority, he drew into his own courts all matters, whatsoever cognizable in the ecclesiastical courts, belonging either to archbishop or bishops. So that even the bishops were his commissaries in their own dioceses. An instance of this, I find, fell out this year. For one Forster, of the diocese of London, appeared for heretical pravity at Westminster-abbey, before the cardinal's commissaries sitting there; whereof Tonsal, the Bishop of London, was one. The copy of the abjuration from the original, I will here set down, to shew the manner of the cardinal's courts, who were his commissaries, and what a strict hand the cardinal held over poor men, that there might be no starting in the least from the old superstitions.

His legantine
courts.Int. Foxij.
MSS.

"In the name of God, Amen. I Richard Forster, of the diocese and jurisdiction of London, before yow, Reverend Father in God, Lord Cuthbert, Bishop of London, my ordinary, and diocesan, and commissary to the most Reverend Father in God, Lord

Forster's
abjuration
in the car-
dinal's
court.

1327. Thomas, of the title of Saynct Cecile, priest, cardinal &c. together with yow, Reverend Fathers in God, Lords Nicholas, Bishop of Ely, Henry, Bishop of Saynct Asse, John, Bishop of Lincoln, and John, Bishop of Bathe and Wellys, likewise commissaryes
- p. 71. lawfully deputed, opynly confesse and knowledge, that I dampnably have erred in the holy sacrament of the aulter, sayng, belevyng, and affirmyng, that a priest could not consecrate the body of Crist. Also, that I, accompanied with certayn of the maner of lyvving of Martyn Luther, and his sect, dyd eate flesh on the Saturday. The which myn heresy, error, and dampnable opinyon, in especial with all other heresies agenst the faith of Crist, and our Holy Moder the church in general, here before Almighty God, and you myne ordinary in this honorable audience, I voluntary and gladly, as a true penytent person, utterly renounce, forsake and abjure. Promytting, and I promyse faithfully unto Almighty God, our foresaid Mother, the Holy Church, and to you my foresaid ordinary, and swere by these Holy Evangelies, and contents of thies book, here by me bodyly touched, that from henceforth I shall never retorn agen to the said heresies, and dampnable opinions, or any other heresies, and dampnable opinions: and never more reherse, believe, or affirme the contrary, to the determination of our Holy Mother, the Church: nor hide, conceyl, or kepe close, any such heresies and dampnable opinions, nor their auctors, or fawtors in time to come: nor be conversant, or famyliar wytyngly with any person, or persons, suspect of heresy. But as soon as I shall know any such persons, or their fautors, I shall truly and faithfully detect them, and their opinions to their ordinary, for the tyme being, without any delay. Submytting myself mekely, lowly and penytently, to our Holy Mother, the Church, and your correction: beyng contrite and sorry, and desiryng penance for my said offences, and trespasses in this behalf, which I promyse, by the vertue of myne othe surely to do, observe and fullfyl. In witness whereof, to this

my present abjuration, I have subscribed my name with my hand, and set to the signe of the cross under the same. 1527.

Per me RICARDUM FORSTER, Supradict.”

+

“ Lecta per dictum Richardum Forster, quinto die Decembris, anno Dom. 1527, in domo capituli Monast. Westmonaster. coram Reverendo in Christo Patre Cuthberto London. Episcopo, ac alijs presentibus, ut in actis, in presentia mei

MATHEI GRAFTON.”

And as the cardinal had this court at Westminster, to make inquisition about heresy, so, by virtue of his legatine power, he had another court in his own house at York-place, for matters testamentary, and peculiar offices deputed thereunto. This was a new encroachment upon the bishops of Canterbury, before whom, or their officers, wills and testaments were constantly used to be proved. During this innovation, one Jane Roper, executrix to her late husband, John Roper, was called before the commissaries of the Prerogative Court. And soon after the cardinal's commissaries cited her before them, in the chapel at York-place, to prove the will, or else to be repelled, as no executrice, and the will of the said John Roper to be reputed as no will. Hereupon she, and some other of her counsel, wrote to Bishop Warham, complaining hereof. Others also spake to him, and other writ, what the issue of this would be: and that the jurisdiction of his courts was like to be extinguished, and that all testamentary causes would come to that pass, to be made depend upon the cardinal's mere will and pleasure. This made a great clamour against the cardinal all Kent, and London over. The archbishop's officers also seeing their office and benefit so invaded, plyed the bishop with their complaints. He likewise was sensible how this new court was like to be prejudicial to his other courts. These

The cardinal's court for wills:

Clamoured against.

p. 72.

Prejudicial to his Prerogative Court.

1527. complaints and considerations, made him resolve to stir, as much as he might, to put a stop hereunto.

A composition between the cardinal and the archbishop

For it is here to be noted, that before this, the archbishop had made a composition with the cardinal, to which they had mutually set their hands and seals, being an agreement upon certain articles, that their respective courts might not interfere with one another, and for the peoples peace and quietness, that should have any causes depending. And by this composition, the prerogative was to remain entire to the archbishop, only the cardinal was to have his commissaries in this court, to be joined with those of the archbishop. Which was condescension enough. Insomuch that some of the archbishop's friends charged it upon him as an oversight.

The archbishop was now at his house at Charing. Whence he wrote of this matter to the cardinal. "Taking God to judge, that he wrote no otherwise, then it had been shewed to his face, or written to him by letters. Beseeching him, that this business might have a stop till after Easter: at which time he would wait upon him. Assuring himself, that his grace would do nothing contrary to the composition sealed with his grace's seal, and subscribed with his grace's hand, concerning the prerogative which his church of Canterbury, time out of mind, had been possessed of." This was dated February the 24th. But it doth not appear in what year: but, as I suppose, about this time, or not much before.

The archbishop writes to the cardinal against his court.

But the cardinal, notwithstanding the archbishop's letters, gave no orders to his commissioners, to cease any further dealing in this office of the probate of wills. For, but in the month after, the archbishop from Croydon sent another letter to the cardinal, complaining to him of the same abuse, of interrupting him in the use of the prerogative. He urged, "That hereby his officers of the courts of the Arches, and the Audience, and his commissaries of the diocese of Kent, and he himself in matters of suite of instance of parties, and in all cases of correction depending

before him and them, if they should be thus continually inhibited by the cardinal's officers, they should have nothing left to do; but that he should be as a shadow, and image of an archbishop, and legate. Which would be to his perpetual reproach, and to his church a perpetual prejudice. He prayed the cardinal therefore to defer this matter a little, till he might have some communication with him therein; and that he would give credence to his chaplain, whom he had sent the bearer of his present letter." Both these letters of Archbishop Warham, are in the Appendix most deservedly preserved.

1527.

p. 73.

No. XV.
XVI.

But it seems, after all, Warham found little redress at Wolsey's hand. When therefore the matter could not be otherwise remedied, and the cardinal had been guilty of unjust encroachments upon all ecclesiastical affairs, the archbishop repaired unto the king, acquainting him, and complaining of these things. The king took his coming in good part, and bad him go to the cardinal, and as he saw him doing things amiss, not to spare to tell him thereof. He did so; gravely admonishing him concerning several matters, and particularly his meddling with wills and testaments, wherein he claimed a power, not so much as claimed by the pope himself: and in disposing of benefices in the gift of the nobility, or others, he told him he usurped too much upon them. The cardinal hated the archbishop before, because he would not truckle to him, but would upon occasion oppose him; but this last reproof made him hate him more. It ended thus at last: the king finding all that Warham said to be true, and that Alan, judge of the cardinal's court, had appeared to be a very corrupt, ill man, by the accusation of John London, (a man made use of in these times) he very severely reprov'd the cardinal. Which had some good effect upon him, to make him more wary, if not more just.

But upon
no redress,
complains
to the king.

I do suppose the cardinal assumed such power in the prerogative office, by virtue of his commission from the pope, as afterwards Cromwel had there the

The Lord
Cromwel
followed

1527.
the cardinal in this.
Hist. Reform. P. I.
p. 181.

like, by virtue of his commission to be vicar general, from the king. Whereby all wills, where the estate was two hundred pounds, and upwards, were not to be proved in the bishops courts, but in the court of the vicar general. And the vicar general accordingly deputed Dr. Petre his officer, for receiving these probates of wills. Which thing seems to be but copied from the cardinal's practice, as the original.

The excessive charges of proving wills.

Thus between the archbishop's officers, and those of the cardinal, besides the delays, and dancing attendance, before matters could be dispatched, the fees and expences were excessive. In the year 1528, Sir William Compton died of the sweating sickness. By whose last will Sir Henry Guilford, knight of the garter, and comptroller of the king's house, and certain others, were constituted his executors. But before they could obtain a probate from the cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury, it cost them a thousand marks; the cardinal, by his legantine power, had so disordered wills and testaments.

Complained of in parliament.

So that these matters became publick grievances. For the burdens upon the laity, whensoever they had occasion to prove any wills, were so heavy, and so intolerably expensive, that the thing was brought before the parliament, in the year 1529, or 1530. When six grievances were complained of, wherein the clergy oppressed the laity: and this of wills was the first. Then Sir Henry Guilford, aforesaid, protested, in open parliament, on his fidelity, that he, and the other executors were fain to pay that great sum before they could prove Sir William Compton's will.

p. 74.

CHAP. VII.

Persecution in the diocese of London for religion. Visitation of the diocese of London. Divers detected for heresy in Essex, London, &c. Their confessions: and penances.

The popish errors disclaimed by many.

BUT by occasion of the abjuration above mentioned, let us a little interrupt the continuation of the cardinal's story, and look into the state of religion in these days.

Heresy, as it was then called, that is, the gospel, had already spread considerably in this diocese of London, and especially about Colchester, and other parts of Essex, as well as in the city. The New Testament in English, translated by Hotchyn, (that is, Tindal) was in many hands, and read with great application and joy: The doctrines of the corporeal presence, of worshipping images, and going on pilgrimages to saints, would not down. And they had secret meetings, wherein they instructed one another out of God's word. Now the cardinal earnestly bestirred himself to put a stop to these things, and to reduce all declining persons to the old way again. And for the diocese of London, a strict visitation was commenced this summer, by Jeffrey Wharton, doctor of decrees, Bishop Tonstall's vicar general: the bishop himself being then in embassy in foreign parts, in company, as it seems, with the cardinal, who was this summer in France. 1527.

A Visitation in London diocese.

Some account of which visitation I shall now give, having the original papers thereof before me; and the rather, because John Fox, in his Martyrology, hath omitted it, and hath recorded little more than the names of them that were prosecuted; and these extant in the first edition only.

Abraham Water of S. Botolph's in Colchester, Dutchman, was cited before the said vicar general, for saying, "I can make of a piece of bread the body of Almighty God, as well as the best priest of them all. For which he was fain to abjure, the 15th day of July, 1527; setting the sign of the holy cross to his abjuration, with his own hand. Which abjuration ran in the same form mostly with that of Forster, mentioned before.

Abraham Water persecuted. MSS. Foxian.

One Hacker, or Ebbe, who was a great reader and teacher about six years past in London, and now in the parts of Essex about Colchester, Wittham, and Branktree, being discovered and taken up, was at this visitation held in January and February, so hard set upon, that he made a discovery, by interrogatories

Hacker: who detects,

1527. put to him to answer upon oath, of a great many of his friends and followers, both in Essex and London. Some of them were these that ensue.

Ravens. Christopher Ravens, of Wittham, tayler, (who had been abjured anno 1511, before Bishop Fitz-James) was detected by the said Hacker, that he had communication with him about a quarter of a year last past, at his own house in Wittham: and also that once or twice a year, by the space of four years, he had resorted to his house, and taught him the commandments; and that in the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of God, but a remembrance of God, that was in heaven: and that worshipping of images, and offering and going on pilgrimages, was naught: and that the one taught the other in such learnings.

Hills. He detected also Thomas Hills, servant to the said Ravens; that he was of the same sect, and could read well, and had a book of the New Testament in English printed, which he bought at London; and was a great reader among them.

Chapman. Farthermore, that the said Christopher had two servants, born in Colchester, called John and Richard Chapman, brethren, which followed the reading and doctrine of them, and learned many of their opinions.

Goter. Stere. Knight. To go on, as I am led by the register: the said Hacker, being interrogated upon oath to make true answer, revealed Goter, Stere, and Knight, of S. Margaret Lothbury, founders, to be of his learning and sort. And that their conversations, teachings and readings, were kept at one Russel's house, at the gate of Birds Alley, against S. Stephen's Church in Coleman-street: and said, that those three continued in his company, and he with them, by the space of six years.

Cony. Also, the said Hacker discovered one Cony, clark of S. Anthony's, and his wife, living beside the Friar Augustin's gate, about six years past, to be of his sect and learning; and that he had a book of this respondent's, called The Bayly.

Also he said, that one Thomas Vincent, which was ^{1527.} father in law to him that was brent for heresy about ^{Vincent.} fourteen years past, (ann. 1513.) did teach this respondent all and singular his errors and heresies, with which he was infected. And that Vincent gave him the *Evangelij* of Matthew in English.

Also, that the same Vincent had a daughter, which was married to Thomas Austie, which was much in ^{Austie.} company with this respondent, and followed his learning and opinions. Also, that Vincent had a book of the Ten Commandments, which he read to this respondent: and afterwards gave him the book; and he gave it afterwards to one Sime of Witney, besides Oxford.

Also he confessed, that John Pykas of Colchester ^{Pykas.} had a book, part in English, and part in Latin, which ^{Books con-} began, "The most Excellent and Glorious Lord," ^{fessed.} &c. And another book, called, *Disputatio inter Fratrem et Clericum*: and another of this respondent's, called *The Prick of Conscience*.

Also he said, that John Stacy, of Coleman-street, ^{Stacy.} bricklayer, kept a man in his house, whose name was John, to write the *Apocalypse* in English: and that one John Sercot, grocer, then dwelling in Coleman-^{Sercot.} street, bare the costs of the said writer. And the said Sercot had a book of this respondent's, called *The Bayly*.

Also, that one Elizabeth Newman, being then a ^{Newman.} maid dwelling in S. Thomas Apostle, about six years past caused this respondent to change his name, and call himself Richardson.

Besides all these detected by Hacker, the register ^{p. 76.} makes mention also of Thomas Rawlyn, tallow-^{Rawlyn.} chandler, dwelling in Aldermanbury, who was of the same sect, and taught by Hacker in his own house, divers and sundry times.

Also, John Tewksbury, haberdasher, dwelling ^{Tewksbury} nigh to S. Martin's Gate, was another of Hacker's disciples, and of the same sect. This man was afterwards burnt; if he be the same with that John Tewks-

1527. bury, leatherseller, mentioned in Fox's Martyrology, under the year 1529.

Long. Dorothy Long, of the parish of S. Giles in Colchester, was also of his conversation and learning.

Westden. Also of the same sect was Marion Westden, wife to Thomas Matthew, of Colchester.

Russel. Also William Russel, taylor, of Coleman-street.

Philip. Also Thomas Philip, pointmaker, dwelling against the Little Conduit in Cheap, was of Hacker's sect, and a chief reader and teacher of his opinions.

The said Hacker confessed, that he and the said Philip, by the space of five or six years, met oftentimes at Russel's house, and once a quarter in his own house; and there had communications of such opinions as he used: and that Philip did sometime read in a book of Paul, and sometime in a book of the Epistles. And that he, Russel, and Maxwel, of S. Olaves in Silver-street, bricklayer, were much conversant at Lawrence Swaffer's, in Shoreditch, taylor.

Geffray.
Bully.
Styes.
Tyllesworth.
Alice.
Tyllesworth.
Bristow.

Besides all these, there were divers others now detected by Hacker, as his followers, about six years past: as, Thomas Geffray, of Coleman-street, taylor; and the wife of Bulley, a sadler, dwelling at the Red Cross and Bull-head in Cheapside: Mrs. Styes, at the Ball in Friday-street: Thomas Tyllesworth, taylor, in Budge Row. Alice, now married, then dwelling at the White Hart against the Savoy. Robert Tyllesworth, taylor in Abchurch-lane. Mother Bristow, at the Castle in Wood-street.

She had a book of Hacker's, of the Evangelist S. Luke, in English: which book he had, as he confessed, of Thomas Blissed, in Swan Alley in Coleman-street. Which Mother Bristow did hear his doctrines and teachings, and had delectation in the same; and was of his sect and learning, and well learned in the same opinions.

Carde.
Tuck.
Mason.

Moreover, he detected Stephen Carde, of Ware, weaver; and Henry Tuck, being well learned in his opinions. Likewise William Mason, taylor, dwelling

in Bishopsgate-street, since at the Bell in New Fish-
street. John Houshold, of the parish of Alhallows ^{1527.} Houshold.
the Less, was of his sect and learning: but not since
he was abjured, as far as he knew.

William Raylond, of Colchester, tayler, was also ^{Raylond.}
of Hacker's sect, and a reader and teacher of his
opinions; and had a book of the Apocalypse in Eng-
lish. Robert Best, of S. Botolph Colchester, weaver, ^{Best.}
or a maker of cloth, was also of Hacker's opinions, and
a reader and teacher of them.

Those in Branktree, by the said Hacker detected,
were; William, Anthony, Robert Beckwyth, and ^{Beckwyth.}
Mother Beckwyth. The three former were brothers,
and husbandmen. He said, they were of his sect
and opinions; and that they were learned, before he
accompanied with them. And that by the space of two ^{p. 77.}
years he came to Branktree, to them, twice or thrice
a year, and had communication with them of his
learning and opinions; which they learned, and
followed.

And besides these, many others were discovered
by this one man. By which we may conclude, what
numbers there were already in this land, that dis-
sented from the papal errors and superstitions.

This detection created work for the bishop and his
vicar general, as we shall see.

But to proceed with this visitation. February the
24th, Dr. Geffrey Wharton, aforesaid, sat judicially <sup>Harris, a
curate ab-
solved;</sup>
in the long chapel of S. Paul's Church, London, near
the North gate. And then appeared before him,
Sir Sebastian Harris, curate of the parish church of
Kensington; who confessed that he had two books;
viz. the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, trans-
lated by William Hotchyn, priest, and Friar Roy;
and *Unio Dissidentium*, containing in it the Lutheran
heresy. But Harris being by the said Wharton,
vicar-general, absolved from the sentence of excom-
munication, that had been by the canon passed
against him; he enjoined him, by oath upon the
Holy Gospels, that he should not for the future keep <sup>Having
been ex-
communi-
cated for
heretical
books.</sup>

1527. any of the said books, or any other containing heresy in it; nor knowingly read, sell, pawn, or any other way dispose of such books; nor knowingly converse, or hold familiarity with any person suspected of heresy, nor favour them. And moreover, he enjoined the said Sir Sebastian, under pain of excommunication, that after he had obtained licence to depart, he should not tarry or abide within the city of London (being so dangerous a place to be infected with heresy) above a day and a night; but go thence elsewhere, and not approach near the city any where four miles in circuit, for the space of two years following. This was done in the presence of Matthew Gref-ton, publick notary, and scribe of the acts; and of John Darrel, batchelor of decrees, the Archdeacon of London's official; and of Henry Bonsfel, notary publick, and one of the general proctors of the court of Canterbury; being desired to be witnesses to the premisses.

Raylond
excom-
municated
for non-ap-
pearance;

March the 2d, appeared before the abovesaid vicar general, Thomas Matthew, John Pykas, and Henry Raylond, men of Colchester; being cited to answer to certain articles concerning the mere health and correction of their souls: whom he assigned to appear before the reverend father, the Bishop of London, in his palace, at one of the clock afternoon the same day. Then the same vicar general caused William Raylond to be called, to appear at the same day and place as above was specified: but being often and publickly called, and not appearing, he pronounced him contumacious; and of his special grace, and by certificatory continued, he thought fit he should be stayed for in and unto an hour assigned the next day. Which day and hour being come, the said vicar general sat judicially, and the said Raylond being called, and not appearing, he pronounced him contumacious; and for the punishment of his contumacy, excommunicated him in writing.

And ab-
solved.

The 12th day of March, the said vicar general, in the palace of the Bishop of London, did absolve

Raylond from the sentence of excommunication; giving caution *de parendo juri*, &c. And enjoined him to say for three days together five *Pater Noster's*, and five *Ave Maria's*. 1527.

March the 3d, the reverend father in Christ, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, sitting judicially in the chapel within his palace at London, ministred in word against John Pykas, the articles which were ministred to John Hacker, and all things contained in the same; adding, that he had, and retained in his keeping, the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotchyn and Friar Roy, notwithstanding the condemnation, publication, and monition made thereupon; and other books, containing in them heresy and reprobate reading. Upon the ministring of which and other things, the same reverend father took, *ex officio suo*, for witnesses, John Bowghton, of Colchester, and John Hacker; whom my lord, setting aside hatred, love and envy, burdened with an oath, in the presence of the said John Pykas. p. 78.
Pykas charged by the bishop, for keeping the New Testament.

March the 4th, Raylond appeared before the bishop, sitting judicially in a certain chamber within his palace. Whom the bishop interrogated, whether the *true body* of Christ was in the sacrament of the altar? He answered, It was so. He interrogated him further; whether he believed pilgrimages were profitable? He answered, Yea. He asked him again, whether he had not formerly said, that the holy Virgin Mary of Ipswich, was an idol? He answered, No. Then my lord, for reasons moving him, dismissed him; and admonished him to appear before him, whensoever he should have notice thereof by his commissary, and the day and place assigned him. Raylond interrogated, and dismissed by the bishop.

Present, Geffrey Wharton, Vicar General.
Robert Ridley, Th. P.
Richard Sparchford, M.A. and
Matthew Grefton, Notary Publick.

March the 5th, The said reverend father, sitting judicially in his chapel within his palace at London, Matthew sworn a witness against Pykas.

1527. took for a witness Thomas Matthew of Colchester, upon certain articles ministred to John Pykas; burdening him with an oath in the presence of the said Pykas, to answer truly, all kind of corruptions being laid aside.

The same day and place, before the said reverend father sitting judicially, appeared Thomas Matthew aforesaid. Against whom the said reverend father ministred articles; to which he answered distinctly, as in the answers subscribed by his own hand. And then the answers to the articles being made, the said Thomas abjured, as in the abjuration by the same publicly read, and reached to my lord, and by his hand subscribed, and signed with the sign of the cross; and submitted himself to correction. And then my lord, touching first the sacred gospels of God, and kissing them, absolved him in form of law. Being then present, Robert Ridley, John Royston, professors of divinity; Richard Sparchford, M.A. John Tunstal, chaplain; Nic. Tunstal; T. Dowman; Tho. Pilkington, and James Multon; all learned men.

Absolved
by the
bishop.

- p. 79. And then my lord enjoined him, that every week, for the five weeks of that instant Lent, he should distribute in alms, six shillings and eight pence: viz. sixteen-pence to the prisoners in the castle of the town of Colchester; and eight-pence to other prisoners, in the prison of the same town. And the remainder of the money to the poor of the town, in bread and herrings. And that he break the loaves, before they be delivered to the poor. And he enjoined him, to certify him of the premises the next week after Dominica in Albis, (that is, Low-Sunday,) and to receive the remainder of his punishment the same time.

Articles
ministred
to Pykas.

March the 7th, John Pykas made answer to the articles ministred to him, before the said bishop, sitting judicially in the chapel of his palace in London; there being present, Matthew Grefton, scribe of the acts; Tho. Forman, S. T. P. Richard Sparchford,

John Tunstal, and Tho. Chambre, chaplains, and many others. Which answer was to this tenor: 1527.

“That about a five yeres last past, at a certayn tyme, his mother, then dwellyng in Bury, sent for hym; and movyd hym, that he shuld not beleve in the sacraments of the church, for that was not the ryght way. And then she delyvered to this respondent, one book of Powle’s Epistoles in English; and byd hym lyve after the maner and way of the said Epistoles and Gospels, and not after the way that the church doth teche. Also, about a two yeres last past, he bowght in Colchestre, of a Lumbard of London, a New Testament in English, and payd for it foure shillinges. Which New Testament he kept, and read it thorowghly many tymes. And afterward, when he herd that the said N. Testaments were forbaden, that no man shuld keep them, he delyvered it and the book of Powle’s Epistoles to his mother ayen. And so, in contynuance of tyme, by the instruction of his mother, and by reading of the said books, he fell into these errors and heresies ayenst the sacrament of the altar; that he thougth that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, was not the *very body* of Christ, but only *bred* and *wyne*. His confessions. MSS. Foxian.

“Which heresie he hath divers tyme spoken and tawght; not only in the house of Thomas Matthew, in the presence of the said Matthew’s wife, William Pykas, and Maryon Westden, dawghter to Matthew’s wife; but also in the houses and presences of John Thompson, flecher; Dorothy Lane, Robert Best, Mestress Swayn, John Gyrlyng; John Bradley, blacksmith, and his wife; Thomas Parker, wever; Margaret Bowgas, the wife of Thomas Bowgas; Mestress Cambridge, wydow, of the town of Colchestre: and also in the house and presence of John Hubbert, of Est Donylond; Robert Bate, of the same; Richard Collins, alias Jonson, wever *de Boxtede*; John Wyley, of Horkesley, wever. Which all and singular persons, often and many tymes have had

1527. communication of the said articles with hym, and stedfastly belevyd them; and did affirm them to be of truth, as this respondent hath herd them say.

p. 80. “Also he saith, that he hath tawght, rehersed and affirmed, before all the said persons, and in their houses at sondry tymes, ayenst the sacrament of baptism; saying, that ther shuld be no such thyngs: for there is no baptysm, but of the Holy Ghost; and that he learned in the N. Testament in English: wheras John saith, ‘I baptize you but in water, in token of repentance; but he that shall come after me, is stronger than I, he shall baptize you in the ‘Holy Ghost.’ Also he saith, that he hath in the places and presence aforesaid, spoken agenst the sacrament of confession, saying, that it was sufficient for a man that had offended to shew his synnes pryvyly to God, without confession made to a pryst. Yet notwithstandyng this respondent hath yerely byn confessed, and housled, but for no other cause, but that people shuld not wondre uppon hym.

Bylney
preaches
at Ipswich.

“Also he saith, that he hath herd dyvers prechers preche, and specially Mr. Bylney preche at Ispiswiche, that it was but folly for a man to go on pilgrimages to saints; for they be but stocks and stones; for they cannot speke to a man, nor do him any good. And also, that men should pray only to God, and to no saints. For saints can here no man’s prayer, for they are but servants. Which after this respondent herd preched, he did publish and declare it to divers persons, and set it forward as much as in hym was. Moreover he saith, that Mr. Bylney’s sermon was most goostly, and made best for his purpose and opinions, as any that ever he herd in his lyef.

“Also he saith, that he hath oftentimes spoken ayenst fasting in places and presence aforesaid, that God never made no fastyng, and the church hath no authoritie to make it. Wherefore there shuld be none kept. And he saith, he kept no manner of fastyng, except the Imbren days. Also ayenst holy days, in the presence and places afore rehersed, and

many moo, this respondent hath said, that God never made holy days, but the Sunday, and no man else can make other. 1527.

“Also he confesseth, that he hath spoken, rehersed and affirmed, in the presence and places aforesaid, and dyvers other moo, ayenst pardons, saying, and affirmyng, that pardons graunted by the pope, or other men of the church, are of no effect. For they have no authoritie to grant them. Also he saith, that all the foresaid persons divers and many tymes hath resorted to this respondent’s company, to many sondray places, whereas they gladly and wyllingly hath herde thies articles red, tawght and disputed. And he knowith certaynly, that though some of the foresaid persons be not so well lerned as he, yet ther is never an one of them, but that hath spoken and affirmed the said articles to be true, and be infected with the same.

“Farther, he saith, that he hath now in his custody a book, called The Pryck of Conscience, and another of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome; which he had of a fryer of Colchestre: also a book which begynneth, ‘O thou most Glorious and Excellent ‘Lord,’ &c. Which he had of old Father Hacker, alias Ebbe. Also he had the copy of a book of communication, *inter fratrem et clericum*, of his brother William Pykas, which he lost by negligence, about a twelve months past.

Books in
his possession
confessed.

Be me JOHN PEKAS, of Colchestre.”

After this, Pykas and Hacker, before spoken of, the chief leaders and teachers of the rest, were thus sifted, and by imprisonment, severities and threatenings, brought to confess all the *known men and women*, as they were then called, even their friends, their brethren, their nearest relations, and those that themselves had brought into these opinions; they were enjoined penances, and abjured, and sworn to be witnesses against others, and to betray all; as we have seen in part, and shall further see.

CHAP. VIII.

A continuance of the visitation and prosecution of the professors of the gospel in the diocese of London. Many detected in Colchester, and the parts thereabouts.

1527.
Dr. For-
man of
Honey-
lane sus-
pended.
MSS. Fox-
ian.

ON Thursday, the 19th of March, Cuthbert, afore-said, Bishop of London, sitting judicially in a certain inner chamber within his palace in London, Robert Forman, S. T. P. rector of the parish church of All Saints, Honey-lane, appeared before him. Who forasmuch as he had despised the condemnation of Martin Luther, and of his books and works, together with the publication, declaration and monition thereof, and had kept in his possession, the books and works of the said Martin, by which he was involved and intangled in the sentence of the greater excommunication, by the authority of Pope Leo X. of happy memory, and for other just and lawful causes, the said reverend father inhibited and interdicted the said Forman, that hereafter he should not celebrate mass, nor preach publickly before the people, until he should otherwise be dispensed with, under the pain of law.

Thompson,
Pykas, &c.
of Col-
chester, ap-
pear before
the bishop.

The same day, in a certain great chamber in the said bishop's palace, appeared before him, John Thompson, William Pykas, Robert Best, John Tyrlyng, John Bradley, and Alice Gardner of Colchester, and John Hubberd, of East Donylond, being cited at that day, and detected of heretical pravity. To whom the reverend father, by word of mouth, recited and declared the articles and errors detected against them, and every of them, and admonished and exhorted them, that they should acknowledge and reveal their heresies and errors: and then caused them, and each of them, to be separated from one another, and committed unto custody to divers prisons. And afterwards he examined them singly: who being so

And com-
mitted to
custody.

examined, refused to acknowledge and reveal their heresies and errors, and did expressly deny to do so. Whereupon my lord admonished and counselled them to consider with themselves till to-morrow. 1527.

On Friday, the 20th of March, the bishop ministered articles against John Thompson, of Colchester; concerning which, he laid an oath upon him, touching the holy gospels, to answer truly. And then the said reverend father, *ex officio*, took for witnesses John Pykas, and John Hacker, alias Ebb, and William Raylond; on whom he laid an oath to depose faithfully, &c. without any kind of corruptions, in the presence of the said John Thompson. And then appeared William Pykas, whom my lord commanded to take an oath to answer truly; but he refused. Being asked, whether it were lawful to swear, he answered, he could not tell. And being often commanded to swear, and still refusing, the bishop commanded him to be committed to Lollard's Tower, and to be thrust into the stocks, for his manifest and manifold contumacy. And then before his departure, the bishop took the witnesses before named against him, and gave their oath, as above, in the presence of the same William.

John Thompson, and William Pykas appear.

p. 82.

William Pykas committed to Lollard's Tower.

The same day, and place, John Bradley appeared before the bishop sitting judicially: but refused to take an oath to answer truly. And being thereupon admonished and exhorted, by the said reverend father, he was sworn. Which thing being so done, the bishop took for witnesses against the same John Bradley, those that were brought for witnesses against Thompson; whom my lord caused to be sworn, according to the form of law, in the presence of the said Bradley. March the 23d, in the place aforesaid, the bishop took for witnesses William Pykas, and John Thompson, whom he swore, as above, in the presence of the said Bradley.

John Bradley appears

In like manner, John Hubberd, of East Donilond, John Girlyng, and Robert Best, and Alice Gardiner, of Colchester, appeared the same day and place, be-

Hubberd, Girlyng, Best, &c. appear.

1527. fore the bishop, and an oath according to the form being tendered them, to make true answer to such articles as should be propounded to them, (that is, to accuse themselves) they at first refused; Best said he would willingly swear, if his lordship would first declare what those articles were; which the bishop did, and giving some exhortation to the rest, he and they took their oaths. And then were sworn against them in their presence, John Pykas, John Ebb, alias Hacker, and William Raylond. Some days after, viz. April the 26th, Henry Raylond was sworn also a witness against the said Alice. And March the 23d, William Pykas, that had been put in the stocks in Lollard's Tower, for refusing to swear, submitted, and was sworn. And the said William Pykas, and John Thompson, were also then sworn witnesses against Best, and Hubberd. And thus brothers, and friends, were by oath bound, most unnaturally to accuse one another.

Now to shew how these that were sworn against their fellows, were searched and pumped, to do all the mischief possible to them, and that nothing might be concealed, that might rise up in judgment against these poor men, I shall next set down John Pykas, his examination; who having undergone abjuration and penance, that was not all, but this unworthy forced detection of his relations and friends, was the worst penance of all; which follows;

John
Pykas, his
examina-
tion against
Best.

John Pykas, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester, baker, where he lived from his birth, being born there, of thirty-three years of age, or thereabouts, of free condition, being a witness taken, admitted, sworn, and secretly and singly examined, of and upon articles ministered against Robert Best; and first upon his knowledge of him, he said he had known him well five or six years. He said moreover, that about a twelvemonth ago, he had communication with the said Robert Best, in his own house, two times, as he now remembreth, of the Epistle of James, so beginning, "James, the true servant of God." Also he

1527.

p. 83.

saith, that the said Robert Best had knowledge of the Epistle of James, and could say it by heart, or this deponent did company with him. Moreover he saith, that the said Robert Best hath been taken continually, by the space of a twelvemonth last past, as a *known man*, and a *broder in Christ*, amongst them that be called *brothren in Christ*, and *known men*. By the which it is understood, that the said Robert is of the same sect and learning as this deponent was. Also this deponent saith, that the said Best, about a twelvemonth past, borrowed of this deponent a New Testament in English, which he had in his custody, by the space of a month together.

Being examined against John Girlyng, he saith, that about a two or three years last past, this deponent, and John Girlyng, did commune together one time, in the house of the said John Girlyng, upon the xxivth chapter of Matthew, where Christ spake of Jerusalem, and said to it, "If thou knewest, thou wouldest weep: for there shall not a stone of thee be left upon a stone; for thou shalt be destroyed:" meaning thereby, that priests, and men of the church, which have strong hearts, (because they do punish hereticks, and be stubborn of heart) should reign a while, and in conclusion, God would strike them, and they should be destroyed for the punishment of hereticks. Also, that about an half year ago, he had communication with the said Girlyng in his house, or his shop, of a chapter of James, where it appeared that God is Father of light, and overshadowed all sin. And therefore we should pray only to him. For we be the beginning of his creatures, and he begat us willingly, by the words of truth: with which words, the said John Girlyng was content, and did consent to them, and allow and approve the same. *Item*, he saith, that the said John Girlyng is taken and reputed among all such as be *known men*, and called *brothers in Christ*, that is to say, hereticks, to be one of them, and of their sect and learning, and a favourer of the same: and for such a person, by the space of

Against
Girlyng.

1527. three years last past, he hath been reputed and taken, by the sure knowledge of this deponent.

And his
Wife.

And being examined as to the wife of John Girlyng, he saith, that one Robert Bishop, the natural son of the said Girlyng's wife, by another husband, about sixteen years past, told this deponent, that his mother did penance, but where, or for what cause, now he remembreth not.

Against
William
Raylond ;

Being examined against William Raylond, of the parish of the Holy Trinity in Colchester, he saith, that he knew him for a year, or thereabout, and communed with him concerning the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostle's Creed, in English, and of the Epistles of James and John often, in the house of the said W. R. in the presence of Henry his son ; also of the eight beatitudes contained in the fifth chapter of Matthew. Also he saith, that the said William Raylond, and Henry Raylond, his son, and this deponent have divers and many times within these twelvemonths, communed in the said W. R.'s house, against pilgrimages, and other articles : and there they concluded amongst them, that pilgrimages were not profitable for a man's soul, and that no honour, nor worship, should be given to the images in churches, but only to saints that were in heaven. Also, that it was not lawful to set up any light before images in the church. And so none of the *known men* did ever set up light before any images, as far

p. 84.

as he knoweth. Also, as concerning baptism in water, W. R. said, that baptism in water was but a token of repentance ; and when a man cometh to years of discretion, and keepeth himself clean, after the promise that his godfathers made for him, then he shall receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost. After the which communication so had and done, Henry Raylond being present at divers times in his said father's house, did hear the same, and did consent to the same, and said, that it was very good learning.

And Ma-
rion Mat-
thew ;

Also being examined against Marion Matthew,

alias Westdon, saith, that he hath heard her speak of the Epistles and Gospels, (and had them well by heart) in her own house, divers and many times: and had heard her say to him divers times within these three years, in her house, that men should not go on pilgrimages, for they were nought, and should not be used: and that she should say to him, that she had set up as few candles to images, as any woman had, for it was not leful. And he said further, that she had been taken and reputed as a *known woman*, and of the brotherhood, that is to say, as a woman suspect of heresy, by the space of these three years of his sure knowledge, and also by the space of twelve years, as he hath heard say. 1527.

Being examined, as to Dorothy Long, he saith, that he had known her for six years; and moreover said, that she was of the same sect, and infected with the same opinions and heresies, with which this deponent, and others above named, were infected: and that he often communed with the said Dorothy, concerning the said errors in her house. And Dorothy Long;

And being examined as to Katharine Swain, he saith, that he is ignorant: ye the saith that she is reputed for a *known woman*. And Katharine Swain;

Also being examined concerning Alice Gardiner, he saith, that he hath known her for twenty years, and communed with her of the Lord's Prayer, and the Angel's Salutation, and the Apostle's Creed, and certain Epistles in the vulgar tongue. To which communication in the said Alice's house, she assented, and freely gave her hearing, as he said, and further he knoweth not. And Alice Gardiner;

Being examined as to Mother Denby, he saith, he knoweth not. And Mother Denby;

Also being examined concerning Thomas Parker, he saith, that he hath known him sixteen years, and that the said Thomas Parker, and this deponent hath communed together, by the space of these two years, sometime in the house of the said Thomas Parker, and oftentimes in this deponent's house, and in the And Thomas Parker.

1527. presence of John Thompson, fletcher, son-in-law to the said Thomas. And in their communication so had betwixt them, the said Parker hath said and affirmed openly divers and many times, in places aforesaid, against pilgrimages, pardons, and other articles following, that pilgrimages were not profitable, and should not be used, and that we should worship God only, and no saints, &c. These, and many more, did Pykas discover.

William
Raylond
examined;
p. 85.

Against
John
Pykas:

Then William Raylond, formerly of Trinity parish in Colchester, and afterwards of St. Botolph's there, now of Ardely, was brought under examination, and by oath forced to betray his friends and relations. And being first examined about John Pykas, he saith, that within this twelvemonth last past, John Pykas, in this deponent's house, four times in the year, in the presence of this deponent, and his wife, Henry his son, and his wife, had said and affirmed, that in the host was but bread, and that the body of Christ was in the word, and not in the bread: and that God is in the word, and the word is in God, and God and the word cannot be departed. And that that bread was but in remembrance of his passion. The which heresy he saith, that he, and Henry his son, did gladly hear taught and read, and was content with the same, and believed it to be true.

Against
Henry
Raylond;

Being examined as to Henry Raylond, his son, he saith, that he hath heard the said John Pykas, and Henry Raylond, his son, oftentimes say in this deponent's house, that it is missavory to go on pilgrimage to Walsingham, Ipswich, or any other place. For they be but idols; and it is idolatry for to go to them in pilgrimage; and that they cannot help themselves. Therefore they cannot help another man. Also, that he hath heard John Pykas and Henry Raylond say, by the space aforesaid, in this deponent's house, and in presence aforesaid, that we should pray only to God, and to no saints. For saints in heaven have their reward. Also, that he hath oftentimes rebuked his son for the said opinions. To whom his

son would say, Yea, father, set your heart at rest, and apply yourself to learn the true laws of God, as I do. 1527.

Being examined about John Girlyng, he saith, that he hath known him six years; and saith moreover, that he hath heard the said J. G. rehearse a certain epistle of Paul, in this deponent's house, about four years ago, as he now remembereth, no man then being present, but the said J. G. and this deponent. Also that the said J. G. by reason that he used the company of W. Pykas, J. Pykas, J. Thompson, and this deponent, is taken, and hath been taken and reputed amongst the *known men*; which be those persons that be suspected of heresy, as one of them. Against John Girlyng;

Being examined further about Girlyng's wife, he saith, that about four or five years ago he had heard her speak of the Gospels and Epistles, and open the Apocalypse in her own house. Also, that what tyme she dwelled with Sir Thomas Evers, curate of Ikells, of the diocese of Norwich, which was about twelve years past, she was abjured, and did bear a faggot. And at last the said priest was burned for heresy, as he heard say. Also, that about five or six years past, this deponent asked the said John Girlyng's wife, sitting at the table in her own house, in the presence of this deponent's wife, this question, What is the sacrament of the altar? To whom she answered and said, that the sacrament of the altar was but an host; and that the body of Almighty God was joined in the word; and the word of God was all one, and might not be departed. Also, that at the same time, place, and presence, he did hear her say, that images of saints were but idols. And his wife.

This Raylond was also examined concerning Robert Best, Dorothy Long, Thomas Parker, Robert Bate, Thomas Bowgas, Mrs. Cowbridge, and many more; and detected them for *known men and women*.

To make thorough-work, this visitation went on vigorously in Essex the ensuing year, *viz.* 1528, partly before the bishop himself, and partly before his vicar-general. p. 86.
Further proceedings the next year.

1527.
The judi-
cial pro-
ceedings of
the bishop,

Against
Tho. Bow-
gas;

And Wil-
liam Bo-
cher;

Before the bishop sitting judicially in a chapel within his palace in London, April 28, 1528, appeared John Tybal, of Steeple Bumsted, a notable leader of these *known men*. Who was so dealt with, that upon his examination, he confessed all of himself, and of his party, and finally, was abjured, and did penance. May the 14th, ensuing, the said bishop sat as judge in the chapel, within a house, called the manor of the Bishop of Norwich, near Charing Cross. Then appeared before him, Thomas Bowgas, of St. Leonards in Colchester. Who, after his lordship had often exhorted and admonished him to submit and confess his errors, did at last submit himself; and declared, that he was contented to abjure his errors and opinions, and to return to the unity of the church. And then read publickly his abjuration, the Holy Gospel being by him touched, and signing his abjuration with his hand, and the sign of the cross. Which done, the said reverend father absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, which he had incurred, and enjoined him by his oath, and under pain of relapse, that on the Lord's Day next, he should go before the cross bare headed, in procession, in his church of St. Leonard at Hith, near Colchester, where he was a parishioner, carrying a faggot on his shoulder: and procession being done, he should hear high mass on his knees, before the steps of the choir, from the beginning to the end of it, and then depart. He enjoined him also, that he should bear no malice or hatred against the witnesses produced in this behalf, or should molest or trouble them any ways; and that he should certify of his penance done, and that either from himself, or else by his curate's letters, within fifteen days. And then, being asked whether he would undergo the penance enjoined, he answered, he would. Present at this meeting, Geffrey Wharton, the bishop's chancellor, William Layton, principal register, Mr. Thomas Chambré, chaplain; also Mr. Skelton, Marmaduke Tunstal, gentlemen, and divers others. On another day in May, did William Bocher,

of Steeple Bumsted, plowghwright, make his abjuration before the bishop, in the chapel of the manor of the Bishop of Norwich. In which day and place, did Robert Hempsted, of Steeple Bumsted, husbandman, appear before the bishop, and confessed and read divers articles, and then abjured all. And so also did Thomas Hempsted, his brother.

1527.

And Robert and Thomas Hempsted.

Dr. Wharton, the bishop's vicar-general, in June or July following, went down into Essex, the better to detect this nest of pretended hereticks. For the 15th of July, he sat in the chapel of St. Mary, within the monastery of St. Johns of Colchester, the venerable father, Thomas, abbot of the said monastery, and Mr. Michael Everard, assisting. To which session was cited Agnes Pykas, the wife of John Bradley, the wife of Thomas Parker, the wife of William Raylond, the wife of Henry Raylond, the wife of John Thompson, the wife of John Girlyng, Margaret Bowgas, Margaret Cowbridge, and John Clark, detected of heretical pravity: also Rose, the wife of Robert Bate, the wife of John Hubbert, and Katharine Swain, appeared, and other women. Who now were sworn to answer truly: and witnesses were sworn against them, namely, John Hacker, John Pykas, and William Raylond. The 16th of July, the said vicar-general sat again in the same chapel: and again the 17th. Then Margaret Cowbridge brought for her compurgators, Thomas Burton, Bartholomew Culpack, John Sterling, Robert Dow, Emme Harkyn, Anne Christmas, Margery Draper, and Joan Norman. With which, proclamation being made for contradiction in due form of law, she purged herself, and swore that she was not guilty, or blameworthy, upon the articles objected to her, as she believed. Then the persons before named swore, that of their belief and knowledge, she was not guilty in these matters. Which purgation the vicar-general admitted and declared she was lawfully purged, and restored her to her former fame. And then did swear her, that for the time to come, she should keep the

The bishop's vicar general visits in Essex.

Colchester.

His proceedings against divers known women.

p. 87.

1527. Catholick Faith, that she should not knowingly favour hereticks, nor conceal them, nor contract familiarity with them: and that if she knew any hereticks, she should denounce them with their heresies, as soon as she could, to the ordinary. In the same day and place, did Margery Bowgas also purge herself with divers compurgators. July the 20th, Dr. Wharton removed from Colchester, and came to Walden, where he sat in St. Mary Chapel, within the monastery there. Then he administred oaths to Robert Faire, Isabel Holden, and John Wiggen, to make true answer. And July the 21st, he received the confession and abjuration of Edmund Tibal, husbandman. Present, Core, rector of Radwinter, Sir Richard, curate of Haydon, John Golding, and Thomas Turner, learned men. July the 22d, in the same place, he swore Joan Agnes, alias Smith, detected of heretical pravity, to make true answer. The same day, and place, appeared John Smith, and Agnes Smith, of Rideswel, detected and suspected of heretical pravity: whom the said vicar-general swore to make true answer.

And these were some of the doings of Bishop Tunstal, and his chancellor, against such as presumed to read God's word, or vary in the least from the corrupt doctrines and practices of the Roman church, as they happened in the years 1527, and 1528. And so the prosecution went on with as much rigor, through the years 1529, and 1530, (when good Bilney suffered,) and 1531, even till the disgrace and fall of the cardinal, and the king's marriage with Anne Bolen. Some account of which years is set down by Fox; whereas the years 1527, and 1528, are by him very sparingly spoke of. And therefore I have taken this notice of them; that the memory of these professors and confessors might not be wholly lost: and that I might not burthen this history with the prolix examinations and abjurations of these poor men and women before mentioned, and yet to preserve them from perishing, I have put some of

them into the Appendix; as the confession of John Tybal, the abjurations of T. Bowgas and William Bocher, the confessions of Robert and Thomas Hemsted, and of R. Necton: who went about the dioceses of London and Norwich, to disperse Tindal's New Testament, the greater and the smaller, and other Lutheran books, buying them of the merchants, and selling them again. All taken *verbatim* from the register of Bishop Tonsal.

1527.
No. XVII.
XVIII.
XIX. XX.
XXI.
XXII.

CHAP. IX.

p. 88.

The cardinal acting in the king's matrimonial cause. Ambassadors sent to the pope to dissolve the marriage. The king's own book against it. Which was brought to the pope.

BUT to return to the cardinal; we will stay a little longer at this year 1527, the king's great matrimonial cause being about this time earnestly transacted; upon which such great alterations afterwards depended; and wherein our cardinal bore so considerable a part: and that, if you will believe his own protestations, because he judged the marriage, in which the king lived, to be unlawful: and because he thought the cause was very just.

The cardinal shews the king his unlawful marriage.

It is certain, he was as earnest in this cause, as ever he was in any; as appears by his importunacy with the pope: "begging and beseeching him, as he esteemed him a Christian, a good cardinal, worthy of that sacred college, no useless and unprofitable member of the apostolick see; as he looked upon him to be a lover of right and justice, his faithful creature, and, in a word, one that desired eternal salvation; that he would at this time have respect unto his counsel and intercession, and favourably grant the king his most godly requests. Which, had he not known them to be right, holy and just; he would rather, he said, have undergone all kind of punishment, than have promoted them: nay, that he would pawn his very life and soul for them."

Hist. Reform. Vol. i.
Coll. VIII.
B. II.

1527.

But yet, according to historians, this his zeal sprang out of a displeasure he took both against Queen Katharine, and the emperor, nearly related to her. The emperor he hated, who had opposed his election to the popedom. And he was averse to the queen, as it is said, because she had taken the liberty to reprove his dissolute way of living.

Now, to bring his purpose to pass, the king was first to be brought into scruples, or rather his former scruples were to be renewed, concerning the lawfulness of that matrimony; which the king at first seemed not disposed to annul. And then the pope was to be dealt withal to dissolve it.

An embassy to the pope, for the dissolving it.

So the cardinal, they say, first instigated Bishop Longland, the king's confessor, to shew his majesty in what unlawful marriage he led his life. Which the cardinal seconded with other reasons to the king; as, the want of issue male, and the danger of contents and tumults in his kingdom arising thence.

When the king was resolved to send to the pope about this matter, the embassy, by the counsel and managery of the cardinal, was to consist in these points: *viz.*

p. 89.

The ambassadors were to signify to the pope the king's scruples concerning his marriage; and that he had thoroughly studied the matter himself, and found it unlawful *jure divino*. And they were to represent the dangerous condition of himself, his issue, and kingdom hereby. And therefore he required of the pope a *bull*, that should contain,

I. A commission to two cardinals, for hearing and determining the cause in England: hereof Cardinal Wolsey to be one.

II. A decretal, wherein the pope should pronounce the marriage void, upon proof of carnal knowledge between Arthur, the king's brother, and Katharine.

III. A dispensation for the king to marry another.

IV. A pollicitation, that the pope would not revoke any of these his acts.

And minutes of this instrument were drawn up by

the cardinal, and sent withal. A copy of which may be read in the History of the Reformation. 1527.
Vol. i. Coll.
No. X.

Two of these four, by Knight and Cassalis, the king's ambassadors, their solicitations, and the earnest letters of Cardinal Wolsey, the pope (by Gambará, his prothonotary) sent, *viz.* the commission, and the dispensation signed by himself; but altered from the minutes and forms drawn up here. But the pope's messenger told the king, at the delivery of them, that if the said instruments were in any point thought insufficient, or that any thing, by the advice of learned men, were thought convenient to be added thereto; his holiness would be ready to perform it: and withal to dispatch all such breves, bulls and rescripts, as might conduce to the effectual determination of the matter. But, as the king and cardinal were not pleased, that the pope had not drawn his commission and dispensation according to the minutes sent; and that the two other instruments required, were not sent at all: so it mitigated their displeasure, that the pope had offered so freely to do any thing else, that should be judged convenient. B. II.
A commis-
sion and
dispensa-
tion, sent
from the
pope.

This caused another embassy: and Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Fox, the king's servant, provost of King's College, Cambridge, were dispatched to the pope, to effect this, in February 1527, according to the computation of the Church of England. A second
embassy
sent to the
pope.

Of whom Gardiner was the chief; having been admitted into the king's and cardinal's cabinet council for this affair, and stiled, in the cardinal's credential letters to the Pope, Primary Secretary of the most Secret Counsils. He was grown into extraordinary request with the cardinal; insomuch that in his said letters, he calleth Gardiner the "Half of himself; than whom none was dearer to him." He writ, that he should unlock his breast to the pope; and that in hearing him speak, he might think he heard the cardinal himself. The cardi-
nal's cha-
racter of
Gardiner.

The particulars of this embassy, of which I have the very minutes, in divers letters sent to the king Int. Foxij
MSS.

1527. and cardinal, I will give some account of; especially of such things as the Lord Herbert, or the right reverend author of the History of the Reformation, have made no mention of, or but briefly and imperfectly.

p. 90. These ambassadors carried with them the king's pollicitation, obliging himself to stand by the pope in his present troubles from the emperor; and money to present the cardinals, and others the pope's servants with; as gratuities, when the commission and other matters should be dispatched.

The instructions of it.

But though the king's great matrimonial cause were the chief matter of this embassy, yet they had divers other businesses to do at this court. They had instructions concerning the cardinal's college, and to get certain breves from the pope, for the better establishment of it; and for taking away, by a redemption, the first-fruits, for the ease of the clergy: and upon some propositions made by Nix, Bishop of Norwich, for the releasing of his diocese from the said fruits. Which last business they got dispatched. Likewise something was to be done by the pope, about the degradation of priests. And for the canonization of King Henry VI. And a pardon was to be procured for Windsor College.

The ambassadors arrive at the pope's court, at Orvieto.

The ambassadors went first to Francis, the French king, to solicit him to use his interest with the pope, in King Henry's present cause. Thence, by post, to the pope; whom they found at Orvieto, lately (*viz.* December 9,) escaped out of the castle of S. Angelo, where he was prisoner. There the ambassadors arrived, March the 20th: where they met Sir

Sir Gregory Cassalis.

Gregory de Cassalis, one of the king's ambassadors sent before; who very humanly received them, leaving them his own bed, and lodging them in his own lodgings; and providing them, at his own cost and charges, all things that were necessary for them. He kept an honourable port here; and had great access of gentlemen to him, to his great cost, and the king's great honour. The pope had him in great reputation. And he was able to do the king much service

there; and so much as could be done by none other man. 1527.

The pope hearing of their coming, by a message from them, sent Sauga (the datary's servant) to them, to welcome them into that city in the pope's name; telling them, that his holiness was sorry, he could not better receive them into that town, being himself destitute and unprovided of all things: offering them free access to his presence, at their pleasure. The said servant advertising them also, that his holiness's mind was, they should, all ceremonies set apart, repair to him after an homely and familiar manner. But being minded first to discourse somewhat more largely with Cassalis, according to their instructions, they excused themselves for a few days, for want of apparel. Which, however, was true and evident. For journeying by post, they were fain to leave all their clothes behind them at Calais; and had now no other coats to wear, but those they rid in; being much worn and defaced by the bad weather.

Orviet was an old, decayed town: and all things here were now in great scarcity and dearth, as the like was hardly any where else; not only in victuals, (which could not be brought into the town in any quantity, by reason all things were conveyed by asses and mules) but also in other necessities. So as cloth, camblet, or such like merchandises, which in England might be worth twenty shillings, were there worth six pounds: and yet not to be had in any quantity neither. So that had not the ambassadors made provision for their gowns at Lucca, they must of necessity have gone in Spanish cloaks; such as they could have borrowed of the pope's servants. And therein would have been difficulty; inasmuch as few of them had more garments than one. And had not Sir Gregory resided there, and being advertised of their coming, had made preparation for their lodging, (borrowing of divers men, so much as might furnish three beds) they had been in danger of their lives at their coming into the town; being a very foul day, and they forced

The incommodiousness of this place.

p. 91.

1527. to pass a river on horseback, within a mile of the town; wherein they rid so deep, as the water came almost to their girdlested, and were very wet.

The pope
ill accommodated
here.

This town, Orvieto, was as much as to say, *urbs vetus*, an old city. And so it might well be called: for every man, at his first entrance into it, in his own tongue, would give it no other name. It was a fall, from the top of the hill, to the lowest part of the mountain. And in these respects, such was the condition of the place, that our ambassadors, in their letters to Cardinal Wolsey, said, they could not tell how the pope could be said to be at liberty, being there, where hunger, scarcity, ill-favoured lodging, ill air, and many other incommunities, kept him and all his as streightly, as he was ever captive in Castle Angel: and that it was, *aliqua mutatio soli, sed nulla libertatis*.

And, in effect, the pope could not deny to Sir Gregory, but it had been better to be in captivity at Rome, than there at liberty. He lay in an old palace of the bishop's of that city, ruinous and decayed. Where, before they came to the pope's bed-chamber, they passed three chambers, all naked and unhang'd, the roofs fallen down, and, as was guessed, thirty persons, riff-raff, and others standing in the chambers for a garnishment. And as for the pope's bed-chamber, all the furniture in it was not worth twenty nobles, bed and all.

The ambassadors
first access
to the
pope.

March the 22d, they came into the pope's presence, and so were for some time with him every day, three or four hours together, sometimes till midnight, consulting and debating of their business. This their first access was after this manner. Being admitted into his privy bed-chamber, they found him accompanied with the Cardinal De Radulphis. After due reverence, and ceremonies accustomed, they delivered him the king's and the cardinal's letters: which he immediately read over. And then repeated to the ambassadors the sum of them, in very compendious and well-couched words: and without suffering them

to speak a word, went on, acknowledging the great benefits the king had done him, and the see apostolick; and especially in the time of his captivity: and how much he and the apostolick see were beholden and bound to the cardinal; by whose procurement, solicitation and mediation, such things had been always set forth, as might conduce unto the same. Adding thereunto, of what mind and intention he ever was, as well before, as since his preferment to that dignity; namely, to do all things that might be to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's highness; and especially in this case, touching so near the quietness and tranquillity of his conscience, with the wealth and commodity of his realm. And many such words, spoken, as they might judge, as proceeding sincerely from the bottom and root of his heart and soul. Then he willed them finally, without any circumstance of words, familiarly to enter with him into communication of the essential points of their charge: wherein he promised to give such resolutions, without tract or delay, as they could reasonably desire, and as might be agreeable with law and equity, for the justification of his doings, and maintenance of his and the king's honour hereafter.

1527.
His speech
to them.

p 92.

At this point, his holiness making a pause, Dr. Gardiner said, that it was well known to the king and the cardinal, of the great zeal, love and affection, that his holiness bare towards them both, and the wealth of the realm of England: whereof of late both had advertisement, as well by sundry letters of Sir Gregory de Cassalis, as also the reports and relations of Mr. Secretary, Dr. Knight, and more amply by the mouth of the Prothonotary Gambaro, sent from the pope to the king. Who, he said, had exhibited to the king a *commission* and *dispensation*, (the one to examine the king's matter in England, and the other to allow of another marriage) both passed by his holiness: but that the same instruments, being altered from the minutes and forms that was by the king desired, and so not fully serving the king's pur-

They deliver their
message.

1527. pose, their message was, that another commission and dispensation might be drawn up and granted: especially, considering, that the pope had before, by his agent Gambara, promised to supply and reform, if any thing might be thought wanting in the said instruments; and to add other bulls and breves thereunto, if required.

The pope's
answer.

But the pope, out of fear of the emperor, was willing to make delays; and to dissemble, and keep the same secret, till all things were compounded and pacified in Italy. He pretended also, for his delay, that this, the king's matrimonial matter, was not managed, as he heard, with Cardinal Wolsey's consent, or knowledge. But this coming to the cardinal's ears, before these ambassadors came away, he ordered them to protest to the pope, on the cardinal's behalf, that he was sincere in the matter. And so they did at this time; and then delivered the cardinal's judgment, as to the merits of the cause, and likewise of the good qualities of the gentlewoman, meaning the Lady Anne, whom the king had signified his inclinations, after his divorce from Queen Katharine, to take for his royal consort, for the sake of an heir to the kingdom by her. For it had been told the pope before by some, that the king followed some private affection in this matter: and that the lady was already with child; and that she had no such qualities, as should be worthy the king's bed. Therefore for the taking off these false reports, the ambassadors were thus instructed by the cardinal.

The king's
book
against his
marriage.

At this meeting they also told the pope, that the king had writ a book of his own cause; which they had brought with them, to read to his holiness. And herein the king's reasons were set down, for the dissolving his present marriage, and of the scruples of his conscience. Of which the pope said, "That to his majesty's opinion, mind and sentence, he would sooner lean, than any other learned man's: and that the king's reasons must needs be of great efficacy and sufficiency, whereby this matter might be ruled and

What the
pope said
of it.

ordered; considering his excellent wisdom, learning and judgment. All which, he doubted not, had concurred to the setting forth of this matter.” 1527.
p. 93.

And then he appointed the ambassadors the next day to resort to him, and to read before him the said book; and so, being informed of the reasons, consult with them, and the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, how the commission should pass.

And this was the sum of the transactions in this first meeting.

CHAP. X.

The pope reads the king's book; and commends it. Divers conferences with the pope, about the king's matter. The pope declares his mind in it.

THE ambassadors the next day, being March the 23d, exhibiting the king's book to the pope, he began to read standing: and after a while, sitting down upon a form, covered with a piece of an old coverlid, not worth twenty-pence. That which he read was the Epistle, being directed by the king to the cardinal and the prelates, requiring their answer thereunto in the end of it; and that part of the book that related to the law: not suffering any of them to help him therein. Noting the reasons, as one succeeded another: and making his objections; which he afterward saw answered.

The pope much commended the book; and said, he would keep it with him for a day, to read over as well the first part, which he had not read, as the second part again, which he had. He asked the ambassadors for the answer of the cardinal and prelates to the king's Epistle. They told him, no answer was made in writing; and of what import their answer was by word of mouth, might be perceived, by the letter the cardinal had writ to his holiness. He asked also, whether the king had broken this matter to the

The pope reads it.

His questions put to the ambassadors.

1527. queen? They answered, yes; and that she shewed herself content to stand to the judgment of the church. Then he signified some doubt, whether the English cardinal should be refused to be a judge in this matter, as suspected to favour one side; having already declared his mind hereupon; and so in manner giving sentence beforehand. But they said, that hindered not, but that the pope might commit it unto his grace's indifferent knowledge of the fact; sending a commission decretal, *in eventum veritatis facti allegati*. With which the pope seemed satisfied.

The commission decretal; what.

p. 94.

In which commission it was devised, for avoiding all lets, that the clause should be put into it, *remota recusatione et appellatione*. Whereunto his holiness assented. This commission, ready drawn up and prepared, they left at that time with the pope, as he desired, that he might read it himself: pretending then, that he would do all things to the king's desire, with the greatest speed that could be. Which, indeed, the ambassadors did much excite him to; urging, what danger it was to the realm to have this matter hang in suspense. His holiness confessed the same; beginning to reckon what divers titles might be pretended by the King of Scots, and others: and granted, that without an heir male, with provision to be made by the consent of the states for the succession, the realm were like to come to dissolution.

The ambassadors concert with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*.

Then departing from the pope, they went to concert the matter with the cardinal, to whose trust and care the pope had commended it; *viz.* the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Who was so just and honest, as to refuse two thousand crowns, that were sent from the king to him, to be presented him by the hands of Sir Gregory, and the king's secretary, that came ambassadors before. And all that they could do, was to fasten thirty crowns on his secretary; the cardinal saying, that he was, and so would be reputed the king's true servant, to do any thing that lay in his power, that he might be serviceable unto him; to whom the See Apostolick, and the members of the

same were so much obliged : and that he thought all that he had done, or could do, was much less than his duty towards him, who had so much merited from them, in making war for the churches cause, and ceasing from war at the pope's desire ; and especially for procuring the pope's deliverance ; and other things done by him, for the church, in other popes' days. And for these causes, he said, he would shew himself diligent in expediting the king's business. And so they entred upon consideration of the commission with this cardinal.

And at last, the cardinal concluded, that the commission should pass under lead ; but so, as the pope's holiness might alledge, if he listed, ignorance therein, as being passed by his officers. But the ambassadors liked not that ; because such a commission, by an inhibition obtained in the like fashion, might be frustrate. In fine, they perceived, that it was only the fear of the Spaniards' victory in Italy that let the cause ; and lest that army might upon this matter make a quarrel with the pope, who was but newly got out of their hands.

Soon after they had conference with the pope about some cardinal, whom he should think most convenient to be sent jointly with Cardinal Wolsey, or severally, for compounding a peace between the princes. But the pope, at the present, refused to take upon him the province of a moderator of the peace. Though the emperor had sent unto the pope letters for that purpose, as Gambara had told the king. Which when our ambassador had mentioned to the pope, he acknowledged, faintly, he had such letters, but spake little of that matter. The ambassador then propounded the said Cardinal Campegius, as a meet person to be sent into England, to mediate in the pope's name : and who being here, might jointly with Wolsey proceed in the king's business. The pope replied, that it would be hereby so divulged, that whatsoever other cause were pretended, it would be verily thought this were the chief cause. They

Cardinal
Campegius
propound-
ed to be
joined with
Wolsey.

1528. added, that no such thing would be judged concern-
 p. 95. ing Campegius, because he was noted somewhat to
 favour the emperor's causes, and to be indifferent.

The pope,
 cardinals
 and am-
 bassadors,
 in consult-
 ation.

March the 26th, 1528, the ambassadors waited again upon the pope: who withdrew into a little study, which he used for a sleeping chamber: there seating himself against the wall, he caused the ambassadors, and the cardinals, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, Ursinus, Cæsarinus, and De Cæsis, to sit around about him; and then called for Jacobus Symonet, dean of the Rota, a man of great gravity, and substantially learned. Next, the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* began to propose the consultation, and cause of the meeting. And after him spake the dean, approving of what the cardinal before had spoken: yet with a preface, that it was a case he had not much studied. Then the pope willed Dr. Gardiner to speak. Who then urged what he thought good, in defence of the commission. Which proved to their good satisfaction. And so the pope allowed the king's desire. For finally, the matter was reduced to this point, that such commission, although in old time it had past, (for the ambassadors had proved before, that it was agreeable to such as be in the decretals, and had shewed the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, this, by rehearsing to him the chapter *Veniens*, in the title *De Sponsalibus*) and was not discrepant from justice; yet it was now a new and uncouth thing: and the emperor might take occasion against the pope to say, that to his injury he did an act against the custom, and common stile of the court, observed from the times that the *decretals* were put forth. But from this the ambassadors made a shift at length to bring the pope.

The pope
 declares
 his mind in
 this matter.

And now it rested only to know the opinions of learned men, whether the particular cases expressed in the commission, might be justified to be sufficient for a divorce, or not. And thereupon Symonet was wished to consult his books, and to have conference with the ambassadors. This meeting took up four hours. Then the pope said, that he had so much

confidence in the king's conscience, as he would ground his thereupon; and did persuade himself that it was true and just, which so appeared unto the king's conscience, and would upon that ground privily pass any thing he might do by his authority. But in this case, which should come to the knowledge of the world, he said he must do, as the See Apostolick be not slandered thereby. Forasmuch as in himself, his holiness acknowledged no such profound learning, as were sufficient to discuss this matter. Therefore he thought he could do no less, than consult with others that were about him thereupon: that he might have them to justify his doings, whatsoever should be alledged on their parts. For upon this matter, he doubted not, the emperor would cause divers universities to write. And thereupon he pulled out a letter, and shewed it to Sir Gregory, which was sent secretly from a gentleman in the emperor's court; mentioning what answer was made by the emperor to the information made unto him, on the king's behalf, concerning this matter of divorce. Which added some fear to the pope, who was of his own nature timorous. Which fear was increased by the doubtful end of the war in Naples.

Symonet and the ambassadors meeting together, from seven of the clock in the morning till dinner time, and after dinner till it was night, argued matters of law in the king's matter. He taking upon him to make what objections he could against the causes alledged in the commission. But at last he descended from reasoning, to persuade the ambassadors rather to take a general commission, in as ample form and manner as they could devise, with promise of ratification, than to stick upon that form they required, being new, and out of course. And if they would be so content, he would not doubt, but they should speed to-morrow. And so made his reckoning, that within three months, sentence might be given here in England, and remitted to the pope to be

1528.

p. 96.
Symonet
and the
ambassa-
dors argue
matter of
law.

1523. confirmed. But the ambassadors would by no means yield unto it.

Another
meeting.
The com-
mission re-
quired to
be dis-
patched.

Some days after, they had another meeting with the pope, the cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and *De Monte*, and Symonet, present, in his sleeping chamber. Now Dr. Gardiner again urged the passing the commission: the question stuck at being only, whether the pope might do it lawfully? To which the said ambassador said, "That he presumed the pope was satisfied, that he might in justice do it, convinced by the king's book; and also by the offer which the said two cardinals and Symonet had made: who had told them, that the sentence given in England, should be confirmed by his holiness. Which promise, said Gardiner, if it were to be trusted to, was a plain confession, that the cause was good, or else it ought not to be confirmed. So that between the ambassadors' desire, and the cardinal's offer, there was, he said, only difference of time; and that which was promised to be done after the sentence, the ambassadors required to be done in effect before. Which was necessary to be obtained, for avoiding such chances as might hinder the obtaining of the confirmation; as, the death of the pope, or other adverse success."

Gardiner
threatens.

He said, moreover, "That if this were not granted, the king would take it very strangely, and would think his manifold benefits ill employed: if merely for manner and form, which was the only impediment, he could not obtain justice; and no respect should be had of his person, and the weight of his cause: and if after so great charges, cost, and delay of time, he might obtain no more, than he might have obtained at home: and that he doubted not, his majesty, understanding hereof, would use a domestick remedy within his own kingdom, without ventilating his cause, where he should perceive it was handled, looked on and heard, as though there were already rooted in men's hearts a prejudicate opinion, that all

things were coloured, and grounded on no root of justice and truth." 1523.

Then all looking one upon another, and speaking nothing, Symonet thinking the matter touched him near; inasmuch as granting and offering confirmation of the sentence, he should seem to approve the justness of the cause; began to make and shew a difference between confirming the sentence after it was given, and making this decretal commission. And so entred again into reasoning of the cause. In fine, the pope said, that all that which with his honour he might do, he would do gladly, without tract or difficulty. To which the ambassadors answered, that what was not honourable for his holiness to grant, was not honourable to be desired on the king's behalf. So as in this matter, if honour should be touched, it should be touched in both: and it was not to be supposed, that the king, who hitherto had such respect of his honour, conserved and defended the same above all princes, should now do any thing, that should stain or blemish the same: or that the cardinal would counsel or minister any thing, that should be dishonourable to both, or either of them.

The ambassadors grow more earnest.

p. 97.

The pope, observing that their words were plainer than formerly, and that by degrees they began to speak more earnestly, at length yielded: saying, that he was fixed and determined, to satisfy the king's desires, to set aside all stile and common course of the court: which, he said, could be no law to him, nor bind his holiness to follow the same in so great a cause as that was, and to such a prince, who had deserved so many benefits of the See Apostolick: extending his authority herein, and speaking as it were against *Sanctorum Quatuor*, who was a great defender of the stile of the Roman court. Adding, that if in the law these causes may be ground, just and sufficient, to maintain a sentence of divorce, he would make such a commission, any style or use to the contrary notwithstanding: subjoyning, that if the emperor should grudge thereat, he cared not. And,

The pope yields.

1528. having matter to defend the justice of the cause, he would by brief signify to the emperor and the world, that in that manner of administering justice, he of duty ought to shew all favour and grace to the king's highness. Whereupon he would hear what the Cardinal De Monte and De Ancona said, to whom he would write; and having their judgments he would satisfy the ambassador's desires.

CHAP. XI.

The pope declined the king's matter, as much as he could, for fear of the emperor. A notable speech of Dr. Gardiner to the pope.

IN case this large commission decretal would not be granted by the pope, the Cardinal Wolsey had considered upon another expedient; namely, to have the king's matter examined and prosecuted before the pope: only, he feared the length of the process, the court at Rome being so dilatory. Therefore he secretly had instructed the ambassadors to learn, how long the process might continue, in case it should be examined and discussed there: now, to this the ambassador sent answer, that without giving any cause to them of conjecturing, that the ambassadors would have it brought thither, they had by all means possible endeavoured to know this. And first they perceived, that that court had no mind, as the state of the world then was, that it should come there, the Cæsarians being not yet purged out of those parts. And as for all the stops, difficulties, and delays in this matter, they proceeded only, as they wrote to the cardinal, from fear. Which, they said, considering their late calamities, and the uncertainty of the war in Naples, seemed to be such, as might happen to a constant man. They feared another captivity, which the doing this might occasion: and the news daily came of the Spaniards' adversity, yet they feared, and were

The pope
cared not
to have the
cause
brought
before him.

glad to retain, and not to abandon, the emperor's part. The process, as they wrote, would probably be long there, where every learned man should have liberty to say his mind. Nor cared they to meddle openly against the emperor, especially in this, which he took so much to stomach, as they knew he did. So that the pope's and cardinal's device was, how speed might be made in England in this cause, and then that the sentence should be remitted to them to be confirmed. And other answer the ambassadors could get none.

1528.

So that all that had hitherto been spoken by that court, as that the king should first marry, and such other devices, were set forth only for that intent, that whatsoever they did, they would not be noted of counsel in the beginning of the matter, or to be privy to any specialty thereof in the commencement. For which cause the ambassadors were the more earnest, as they wrote the cardinal, in pressing them to grant the commission after the first device, mentioning the specialties of the cause. Which set apart, and not required, they were certain, they said, to obtain the second degree of their instructions, in the most ample wise, and with great thanks to take it: which was a commission allowing of an appeal. With which they should have a promise to confirm the sentence there, with all speed and expedition possible. They wrote the cardinal, that all things considered, and the difficulty that at that time attended the pope, and the adverse party slandering the king, as though, without extraordinary remedy, he could not obtain his purpose; it was their judgment, that the second instructions should serve to very good purpose, to ground the process upon, and to be that which should be openly shewed or exhibited. And they verily thought, notwithstanding the pope's words, which he had spoke to them, they should not be able to obtain that commission that ran in that form aforesaid.

The ambassadors consider the pope's circumstances.

A secret commission from the pope propounded.

And therefore, considering that the effect of that commission was only that it might appear to be the

1528. judgment of the church in those articles, for the discharge of such as should proceed therein; the ambassadors desired, that being without hope of obtaining the commission absolutely in the first form, they should desire the pope to pass it secretly, to remain with the king's highness for justification of his matter, in case happily the pope's confirmation of the sentence that should be pronounced in England, by some chance could not afterwards be obtained. And the same should be kept secret, and shewed to none but only the king's counsellors. And so the pope should give them a general commission, as was promised, for a legate, as their instructions purported. And that by some light words uttered, they thought they might probably obtain such a secret rescript of the pope determining the cause.

A cardinal
to be sent.

p. 99.

The pope, however he had no mind to send any cardinal into England about this business, yet he told the ambassadors he would send one, such as should be agreeable to the king's desire. The cardinal Campegius was then at Rome: of whom the pope said, that the said cardinal wrote to him to give credit to the king's writings and reasons in this matter. So that the ambassadors concluded, there was no doubt of his good will; but only they feared he might make too long halts by the way, being exceedingly troubled with the gout: but nevertheless it was not yet known who should be the cardinal to be sent.

The pope
will consult
with the law-
yers, before
he will
pass any
thing.

The pope still, to colour over his delays, pretended that he was ignorant in the law. For which, he said, he was both sorry and ashamed; and therefore that he must consult those that were learned therein; whether the matrimony should be declared null, and the dispensation for it void, before he could come to any resolution. And that otherwise, when the commission should come abroad, as it must do, by reason a copy thereof should be given to the queen, and so consequently to the emperor's hands; he should be looked upon as rash, to the slander of the church, doing it without counsel; or too credulous a judge,

to be persuaded by sayings of the party only, without hearing any thing replied on the other side. He added, that those of the court there, learned men in the law, whose counsel the popes had heretofore followed, would be sure to study to confute that which should be done, (though the same were well done) to the passing whereof their judgment was not required. Though of the truth of the matter himself was persuaded, he said, by the king's and the cardinal's writings.

1526.

Then Dr. Gardiner replied, "That this answer of his holiness was different from what he had spoken in divers former communications; and that the king would conclude it to be invented to colour the denial of his purpose. From whence might arise such suspicions in the king's breast, as the Cardinal Wolsey would be loth should enter there. He advised the pope, that he would have good regard unto the king's sentiments upon this his dealing; and stop the occasion, that was flying by, and endeavour to retain the king's devotion towards the See Apostolick, and not put things in such condition, as they should not be recoverable by any means hereafter. And that now was the time, in which, doing that which of justice and duty he ought to do, his holiness might acquire an inestimable treasure of the king's good will, for the recovery of the authority of the See Apostolick, with maintenance of the same."

Gardiner's
smart reply

Bishop Staphileus, the pope's agent, was now returned from England. To him our ambassadors resorted: who by instructions from King Henry was to join with them in the business, wherein they were soliciting the pope on his behalf. Which that bishop promised them to do. But whereas the instructions of the ambassadors were, that the commission should be directed to Wolsey alone, or to him and another legate; Staphileus said, his instructions were the quite contrary, and that the king at the More, on an evening he was there with him and the cardinal, said, that the queen might, and would refuse the cardinal;

Staphileus
his return
out of
England.

1528. and therefore that it would be well done, that his grace should not meddle as judge in the matter. From which our ambassadors could not a great while
- p. 100. bring him, though they assured him it was not so, being quite different from their instructions: till at length he said he would conform himself to their instructions.

The French king's judgment of King Henry's cause.

Staphileus came through France: whose king made him his ambassador to the pope. Of whom Staphileus, in that quality, had certain audiences. In one whereof he told the pope, that he thought the King of England's cause was good. That he knew nothing of that form of commission the English ambassadors so much urged: only that a legate should be sent with a general commission, and that the king liked not of Wolsey to be judge.

A disputation commenced, before the pope, thereof.

The Friday before Palm Sunday, was appointed by the pope a solemn *consessus* of the cardinals De Monte and *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and Staphileus, and the dean of the Rota, an auditor of the Rota, and Gambara, were also present, to dispute upon the king's matter. The ambassadors all the while were in the pope's little chamber. Staphileus made a long oration, containing his whole book, with the reasons thereof, which lasted two hours. *Sanctorum Quatuor* spake next: resuming Staphileus his arguments, and seemed to refute them. And Staphileus replied. Then Gardiner desired leave of the pope to speak: and it being granted, answered the reasons of *Sanctorum Quatuor*, which were but frivolous. But that cardinal remitting his reasons to the dean of the Rota; some of them were sifted so well between Gardiner and the said dean, that the pope plainly perceived the weakness of them.

A notable speech of Gardiner.

Then Dr. Gardiner made a brisk speech to them: "That the king, the nobles and people of England, would think strangely of the pope, and that college, and would cry out upon them, as a most ungrateful generation, and most negligent of the king's kindness; viz. that they, who ought to be simple as doves, and

of an open breast, were full of all deceit, craft, and dissimulation: that promised all things in word, but performed nothing in deed. And that when they will answer nothing certain, a hard thought of this See would possess the minds of the English: namely, that God hath taken away the key of knowledge from it. And that however the king had hitherto exploded the sentence of some, yet now would begin not to be displeased at it, *viz.* that the pope's laws were fit to be committed to the flames: which were uncertain even to the pope himself, and those that belonged to him. He told them moreover, that it was a very sad, and a very hard thing, that any should think, that they could not resolve the knot of this cause, which they saw untied by the king's reasons. But that is more grievous, if when they could, they would not: when their sentence, whatever it were, so it were certain, would deserve the favour of that prince, who deserved best of all from them." But however, they would by no means be brought further than a general commission. Which when Gardiner saw, and that they ever sung that song, he said to the pope plainly, that by this covert dealing, and the motions made for the general commission, he could perceive no other thing, but that every man should hereafter pretend ignorance in the matter, and would keep himself at liberty to resolve the doubt on his part hereafter, that should have the better hand. And if Cæsar overcome, then they may with their honesties lean to him. But he said, hereby they would shew themselves prodigal of their reputations, and unmindful of their salvations. And a great deal more to this purpose: which they heard patiently.

p. 101.

The pope being risen, the ambassadors said secretly to him, that his holiness might well consider, to what part justice inclined: and that these men could shew no matter substantial to impugn that which the king had wrote. The pope said, "To say truth, albeit it were a saying in the law, that *the pope hath*

The cardinals weakly answer the king.

A remarkable saying of the pope

1528. *all law in the desk of his breast, yet God never gave unto him the key to open that desk."*

The am-
bassadors
threaten.

How the
pope took
it.

But it was the resolution of the cardinals, that the commission should not be granted in that form the ambassadors desired. The next day they spoke roundly unto the pope, telling him, that the king's highness would do it without him. The pope said, he would it were done, and sighed, and wiped his eyes. And added, that in a matter, where the right of a third was concerned, he could do nothing without the counsil of them; and wished it were in his power to give the king's highness something, depending only on his own particular hurt, or damage, without touching any other man's right,

CHAP. XII.

A secret commission propounded to the pope by the king's ambassadors in his great cause.

The am-
bassadors
pursue
their se-
cond in-
structions.

WHEN this would not be obtained, the ambassadors repaired to the pope to get a general commission, and for the decretal commission to be passed in a secret manner. Which was not to be seen publicly, unless in case the pope refused to confirm the sentence that should be given; or else to be kept secret. Their course whereby they were to manage this affair was, that according to the instructions, Sir Gregory de Cassalis should privately ask the pope, as of himself, whether he should move this to the college. Which he did, and had the leave and approbation of the pope so to do. When they came to move it to the pope, he resolved himself in this *dilemma*; if it may be done justly, it ought to be done publicly. If it cannot be done justly, it would be the greatest disgrace, and withal would touch the conscience, to do it secretly. To which Gardiner said, because it was just, it ought to be done publicly; but because the fear of the emperor

Gardiner's
answer to
the pope.

makes it not to be done publickly, let it be done without fear secretly. Which if his holiness would do, they had some hope, that the cardinal, by his dexterity, would so handle it, as the same should be taken of the king in good part. But of this they could get no answer. 1598.

The minutes of the commission having been drawn by the ambassadors, the cardinals made objections against it. One said, that the sick man shewing his disease to his physician, doth not himself proportion the physick, but takes it after his physician's discretion. At length the cardinals drew up one with additions, detractions, and corrections. Upon which, Gardiner laid to the pope's charge his promise made concerning this commission, and shewed what doubleness might he noted in this dealing: and that he having a mind to delude and delay them, had chosen these men as his instruments, with as sore words as he could devise. The pope answered, he must use men's counsils: But condescended at last, that if Symonet would say, the minute, as the ambassadors devised it, was nothing contrary to justice, they should have it, and he would fulfill his promise. But Symonet, being sent for, would not answer directly, till he had conferred with the other cardinals. The ambassadors then argued hotly with Symonet, but to no purpose. At this meeting they tarried five hours with the pope, till about one a-clock at night. But the cardinals shamefully dallied with the ambassadors; and the pope was more willing, than they, to grant the commission. For these cardinals noted several places in the commission, and added some things, as well tending to the slander of the honour of those that were to be judges, as to the infringing the ambassador's credit: and mended things, that needed no mending at all. Soon after, when the cardinals and ambassadors had read the commission together, and agreed to some amendinents, the next meeting the cardinals had altered even those things that had on both sides been consented to.

A new
commis-
sion offer-
ed by the
ambassa-
dors.

p. 102.

1528.
But they
are no-
thing but
trifled with

At length, after much arguing, all was agreed upon between the ambassadors, and Symonet and Gambara, except two words, in the whole commission. And when they went, by the pope's order, to the cardinals' houses, to adjust those two words, the cardinals sent them word, they were making collation, and on the morrow would look their books therein. By means of these shufflings, and unhandsome dealings, after so many fair promises and compliments, of the cardinals, at length the ambassadors grew stark angry, and complained, that they were deluded and scorned, and told the pope, that this was not the way to entertain the favour of princes. And Gardiner said to him, that these men, in correcting the commission, after all had done nothing herein, that savoured of learning, but only of ignorance and suspicion; thinking that under every word lay a scorpion. And it was his judgment, that this was done by the pope's commandment: "who," he said, "had eyes and saw not."

Gardiner
huffs the
pope.

He began to expostulate with Gambara, as though he procured this contumacy to the king and the cardinal, by his good words to them, when he was in England, to encourage them to send ambassadors. And when they came, to go about to intoxicate them with good words, and to enchant them with the sweet voices of syrens, to circumvent them by their own people. Meaning, in that they had moved Staphileus to be content with a general commission, whereas his instructions from the king and cardinal were for a commission decretal. To deal with the ambassadors as men do with hawks, to show them flesh on their fists, to make them follow whither they would. Gambara said, he spake no word of comfort to the king or the cardinal, but such as he had in commission from the pope to say. Then Gardiner turned his speech presently to the pope, telling him, that he handled the king, as though he had been the most ungrateful man, and one of mean sort. The pope said nothing, but sighed, and wiped his eyes. Gar-

diner signified, that he would make relation, when he came home, of what condition men were there towards them that best deserved at their hands: hinting the ill case they would be in, if the favour of that prince, who then only favoured them, should be withdrawn and taken away: and how the Apostolick See, then tottering, would fall by the common consent and applause of all. At which words the pope, casting his hands abroad, bad them put in the words they varied for; and therewith walked up and down the chamber, casting now and then his arms abroad, the ambassadors standing in a great silence. 1528.

After these broils, the commissions were written and sealed: and the cardinals desired the ambassador, that these alterations might be forgotten, and things represented fair to the king. And the pope desired them to write to the king and cardinal from him; that as things then stood, the sending this commission was a declaration against the emperor, and that he committed himself to the king's protection. This commission, thus at last obtained wanted the clauses of confirmation and revocation; but abating them, the ambassador reckoned it as good as could be devised: since a commission decretal would not pass. The commission at last sealed.

And with this commission Fox left the pope's court, and went away for England. But being thus served by the pope and his servants, the ambassadors declined giving the pope the king's pollicitation, which they brought with them, and the pope's servants the gratuity intended them; till they wrote to Cardinal Wolsey for his further direction therein. And Gardiner repaired to Rome to Cardinal Campegius, where he was as the pope's deputy in his absence, to deal with him to be the pope's legate, to go into England about judging the king's business. And the pope intended to send a friar to the queen with a brief of credence; and so by him to shew her what he thought of her matter. Fox returns into England, and Gardiner goes to Rome. The pope sends a friar to the queen.

But the pope soon repented what he had done in granting the commission. For understanding, how The pope's perplexities.

1528. the emperor took to heart the king's intimation in relation to his marriage with Queen Katharine, he told the ambassadors, that by granting this commission, denial of inhibitions, which should be required, and confirmation of the sentence, which must be passed by him, he thought verily the emperor should take it more displeasantly, than if his holiness had declared himself; specially considering, the general being advertised of the ambassadors' suit, had made suit to the contrary. And the Venetians, Florentines, and Duke of Ferrara, were reported to have entred into a new league, and "cast lots," as Gardiner expressed himself, "upon his vesture:" and the French king deferred to do or promise any thing. And the Venetians still retained Ravenna from him, and Cervia, and other places. The French king also called upon him to declare himself, and enter into the league against the emperor. In these perplexities, he earnestly desired the king to stand by him; and the cardinal to use his dexterity with the French king; appointing by capitulation what the pope should do, and what he should trust to. Especially since the confederates required the pope to proceed to deprive the emperor, as well of his empire, as of the realm of Naples.
- p. 104. But those were things he judged not to be done hastily: and bade the ambassadors to write to the cardinal, that he fled to his prudence as a sacred altar.

CHAP. XIII.

Fox, one of the ambassadors, returned home: the king is glad of the supposed good effect of this embassy.

Fox relates the success of his embassy to Anne Bolen:

IN the mean time, Dr. Fox, one of the ambassadors, came home in the beginning of May: and coming to court, the king gave order, that he should go unto Mrs. Anne Bolen's chamber; who at that time had moved her lodgings into the Tilt-yard, be-

cause the lady princess, and divers others of the queen's maidens, were sick of the small-pox. Being admitted into her presence, Fox declared to her what progress was made, and the commissions obtained, and how extraordinary diligent and dextrous Dr. Gardiner had been in the business, and in hastening the coming of the legate: and that he presented her with his humble and hearty commendations. This she most thankfully received, and expressed much joy and comfort. And oftentimes in talk with Fox, she called him Mr. Stephens, (so much did the name of Stephen Gardiner run in her mind) making promise of large recompence for his good acquittal of this business. Then the king came in, and she departed.

1528.

He delivered to the king letters from the pope, from Dr. Gardiner, and Bishop Staphile. Gardiner's letter he read to himself. Fox told the king he had brought with him a dispensation, and a commission. The dispensation passed without alteration of any sentence or word: they having propounded unto the pope the nature of it, that it touched no point, nor belonged to the right of any third person, and that if his holiness would grant the like unto all princes christened, it might be to the great quietness of Christendom, and many frivolous titles and occasions of debate (wont heretofore to be moved upon such ground, as the said dispensation was laid aside) would be taken away by such relaxation, and grace of the Apostolick See. But as to the commission decretal, he told the king, that they could by no persuasions induce the pope to it, nor to confess that he might in justice give out his decree without hearing the other party. He acquainted the king, how the cardinals said, that such a decretal commission was of such a nature, that no process could be honourably made by vertue thereof, and that it could not come to light without a great slander to the cause. How the ambassadors urged, on the other hand, that this commission had no other strength or vertue, but one: which

And to the king.

1528. was, in case the pope, prevented by death or captivity, would not, or did not confirm the sentence given by the delegates, that then it might serve for confirmation. But that the pope right gladly had granted another commission, being the same in all
- p. 105. points with the other, except two, *viz.* the sentence of the pope *de jure*, with the promise of confirmation, and no revocation. And that this commission, all the cardinals and others granted, was of such sufficient honourable sort, accustomed justice and uprightness, that nothing could be devised more. And to make amends for those two things left out in this commission, the pope, as Fox proceeded, offered to make to the king a faithful promise under his seal, that the sentence, once given by the delegates, he would without respect or delay confirm, and never revoke nor give inhibition to the contrary.

The king is
glad, and
bids Fox
resort to
the cardinal.

At this the king took much delight, and called in Mrs. Anne, and bad Fox repeat the same before her. Which he did. Then the king bade him go to the cardinal, and shew him what he had said; and that he would have the cardinal's opinion about the revocation and appellation. To the cardinal he resorts, who hearing he was there, though he was in bed, commanded him to be brought up: and after much communication with him, he left the commission and other letters with him, and departed for that night. The next day he pondered the contents of the commission, calling to him Dr. Bell and Fox, to read them before my Lord Rochford and himself. The cardinal concluded, that the commission could not be better devised; and much applauded Gardiner for it, and justified him. And intended the next day to have Dr. Wolman and Dr. Bennet, civilians, and others, with him, to consult with them upon this commission. And then he bad Fox go to the king, and report to him, how well satisfied he was with it: and that he had some new matter to employ Dr. Gardiner in with the pope, which should perfectly consummate the king's desire.

The cardinal soon after commanded Fox to write unto Gardiner; that he should let him know, that the cardinal told him much for the managery of this matter, so well, and to their full satisfaction; that he thanked him for his great labour therein: and that Fox should, among other, use these words to him, "O inestimable treasure, and jewel of this realm!" But there was one thing more the cardinal put Gardiner upon. Which was, "That for the exoneration of the cardinal's conscience, and by the consent and sentence of other prelates, and for the chance of mortality, he would labour by his wisdom and rhetoric, to obtain of the pope the commission decretal in the most secret fashion, to be sent unto the cardinal. And that for these reasons: because this decree and sentence once given by the pope, and the judgment of the church, might be to his conscience a rule and standard, to direct and instruct him how to proceed in this matter; especially, in determining the law upon those points, whose justice is not yet so manifest. And that it might also be unto him a sure defence against all detractors, and such as hereafter should maliciously attempt the violation of the said sentence and decree. To whom it might always be answered, his grace's judgment was agreeable to that given by the church, and that this would be the means to stop the mouths of such as favoured the contrary cause." But especially, Gardiner was to urge to the pope, how much it would tend to the welfare and restoration of that See, that my lord cardinal should be of such authority and credit with the king, that whatsoever his grace should advise and counsel the king, should by the same be presently condescended to. And nothing would so effectually attain this, as if the pope, at the sole contemplation of the cardinal, should grant this commission, to the perfect end of the same cause; the king being so desirous of good success therein. Finally, that the process should not be grounded upon it, but upon the commission

1528.
The cardinal's message to Gardiner.

1528. already sent; and that it should be shewed to no person in the world, but the king.

To enquire
of the law-
yers con-
cerning the
queen's ap-
peal.

Another business committed by the cardinal to him was, because the lawyers urged, that the queen might appeal, and might refuse; that he therefore should consult with the lawyers there, whether she might do so, or no: and in case she did, of what value it was, and how much it might let the process. And whether notwithstanding the legate might proceed: and what remedy might be used in remission of the appeal, and confirmation of the sentence by a higher judge. And the sentence of the learned men in these cases to get subscribed with their hands.

The king's
case for
Gardiner
to get re-
solved.

Also the king required of Gardiner to know the judgment of the learned there upon this point; the king was told, that the queen would not insist upon such benefit and privilege as she might pretend to have by the dispensation of Pope Julius, and would refuse to enter disputation of the validity of the same. For so the king was informed she would do, by some of her council, and recur only to this allegation, that she was not known by Prince Arthur. Now hence the case was, whether if that should be proved true, the bull would be invalid, by reason there is no mention in the same *de publica honestate*; because the bull dispensed only with any manner of affinity, if her allegation should be true, namely, “*nullo coitio intercessit inter contrahentes*,” yet being necessary to be dispensed with, argued the matrimony unlawful in the king's account. The king desired the learned men's judgment herein, and to get a certificate made with hands subscribed, to be sent to the cardinal thereupon.

The cardi-
nal's
scruple
concerning
the com-
mission
sent.

The cardinal made another doubt about the words of the commission now sent from the pope. Which were, that first the validity or invalidity of Julius his bull for the marriage of the king and queen, should be pronounced or declared. Then the matrimony should be decreed to be legitimate or illegitimate.

And lastly, that the sentence of divorce should be given. The learned men in England did not sufficiently resolve hereupon : that is, whether the cardinal might not by order of law vary from this prescript of the commission, and were bound to give three several sentences in these three cases, or only one sentence, of the nullity of the matrimony, would suffice. By which, sentence is tacitly given of the two former. The cardinal desired Gardiner, that he would take the judgment of some learned men there in this case. And in these matters he desired him to come home fully instructed for the cardinal's sake, in determining the better this cause ; wherein, he said, depended " the wealth or ruin of this realm, the conservation of his honour, or else his immortal ignominy and slander, the damnation of his soul, or his everlasting merit." Therefore he would proceed according to due order of justice, and ground his conscience upon a perfect and infallible rule of equity, that before God he might account himself discharged, nor to have done any thing *reclamante conscientia*. 1528.

The cardinal's conscientiousness.

Another thing therefore put to Gardiner at this time to enquire into was, because the king knew nothing at all of the obtaining of the bull for the first marriage, as both the king and Bishop of Winchester told the cardinal, he bad him secretly to enquire of the cardinal of Ancona, or some other, whether this ground was so justifiable, as the cardinal might build his conscience thereupon, without grudge or scruple hereafter. p. 107.

Another enquiry to be made by Gardiner.

To the king and cardinal at Greenwich were called Tuke, Wolman, Bell and Fox, to consult about the aforesaid matter. Then Wolman made a question, whereof the king and cardinal thought convenient to have Gardiner get resolved there. It was this, how to satisfy the cardinal's conscience in the managing of this business, when according to the commission all recusation and appellation is taken away ; and yet, in the same commission, he is to do as the *ratio juris* shall persuade his mind and conscience. Which *ratio* A case of conscience of the cardinal's.

1528. *juris* alloweth of appeal. And that therefore it seemed that the queen might at any time recuse, and appeal from whatsoever decree or sentence she will: and so protract and defer the decision of the matter, and thereby frustrate the king's expectations. In the resolution of this matter it was writ to Gardiner, that he might boldly write and say according to his learning, and the learning of other lawyers. And that because the king was of perfect mind and inclination to do nothing in this matter contrary to the accustomed manner and just process of the law. And being fully persuaded, that the queen having and using the benefit of appellation, or other remedy, shall much advance, and confer to the honour and surety of his case. To which temper and good conformity to justice, the cardinal gave out himself to have brought the king.

The cardinal's protestation in the king's cause.

And he made this protestation to the king, before Tuke and the other three above mentioned, "That though he was as much bound to the king as any subject could be to his prince; and by reason thereof he was of so perfect devotion, faith and loyalty towards his majesty, that he could gladly spend goods, blood and life, in his just causes; yet because he was more obliged to God, and that he was sure he should render an account of his works before him, he would in this matter rather suffer his high indignation, yea, and have his body torn in pieces, than he would do any thing in this case otherwise than justice required. Nor that his majesty should look after any other favour to be ministred unto him in this case, than the justness of the cause would bear. But if the bull were sufficient, he would so pronounce it; and rather the most extreme things, than do against his conscience."

CHAP. XIV.

p. 108.

The king begins to be offended with the pope. His sharp speech against him. Cardinal Campegius comes into England from the pope. The cardinal's colleges.

IT was mentioned before, that Gardiner was going to Rome to Cardinal Campegius, who was the other legate, joined in *commission* with Cardinal Wolsey, to be judges of the king's cause. But when Gardiner had talked with him, he found him, as the other cardinals before mentioned, very backward to enter himself in this business: pretending great difficulties, and contriving delays. So that there was great uncertainty of that cardinal's favour and inclination to further the king's purpose, and of his coming hither. This when Gardiner had wrote into England, the king and the cardinal were exceedingly disturbed at it: and their hopes were almost extinct of a sudden expedition and dispatch of this cause. And they began to conceive very ill opinions of that court of Rome: reckoning themselves deluded by them; and that the pope did on purpose defer and protract the coming of this cardinal, to the intent it might be known, which army, the French or Imperial, would be conqueror, before any thing were done, or attempted in this case.

1528.
The king begins to be highly offended with the pope.

And the king now began to decline from the pope's part, as from a most ungrateful and unworthy man. And whereas the pope had desired Gardiner to intercede with the king for his present ayd upon the Almayns fresh breaking into Italy, the king said openly, " Shall we further employ our study and travail, wit or counsel? Shall we spend our treasure to the empoverishing ourselves, our realm and subjects? Shall we yet entertain battel and hostility with our friends for his sake: which neither considering our private honor, our tranquillity of conscience, nor the public weal and quiet of our realm; nor yet

The king's open speeches against the pope.

1528. our manifold benefits done heretofore to him: and have desired only of him to minister unto us such part of his spiritual grace and favour, such advice and counsel, as he, being the common father, and having care of all Christen men committed unto him, is bound of justice to exhibite even to an enemy? First, by crafty means, and under the face and visage of entire amity, he caused his learned men there to pretend ignorance and doubt in the justness of our cause, without determining what the law would have therein, or giving any counsel, by what means we might discharge our conscience, and come to such an end, as might stand with our honor: and remitting the same to be discussed and resolved here, as though he would have said, it is nothing to me, whether the king perish, and all his kingdom with him. *Take ye him, and judge him according to your law.* And hath denied utterly to grant the commission decretal, or any other thing that might conduce to the furtherance, and expedition of the cause. And, after marvellous importune suit and instance, would only give out such a commission, as he might revoke again, and inhibit at his pleasure: leaving in the same such remedies of appellation and other delays to the adversary, as though he seemed nothing less to intend, but to involve and cast us so in the briers and fetters, that we should hang always under his yoke and bondage; and not to be delivered thereof, but at his good wil and plesure. And now finally, whereas Cardinal Campegius was of good zeale and towardness to accomplish al our desires and purposes, as could be by us desired, he would not suffer him to execute that commission, which he had directed unto him; but by imagined and contrived excuses, rather deferred and delayed his coming, then did any thing, which might be to the acceleration thereof." Such words, and the like, did now begin to be freely spoken.

Which Fox
writes to
Gardiner.

An account of these speeches did Fox write to Gardiner. Whom he told moreover, that the king and cardinal began to impute some miscarriage unto

him; as though he used not that diligence, that he ought to have done. And that therefore, notwithstanding the suit of his friends for his coming home, the king and cardinal resolved, that he should tarry to accompany Campegius, until he were on this side the mountains. And if he never came, neither should Gardiner ever return. And so Fox exhorted him earnestly to solicit the commission decretal, and the speedy coming of Campegius : or, in default of him, to cause the same province to be committed unto the Cardinal of Ancona. And here my MS. hath an end. The continuance of this history, in short, may be had in our printed books of history. Whence we may learn, that it was not before June the 8th, that another commission was signed by P. Clement at Viterbium, to determine the king's business without appeal. Which commission is set down by the Lord Herbert, which he transcribed out of an authentick record, then in the possession of Sir Henry Spelman. And in October following, Cardinal Campegius came into England, and not before. And it was six months longer, by studied delays, before the two cardinals sate upon the king's cause. Now because the letters out of which I have extracted this foregoing relation, have many more particulars than I have set down, and containing much of the policies and intrigues of that court of Rome, and divers other remarks a curious observer may espy in them, I have transferred some of them into the Appendix.

Hist. of
K. Henry,
p. 261.
Edit. 1674.

And there is among our records concerning this cause, and the embassies and proceedings therein, a great number of instruments; as letters, bulls, dispensations, appellations, sentences definitive, reasons, revocations, &c. which were formerly, and, I doubt not, still remaining in the *Exchequer*: and in the custody of those that belonged to it. An exact note whereof I give the reader in the Appendix, following next after those papers above mentioned. These are fifty-seven in number: besides a bundle of other letters, cyphers, &c.

No.
XXIII.
XXIV.
XXV.
XXVI.

No.
XXVII.

1528.
The canonization of
King
Henry VI.

p. 110.

Before I conclude the narration of this embassy, I must briefly mention a few other matters, which these ambassadors had in commission to transact and dispatch with the pope, both from the king and cardinal. One was for the canonization of King Henry VI. Which being moved by the ambassadors, he told them he was well content to make short process therein. But the matters relating to that king must, he said, be examined there at his court, and a number of cardinals thereat, with other ceremonies, which could not be done in England. And that therefore if the Bishop of Canterbury (Warham,) and the Bishop of Winchester (Richard Fox,) who had examined these matters, would send the process thither, as the commission required, the sentence of canonization should shortly pass there. So that by these words it seems to appear, that the pope had formerly sent a commission to those two bishops, to examine the merits and miracles of that king. And that it was Cardinal Wolsey's desire, that he and the other cardinal, that was to be sent over from the pope, as his legate now about the king's matter, should be furnished to dispatch that canonization.

First fruits.

Another business of the ambassadors now was, to treat with the pope concerning taking away the burden of *first fruits* from the clergy of England. The first moving thereof to the pope happened seasonably upon the pope's communication with them concerning the bishops of England, and the great age of some of them, and particularly Norwich, who then was about eighty years old. Of him they told the pope, that he had made a motion to the king and the cardinal for the taking away these first fruits in his diocese. Then the pope asked, how and after what manner it might be done. They answered, by redemption. And then shewed him a device of the king and cardinal's; which he liked very well, and so did the cardinals there present. They acquainted the pope also, that they had express instructions to obtain a commission with sufficient authority

for the doing thereof. His holiness said, it were a good deed, and he would gladly concur to the perfecting thereof. But what became further of this affair, I find not. 1528.

The pope then fell into discourse with the ambassadors about the cardinal's colleges, and told the cardinals De Monte and *Sanctorum Quatuor*, being at that time present, what a meritorious act the English cardinal had begun in that realm. He enquired of the ambassadors, how the building of that at Oxon proceeded, and what they thought it would cost before it were finished; of the numbers of the scholars, and common readers, and other particularities. Which they then declared at large, to the great rejoyce and pleasure of his holiness, and the cardinals. And in particular it rejoiced the pope, when they told him, that Wolsey had taken order, that in letting the farms belonging to his college, no man should have them but such as would dwell upon them and maintain hospitality. Of which the pope said, that the same was not only good and expedient, for example to be followed and observed of others, but also greatly meritorious before God. And he justified and maintained the commutation and alteration of those religious places, whereof only did arise the scandal of religion, as he spoke. For the cardinal, for the endowing of his college, had lately obtained of the pope a bull for the dissolving of divers monasteries, wherein much vice and wickedness was harboured, as he informed the pope, to incline him thereby the easier to grant his request. Upon occasion of this communication the ambassadors mixt such discourse as might serve to facilitate somewhat more to be attained of that court for the said college: saying, that if his holiness continued his good mind toward the finishing and perfecting of that college, as he had towards the beginning and commencement, the cardinal had so disposed all things there, as it should shortly be brought to the desired perfection: although the same was to his grace's inestimable charge. p. 111.

The cardinal's colleges.

The ambassadors and pope's discourse concerning them.

1528. Which should be a perpetual memory, as well for his holiness, as for his grace. The pope then replied, that he would gladly do all things that he might by his authority towards it.

The monasteries dissolved for the cardinal's college at Oxon.

p. 246.

No.
XXVIII.
XXIX.

Others dissolved for his college at Ipswich. Romeburgh.

The names of the religious houses which the pope granted his bull for the dissolving of the revenues whereof to be laid to the cardinal's college, may be seen in a volume of the Cotton Library, together with the countries where they were situated, the founders and the values of them. The pope granted his bull for the dissolution of two-and-twenty; but in that volume there be but twenty mentioned as actually dissolved, as though two by intercessions made, escaped, unless it were an oversight of the transcriber. The divers orders professed in these dissolved houses are not set down in the Cotton MS. but may be supplied out of the Antiquities of Oxford, as the industrious author took them out of the bull. But besides these monasteries, there was a vast number of parsonages impropriated and converted to the use of the said new college. Both which, parsonages and monasteries, may be found in the Appendix, as I took them out of the aforesaid volume.

Other convents also there were that now ceased, that the means thereof might serve for the subsistence of his college at Ipswich. And among the rest was the priory of Romeburgh in the diocese of Norwich, an appendent to the abbey of York. On the 11th of September, the cardinal's officers came to this priory, and being fortified with letters commissionall from the king, the pope and the cardinal, read them there, and forthwith entred and took possession; and carried away the moveable goods, together with all the muniments and evidences belonging to the house. All this was soon certified to Edmund, Abbot of York: who speedily dispatched his letters to the cardinal, to rescue, if possible, the priory from destruction. He shewed how Alien Niger, Earl of Richmond, was co-founder of their house, whereof Romeburgh was a member: that

among the instruments taken thence, many belonged unto them, having lately sent them to that priory upon occasion of a suit with certain gentlemen in Cambridgeshire, for some of their lands, still depending. That their revenues were confirmed to them by Pope Boniface IV. under censures and pains in case of alienation. Therefore the abbot beseeched his grace, that the said priory might consist and abide as a member of their monastery, as it had done for 300 years. Whereby he should free them of many doubts and perils of losing their lands. That the rents of the said priory were but little better than 30*l.* a year. And that he was entirely contented to give unto his grace 300 marks sterling towards the erection of his school and college, for his tendring the premises: praying him most humbly to accept his poor mind towards his most noble act; yet, if it were his pleasure to have the priory, protesting to endeavour his accomplishing the same with his utmost study and diligence. But the letter at full length I have re-
 posited in the Appendix.

1528.

No. XXX.

This year the hall of York-place, the cardinal's palace, (now called Whitehall) with other edifices, were now building, the cardinal intending most sumptuously and gorgeously to repair and furnish the same. And in the mean time he removed his lodgings to Durham-place.

p. 112.
 The cardinal repairs
 York-place

CHAP. XV.

The cardinal's declination and fall. Tyndal's book of Obedience falls into his hand. The strange event thereof. The cardinal exceedingly dejected. Labours by Crumwel and Gardiner, his servants, to recover the king's favour. Pardoned.

AND now as to the fall of this great cardinal, there is none but knoweth the occasion thereof; namely, his baffling the king, and declining at last to do that which before he was too forward in, that he might please the pope and court of Rome: which

1529.
 The occasions of
 Wolsey's fall.

1529. extremely alienated the king's and the Lady Anne's affections from him. For this matter therefore, I leave the reader to consult other histories. Only I shall lay before him a passage I have met with among my papers, that may deserve to be related, between the cardinal and this lady, shewing an additional occasion of her displeasure towards him, and a notable event depending hereupon, that hastened the overthrow of abbies, and forwarded those beginnings of reformation in religion that happened under this king.

A book of
the Lady
Anne's
taken away
by the
dean of
the chapel.

Upon the Lady Anne waited a young fair gentlewoman, named Mrs. Gainsford; and in her service was also retained Mr. George Zouch, father to Sir John Zouch. This gentleman, of a comely sweet person, a Zouch indeed, was a suitor in way of marriage to the said young lady: and among other love-tricks, once he plucked from her a book in English, called Tyndal's Obedience, which the Lady Anne had lent her to read. About which time the cardinal had given commandment to the prelates, and especially to Dr. Sampson, dean of the king's chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books, that they came not abroad; that so as much as might be, they might not come to the king's reading. But this which he most feared fell out upon this occasion. "For Mr. Zouch," I use the words of the MS. "was so ravished with the Spirit of God speaking now as well in the heart of the reader, as first it did in the heart of the maker of the book, that he was never well but when he was reading of that book. Mrs. Gaynsford wept because she could not get the book from her woer, and he was as ready to weep to deliver it. But see the providence of God: Mr. Zouch standing in the chapel before Dr. Sampson, ever reading upon this book; and the dean never having his eye off the book in the gentleman's hand, called him to him, and then snatched the book out of his hand, asked his name, and whose man he was. And the book he delivered to the cardinal. In the mean time, the Lady Anne asketh her woman for the book.

Foxij MSS.

She on her knees told all the circumstances. The Lady Anne shewed herself not sorry, nor angry with either of the two. But, said she, 'Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the dean or cardinal took away.' The noble woman goes to the king, and upon her knees she desireth the king's help for her book. Upon the king's token the book was restored. And now bringing the book to him, she besought his grace most tenderly to read it. The king did so, and delighted in the book. 'For,' saith he, 'this book is 'for me and all kings to read.' And in a little time the king by the help of this virtuous lady, by by the means aforesaid, had his eyes opened to the truth, to search the truth, to advance God's religion and glory, to abhor the pope's doctrine, his lies, his pomp and pride, to deliver his subjects out of the Egyptian darkness, the Babylonian bonds, that the pope had brought him and his subjects under. And so contemning the threats of all the world, the power of princes, rebellions of his subjects at home, and the raging of so many and mighty potentates abroad; set forward a reformation in religion, beginning with the triple crowned head at first, and so came down to the members, bishops, abbots, priors, and such like."

The very having this book, intituled, *The Obedience of a Christen Man*, was enough to make a man a heretick, and reading of it a dangerous article against any in these days. But no wonder the king took a liking to it. For in it there is an exposition of the xiiiith chapter to the Romans. Where upon those words, "For he is the minister of God for thy wealth," he thus descants, "To defend thee from a thousand inconveniences; from thieves, murtherers, and them that would defile thy wife, thy daughter, and take from thee all that thou hast; yea, life and all, if thou didst resist. Furthermore, though he be the greatest tyrant in the world, yet is he unto thee a great benefit of God, and a thing wherefore thou oughtest to thank God highly. For it is better to have somewhat, than to be clean stript of all together.

Tindal's
book of
The Obe-
dience of a
Christen
Man. The
king likes it

1529. It is better to pay the tenth than to lose all. It is better to suffer one tyrant, than many. Yea, and it is better to have a tyrant unto thy king than a shadow, a passive king; that doth nought himself but suffer others to do with him what they will, and to lead him whither they list. For a tyrant though he do no wrong unto the good, yet he punisheth the evil, and maketh all men obey: neither suffereth any man to rule, but himself only. A king that is soft as silk, and effeminate, that is to say, turned into the nature of a woman, what with his own lusts, which are as the longing of a woman with child, so he cannot resist them; and what with the wily tyranny of them that ever rule him, shall be much more grievous to the realm, than a right tyrant. Read the Chronicles, and thou shalt find it ever so."

The cardinal, his declination.

p. 114.

The great effects it had upon his body and mind;

And thus at length, we have seen the cardinal in his closet, and in the publick station, governing the English affairs, giving his instructions to ambassadors, and transacting matters between his king and other great princes and states in the world. Which he did with a great fineness, as well as diligence; and with a courtly obligingness, though not without a mixture of stateliness. We have seen him domineering in his courts, flourishing in his buildings, and managing the king's matter with the pope. Let me now shew him in another, and that a quite different, scene; namely, in his declination at court, lying under the king's frown. And it is strange to observe, what an alteration that vicissitude of fortune made upon him. It abjected his spirit to that degree, that he fell dangerously sick: such an influence the troubles and sorrows of his mind had upon his body. As soon as the king had demanded the great seal from him by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and by a letter from himself, he commanded him to leave York-place, his ordinary dwelling, now called Whitehall; and ordered him to confine himself to his house at Asher, a country seat near Hampton Court, belonging to the bishoprick of Winchester, till the king's further

pleasure was known. Here he abode from the middle of October, 1529, till the middle of February following: when he desired for his health to remove to Richmond. And it is remarkable in this eclipse of the king's favour towards the cardinal, he intermixed divers tokens of his kindness to him, signifying at least that he intended not his ruin. For he sent him a protection, and left him his two bishopricks, namely, of York and Winchester; sent him a ring, which had been a token between them, when any especial business was recommended: and not long after that, sent him another Turquoise ring, as a token of his care and affection. And after, when in the month of December, this year, the House of Lords had drawn up four-and-forty articles against him, and being sent down to the Lower House, by his servant Thomas Crumwel's defence of him in that house, no treason could be laid to his charge from any of them. Add to all, the many gracious messages sent him by the king. Yet his grief and fear had so overwhelmed him, that he fell not only into a most deep pensiveness and melancholy, but into a pining sickness.

In the mean time, he employed those few friends he had to intercede with the king, and to make as good a conclusion of his troubles as he could. He had two that stuck close to him, *viz.* the aforesaid Thomas Crumwel, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, secretary of state. This latter he plied with his letters; the bearer whereof was Crumwel, whom he called *His trusty friend*. After he had got free of the articles drawn up against him in parliament by the means of Crumwel, as was mentioned before, the king appointed, to come to some consideration of the cardinal's business, and to determine what was to be done concerning him. This Secretary Gardiner signified to him in writing, and likewise the time when he supposed it might be, namely, within a week, or thereabouts: and likewise told him, that he would not fail to write to him the particulars. The cardinal, impatient to know the issue, and not thinking the

1529.
Notwith-
standing
the king's
kind mes-
sages to
him.

His two
friends.

Impatient
to know
the king's

1529. secretary swift enough in his information, above a week being now past, could take no rest till he had heard from him the sum of what had passed concerning him. And therefore in a letter sent by Crumwel, most earnestly begs the secretary, in much meanness of spirit, "As he tendered his poor life, and at the reverence of God and that holy time (of Christmas) he would send him his letter: appealing also to his pity, knowing in what an agony he was; and that he would not only deserve towards God, but bind him thereby to be his continual beadsman:" and so ended, "From Asher. Written (those are his words) with his rude hand and sorrowful heart. Subscribing himself *T. Car^{lis}. Ebor. miserrimus. The most miserable Thomas, Cardinal of York.*" This was written in Christmas holy days. Soon after Crumwel returned from the secretary with this message to the cardinal: "That the king moved with pity of the cardinal, and commiserating his lamentable condition, (prest with extreme poverty, as well as sickness of body and mind) had committed the ending of his troubles to the secretary, and some other of the privy council; and that to be done with all the haste that might be. And that he should have a pardon drawn up in the most full and ample form, that his own counsel could devise."

The king's favourable resolutions concerning him brought him by Crumwel.

His letter to the secretary wereupon.

Upon this message, he soon dispatched a letter to the secretary, importing, that this favourable order of the king he was the more sensible of, and thankful for, "Because it proceeded from himself, out of a gracious remembrance of him: for which he accounted himself most bounden to serve and pray for the preservation of his most royal majesty: thanking God, that he, the secretary, had occasion given him to be a solicitor, and setter forth of such things as should conserve his end. That in the making and compounding whereof, his assured trust was, that he would shew the love and affection which he bore towards him. He earnestly intreated him, to whom he, the cardinal, had been an old lover and friend,

that he would so declare himself in the managing of his business, that the world might perceive, that by his good means the king was the better good lord unto him: and that, now coming newly in a manner into the world, there might such respect be had unto his degree, old age and long service, as might be to the king's honour, and the secretary's praise; which would, as he said, undoubtedly follow, if he obtained his benevolence towards him. And men would perceive, that it was by his wisdom and dexterity that he was relieved, and holpen in his calamity. *At the reverence therefore of God*, he prayed him, that was his refuge, to set to his hand, that he might come to a laudable end and repose. And that he would see, that he might be furnished after such a sort, that he might end his short time and life to the honour of Christ's church and his prince. Promising withal to requite his kindness in such a manner, as he should have cause to think his pains to be well employed." And so referring him to his trusty friend (Crumwel) for the rest, to whom he desired him to give firm credence, he concluded, "At Asher, with the trembling hand and heavy heart of his assured lover and beadsman."

His stile is all poor and servile, and so different from his former way of writing, that it is a wonder, that any outward accident should make such an alteration in one and the same man. He sneaked too much beneath himself to the secretary, that had been but his servant and creature, stiling his favouring of his business at court, his *benevolence* and his *goodness* towards him; calling him his *own good Master Secretary and refuge*; telling him, that he would pray for the increase of his honour: flattering him, that what he did for him would redound to his praise and laud, and that men would perceive his wisdom and dexterity by his relieving of him: begging him *at the reverence of God* to write to him, and to send him his *consolatory letters*: and that he should thereby bind him to be his continual beadsman. By

1529.

Strangely
dejected,
and low-
spirited in
his cala-
mity.

1529. these and other passages in these his letters it appears, that he had no ballast of religion, nor philosophy, no nor human courage, to bear up himself under afflictions; but still meanly aggravating his own hard condition, complaining of a “great alteration and indisposition of his head and body, by means of his daily sorrow and heaviness, and of the lamentable state and condition he stood in:” and subscribing his letters, “With the rude hand and heavy heart,” and, “with the trembling hand and sorrowful heart;” as may be seen in both his letters, which I have transcribed from the originals, and repositied in the Appendix: with two others, which I have made use of in what I am proceeding with.

No.
XXXI.
XXXII.

XXXIII.
XXXIV.

Pardoned
and restor-
ed to York.

1530.

His inter-
cession for
the Provost
Beverly.

Soon after, *viz.* Feb. 12, the king sealed his pardon, and three days after restored him the archbishoprick of York, and sent him money, plate, and furniture for his house and chapel. Which favours pretty well recovered the cardinal, while he remained still at Asher; and by the king's leave removed thence to Richmond. But his enemies now thought him too near the court: so they prevailed to get him removed to his diocese of York. In the month of September, anno 1530, he came to Cawood Castle near York: so the Lord Herbert. But before he came hither, I find him, in the months of July and August, at Southwel, a manor of the archbishop's; where he made some stay. Here the cardinal recommended unto the secretary one, who had the title of Provost of Beverly, the governor of a religious house situate in his diocese. His state it seems was in some hazard. Whereupon the cardinal espousing his cause, and probably to make himself popular upon his first coming into his diocese, desired the secretary, that he would use his interest for him to the king, and bring him into his presence. This the secretary did accordingly, receiving the provost, as coming from the cardinal, humanly and lovingly, and addressing him into the king's highness presence. Whom the king received, and shewed him, that he was his good

and gracious lord, and admitted and accepted him as his orator and scholar. For this the cardinal, from Southwel, thanks him much, intreating him to continue his good favour towards the said provost, and to take him into his patronage and protection. 1530.

The cardinal now found a great change in his revenues and incomes, sinking very low, in comparison of what they had been. So that he laboured under want. This made him write, in the month of July, to his friend, the secretary, to take the opportunity to excite the king to some liberality towards him. "That he would remember the poor state and condition he stood in, and to be a means to the king's highness for his relief. Whereby he would not only, as he said, deserve thanks of God, but also declare, to his perpetual laud and praise, that he being in authority had not forgotten his old master and friend." And indeed he had reason to solicit in this behalf. For there were many that now came upon him for debt; some just, and some, it may be, not so: commencing suits against him. So that this once most great and wealthy prelate, became now full of care to be in a condition to support himself. Among the rest, there was one Strangwish his servant, commenced a suit against him, for seven hundred pounds, which he pretended the cardinal owed him for the *ward of Bowes*. What that was, I leave to conjecture: and who this Strangwish was is uncertain: it may be the same Stranguidge, though somewhat differently writ, that was administrator to Ruthal, his predecessor in the diocese of Durham; who, dying before he had finished the goodly dining chamber at Aukland, left the care thereof to this Stranguidge. At the first coming of Strangwish into the cardinal's service, by consent of both parties, an end was made of this matter, as the cardinal wrote the secretary. Probably Strangwish was willing to forgive the debt, that he might be admitted into his service, reckoning that the place might be so gainful,

Sues to the secretary to be a means to the king, to relieve his poverty.

He is sued for debt.

Particularly by one Strangwish his servant.

p. 117.

1590. as fully to recompence the debt. But he, whether upon some disgust, or injury formerly offered to him by the cardinal, but to be sure, taking the opportunity of his calamity, and being destitute of friends, now demanded that money; and not only so, but acquainted the king with it: complaining unto him, and surmising, that he had contrary to justice detained seven hundred pounds from him: whereby he had gotten the king's letters to the cardinal to pay the debt. The cardinal, partly fearing the least matter might rouse the king's displeasure again, and partly to be rid of this man's clamours, writ to his trusty friend Crumwel, to make some reasonable offers to him, notwithstanding his great necessity and poverty, as he added; ordering him also to acquaint the secretary with such things as might be said on his part; desiring the secretary that he would, by his dexterity, make some good end between them, as should accord with good congruence, and as he might be able to bear, his other debts and charges considered. This to the secretary was from Southwel, August 25.

Chiefly
concerned
for his col-
leges.

History of
Hen. VIII.

Catalogue
of Bishops.

But the great affair, which above all he desired to be solicited at court by the secretary, was his colleges. Which ran much in his mind, fearing, if not their utter ruin, yet the diminishing their revenue. The Lord Herbert writes, that the revenue of these his colleges were torn and divided, which grieved him more than any other affliction. And that he wrote to the king most instantly in their behalf. "And indeed, as Bishop Godwin saith of him, that it was great pity he finished them not. And that had they been perfected, he thought they would have been two of the goodliest monuments of the world. And that it was a wonder, that any one private man should take two such pieces of work in hand at one time, whereof any one might seem a great matter for a prince to finish, had not his receipts been infinite. And withal telling us, that he obtained of the pope

a license for dissolving forty small monasteries: the spoil whereof chiefly furnished him for the building of those houses." 1530.

Dr. Gardiner, the secretary, and Thomas Crumwel, (when his servants) were both greatly instrumental to him, in aiding and counselling him in these great works. And this he now made use of, while he himself was under a cloud, and his own interest too little to secure them from ruin, as an argument to excite them both to use their utmost endeavour to preserve them. He prayed the secretary, "In the way of charity, and for the love he bore to virtue, and *ad bona studia*, to be means to the king's highness for his poor colleges, and especially for the college of Oxford. That he would not suffer the thing, which by his great learning, study, counsel and travail, had been erected, founded, and with good statutes and ordinances to the honour of God, increase of virtue and learning, established, to be dissolved or dismembred. That he knew, no man better, to what use the monasteries suppressed by the pope's license, the king's consent concurring with the same, and a pardon for the *premunire*, were converted." This probably he urged, because that might have been a great argument used by his enemies, why the king should take the colleges and their revenues into his own hand, seeing they, consisting of the spoil of those monasteries, did more properly belong to the king than to any body else. Whereupon he added, "That it was not to be doubted, but the king's highness, of his high virtue and equity, being informed, how every thing was past, and his license and consent obtained likewise, would never go about to dissolve the said corporations: whereof so great benefit and commodity should ensue unto his realm and subjects." And that he might the better secure the whole, he seemed willing to have them pared and stript of some things belonging to them. For so he proceeded, "Superfluities, if any such should be thought and found, may be resecate: but to destroy the whole, it were great pity. And so

His earnest application to the secretary in that behalf.

p. 118.

1530. concluded: beseeching him to be good master and patron to the said colleges, ‘*Et non sinas opus manuum tuarum perire, aut ad nihilum redigi*’.” And he importuned Crumwel in the same words, telling him, that these colleges were in a manner, *opera manuum tuarum*, as the Lord Herbert writes. So that, though his college at Ipswich was utterly lost, yet the present flourishing state of that at Oxon is owing to the great pains that both Gardiner and Crumwel took to incline the king to continue it. Though they seemed to make use of one stratagem, that they knew was apter to succeed with the king, than any of those arguments suggested by the cardinal; and that was, the advice of founding it anew in his own name, and so he might have the glory of being called its founder.

Life of
Hen. VIII.

The continuance of
the college
at Oxon,
owing to
Gardiner
and Crumwel.

The school
at Ipswich.

But because the memory of his school at Ipswich is almost utterly vanished with its ruins, I will here put in a word or two concerning it, that the cardinal may not be deprived of his due praise for so commendable a foundation. His great intent in this work, though not without some mixture of glory, seems to have been the good of his native country, and city, and to stand an eternal testimonial of his piety and love thereunto. He professed he should think himself well rewarded, if he might herein prove an instrument of adorning the minds of his countrymen. He constituted two masters over this school, and divided it into eight distinct classes; taking pattern, I suppose, from Dean Colet’s school by St. Pauls. To these masters he propounded a method of teaching, which they were to follow, in a book of his own drawing up: therein directing them, what books were to be read in each classis or form, and by what particular ways and means they should govern themselves in the instruction of the youth. This, with an epistle wrote unto them by himself in the year 1528, I have preserved in the Appendix. And the rather, it being the only publick piece of this famous man, as far as I know. You have it, as

I transcribed it out of an old grammar, printed at Antwerp, 1537, entitled, “ Rudimenta Grammatices, et docendi Methodus, non tam Scholæ Gypsuychianæ, per Reverendissimum D. Thomam Cardinalem Ebor. feliciter Institutæ, quam omnibus aliis totius Angliæ Scholis præscripta.” 1520.
p. 119.

CHAP. XVI.

Some observations upon the cardinal.

MY observations upon this great cardinal shall not be many. It hath been commonly and truly observed of him, as to his temper and disposition, that he was of a very elated and haughty mind in his prosperity; and most servilely low and mean, when he fell under his prince's displeasure. Which indeed may appear to be true by reflecting upon this little that hath been here collected together concerning him. It may not be improper to mention one notable instance of his aspiring spirit, which made the fourth article of his indictment. It was, that he should use this style, *Ego et rex*, “ I and the king.” This, though I do not find in any of his letters and instructions, that have come to my hand, yet I see it a very usual expression with him to say, “ The king and I;” always joining himself with the king, as though he were equal with him, or came very near to an equality. So in his letter to Pace, ambassador in Italy, he writ, “ I have received divers letters to the *king's highness and me* directed. And, in your said letters you have full discreetly advertised the *king's highness and me* of the occurrents.—For which diligence the *king's grace giveth unto you hearty thanks, like as I do.*” Bidding him, “ with diligence from time to time advertise him with the occurrents and successes, as *the king's and my* special trust is in you.” So in his dispatch to Dr. Knight, ambassador with the Lady Margaret, “ The *king's*

Observations upon him.
Elated in prosperity.

Joins himself with the king.

1530. *grace and I*, for the singular affection *we* bear to the Lady Margaret," &c. And to Dr. Tayler, ambassador with the French king, "You singularly please and content the *king's grace and me*." And again, "*The king's highness and I* take great consolation to hear of the good success of the French king's affairs." And which further argued his excessive haughty mind, he was addressed to with the title of, *Celsitudo*, "Your Highness;" a style due only to kings and princes. In this phrase Erasmus used in his letters to accost him. Which I find him indeed also giving to two other cardinals: but they were also princes, *viz.* the Cardinals of Lorain and of Toledo. Though afterwards this style became more common, and was given to archbishops by their flatterers.

Was addressed to by the title of, *Your Highness*.

His aspiring to the popedom.

p. 120.

Fox's Mar-tyrol. Lib. 8.

But especially his aspiring mind appeared in his ambition to be pope; which, as his ultimate end, all his designs and transactions aimed at. And this was, in effect, to make himself above all earthly kings and emperors. And by the measures he put his master, the king, upon taking in favour of the emperor, he thought he had gained him to further this his ambition, as he was sure of the king. And indeed the emperor, whether in shew or in reality, had often exhorted him to do his endeavour for the popedom, as occasion should serve: and so did the Lady Margaret too. As there is a letter extant to Stephen Gardiner, the king's ambassador at Rome, to labour to make him an interest for the popedom upon the sickness of Pope Clement: so before, upon the vacation by the death of P. Adrian, I have seen in Bennet* College library, another letter of his to the king's ambassadors to the same intent. Wherein may be seen as well the fineness of his wit, as his earnest diligence to compass that preferment. Therein he directed the ambassadors, how to deal with the

* It is extant, as I find, in the Collection of Records to the History of the Reformation, Part II. Book I. No. 48. Otherwise I should have placed it in the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of the Original MS. in the library in Bennet College chamber,

Cardinal De Medices, one of the greatest interest among the cardinals, and who sought the papacy, and had it; and how with the other cardinals: and how to time their delivery of the king's letters, which Wolsey had procured, both to the college of cardinals, and to divers of them distinctly. That they should moreover signify at large to them his abilities for this dignity, having great experiences in the causes of Christendom: that he had the entire favour of the emperor, and the king: his knowledge and deep acquaintance with other princes; the studious mind he ever bore to Italy, and to the quiet of Christendom: That he lacked neither substance nor liberality, to look largely upon his friends: and the sundry great promotions that by his election would be vacant, and that he should have in his hand to bestow upon such cardinals as stuck to him: that they should find in him a loving familiarity; and that of his nature he was not ingrateful, nor disposed to rigor: that he had not any faction, or kin, or family, to shew any partiality to, in bestowing the goods and promotions of the church: that by his preferment, all differences among Christian princes would be in such a fair way of composition, that they might be at leisure to undertake one of the greatest and most notable expeditions against the Turk. He ordered the ambassadors also in the king's name, that they should not spare his authority, nor his money. He sent also two commissions, which he had procured from the king, under the broad seal. The one was couched in general words, without making mention of any person: the other made mention of Cardinal Wolsey by name. By this latter they had ample authority to bind and promise, on the king's behalf, as well promotions, as large sums of money, to such as they should think convenient. But notwithstanding all his endeavours, and the gaining of some cardinals, De Medices was made pope.

And lastly, that outward appearance that he delighted to shew himself to the world in, bespoke the

1530.
His habit
extraordi-
nary costly

1530. intolerable loftiness and vanity of his mind. For beside all the state and magnificence of his house and officers, which is related at large by Cavendish, his habit was most gorgeous. It was great: that his upper vesture was all of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffata or crimson satten ingrained; that he wore red gloves, as well as a red hat: but greater still, that he wore shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearls
- p. 121. and precious stones: having two crosses of silver, and two poll-axes, and pillars of silver, and gilt, and golden cushions carried before him. Which however the cardinal prided himself in, the people, it seems, had never the better opinion of him for. For I find one Richard Bayfield, (afterwards a martyr) about the year 1527, using these words to one Peerson a priest, "My lord cardinal is no perfect nor good man; for Christ never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotion; Christ never taught him to wear shoes of silver and gilt," &c. And Dr. Barnes took the confidence, once publicly at Cambridge, to preach against all this vain glory. Which coming to the cardinal's ears, he was promoted up to Westminster before him. Where the cardinal himself vouchsafed to talk with him, justifying all this his grandeur: asking him, whether he thought it not necessary, that he should have all that royalty, representing the king's majesties person in all his high courts of the realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellions and traytors, and all wicked and corrupt members of the common wealth: or whether it were more convenient to be as simple as he would have him, and to sell all the aforesaid things, and give them to the poor, that will soon piss them out against the wall? But Barnes freely told him again, that he thought it necessary to have them sold and given to the poor: and that that glory was not comely for his calling, nor that the king's majesty was maintained by his pomp and plays, but by God: who saith, "By me kings reign."

Fox, p.
1088.

The cardinal's argument for his grandeur.

Dr. Barnes's reply.

If one should now look upon him in his adverse

fortune, there never was a man of a poorer and more pusillanimous mind ; so disturbed and discomposed, so crouching and meanly submissive to those that had been before his servants : as appears by his letters, which he wrote while he was in his misfortunes, in the years 1529 and 1530. In which I do not meet with one word, savouring of a sense of God or religion : either acknowledging God's justice in the afflictions that befel him, or that his sins had deserved them ; or comforting himself in the reflection upon his own integrity, or his past services to God or his church ; or beseeching God to endue him with a Christian patience and resignation unto his will : or appealing to his faithful discharge of those many weighty offices and trusts committed to him, or any such like expressions, that might have shewn him to have had some good thoughts in his mind. But all that we have of him in his last letters is, that we see him effeminately whining, and complaining of growing sick under the burden of his sorrows, creeping to those that had been his creatures, excessively and indecently joyful upon a glimpse of the king's favour. And in fine, his end was, as it is well known, that he was so overcome with grief for the loss of his secular glory and wealth, that it brake his heart. So that we may conclude him a mere worldly man, who had little else of religion, but the office and title.

We cannot omit to observe this courtly, (shall I call it?) or good quality in him ; that he was courteous, and did seem to study to oblige. Erasmus therefore commended *Facilitatem et bonitatem*, &c. *i. e.* " His gentle, kind, and obliging behaviour ; and that his manners did not savour of his fortunes ; and that men loved not less the goodness of his nature, than admired the greatness of his prosperity." And this quality he would shew particularly, by commendation of men's diligence in his, or the king's business, and by promising them rewards ; bearing them up likewise in the same diligence and dependance upon him, by holding them in expectation of favours.

1530.
Excessively dejected under his misfortunes

Courteous, and studious to oblige.
Ep. 50. l. 29.

p. 122.
Apt to promise rewards.

1530.
His words
to Dr.
Taylor;

And Gar-
diner.

After this obliging manner he wrote to Dr. Taylor, the king's ambassador, *viz.* "That he was right glad, that he did so discretly and substantially conduct and use himself in all his proceedings; and that the king and he took good notice thereof, and that it would no doubt turn to his weal, and furtherance hereafter." And so used he was to this style of making promises, that even in his calamity he would use it, when he was less able to perform, and even when he seemed to be disabled from doing little more, than barely to support himself, much less to confer benefits on others. When he had been intreating secretary Gardiner to stand his friend with the king, himself being at that time in a miserable poor condition, and confined to his house at Asher, he promised, "To requite his kindness in that nature, that he should have cause to think the same to be well employed, and so his trusty friend Crumwel should more amply shew him." And the year after, when he was banisht to York, and had begged the same person to be a mediator for the preserving of his colleges, he again backed his desires with promises; namely, that by his so doing, he, meaning himself, should in such wise deserve his pains, as he should have cause to think the same to be well bestowed and employed, as the bearer should more at large shew him. I am apt to think this matter, which he hinted more than once to Gardiner, and gave Crumwel order to signify more at large to him by word of mouth, was the procuring him either the bishoprick of Durham, or Winchester, which I believe he did promise to resign up to the king for his use, upon the condition he should recover this fall, and reinvest himself in the king's favour, and his former honours. And it may be this very thing might have opened a door to Gardiner's preferment to the diocese of Winchester, though he obtained it not till three or four years after. For without some more than ordinary means used, he could hardly have arrived to such a high and wealthy dignity in the church at one step.

And indeed in his prosperity he did not only promise, but perform, being of a liberal and munificent spirit. I leave it to be judged, whether this proceeded from a principle of gratitude and generosity, or vain elation of mind, it looking somewhat royal to confer dignities, and raise to places of honour. Thus he preferred his domesticks to the king's service at home and abroad, to be secretaries of state, ambassadors and bishops. And in one respect he deserved well of the church, being a great promoter of learning, and preferred learned men and church-men into his and the king's service: entring them first into business in his own family, which served as a nursery for the court. Thus, considering all political matters were managed by him, and went for many years through his hands, I am apt to believe, that Dr. Clark, Dr. Knight, both successively bishops of Bath and Wells, Dr. Taylor, that was master of the rolls, and others who in his time were greatly used by the king in publick embassies, as well as Dr. Pace, secretary of state, bred up at first under Cardinal Bambridge, and likewise Dr. Gardiner and Crumwel, whose names and preferments are well known, were all his servants, and preferred by him to the king's service.

1530.
The means
of advancing many,
being liberal and
munificent.

p. 123.

But however obliging and kind he was, whereby he gained some friends and love; yet he would make little scruple of oppressing any that stood in the way of his pleasure or designs. One instance of this rose up in judgment against his memory in the tenth or eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth. And thus it was: the mannor of the More in Hertfordshire once belonged to the cardinal; and being to enlarge the park there, and to make some alterations to his mind, he wrongfully seized, and took away from one William Heydon, of Britwel in Hertfordshire, a messuage called Tolpotts, and one hundred threescore and ten acres of land pertaining to the same. Out of all this he expelled the said Heydon. Whereof one hundred twenty nine acres he inclosed and empaled within

Oppressive
to make
way for
his own
ends.

His wrong
to one
Heydon.

1530. his park, and three acres more he converted into a highway, leading from Rickmansworth to Watford; and so was commonly used; and the rest he tenanted out. But the said Heydon, after he was put out of this estate, did surrender it into the hands of the lord of the said mannor, to the use of Thomas Heydon, his younger son, and of his heirs and assigns for ever, according to the custom of the said mannor. This estate, after Wolsey's fall, devolved to the dutchy of Lancaster. But in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the heiress of the said Heydon petitioned the queen for their lands again. Who, out of her gracious and honest disposition, issued out her letter, in the year 1568, to Sir Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the dutchy, and to the counsil of the same, to examine the truth of this plea; and if they found it, to make restitution to the said heirs of the lands, or to make them a reasonable recompence for the same. A copy of the original letter, signed with the queen's own hand, is to be seen in the Appendix.

No.
XXXVI.
The cardinal's court-craft.

To raise himself to that height of splendor in the court, and interest in the king's affections, and to keep himself at a stay therein, great was the court-craft which he used, and some say more than was good. Some description of which take from the relation of a notable man, who lived in his time.

Pract. of
Prelates.

"He cast the king's nativity, (a common practice then among the popish prelates,) whereby he saw whereunto the king's grace should be inclined all his life, and what should be like to chance him at all times. It is spoken of divers, that he made by craft of necromancy graven imagery, to bear upon him, wherewith he bewitched the king's mind, and made the king dote upon him more than ever he did on a lady or gentlewoman. So that now the king's grace followed him, as he before followed the king. And what he said, that was wisdom, what he praised, that was honourable. Of the king's play-fellows, he chose and joined such to himself as he saw fit for his purpose. To them he sware, and they to him,

He took an oath of them, that the one should help the other. For without a secret oath he admitted no man to any part of his privy. And ever as he grew in promotions, he gathered unto himself the most subtle-witted, and such as were drunk with the desire of honour, as like unto himself. And after they were sworn, he promoted them, and with great promises made them in falshood faithful. And of them ever presented unto the king's grace, and put them into his service, saying, 'This is the man fit for your grace.' And by these spies, if ought were done, or spoken in court against the cardinal, of that he had word within an hour or two. And then came the cardinal to court with all his magick to persuade the contrary. If any man in the court had spoken against the cardinal, and the same not great in the king's favour, the cardinal bad him, walk a villain, and thrust him out of the court head-long. If he were in conceit with the king's grace, then he flattered and persuaded, and corrupted, some with gifts, and sent some ambassadors, and made some captains at Calais, Hammes, Gaynes, Jarsey, or sent them to Ireland, and into the North; and so occupied them, till the king had forgot them.

"In like manner he played with the ladies and gentlewomen: whosoever of them was great, with her he was familiar, and gave her gifts. If any were subtle-witted, and fit for his purpose, he made her sworn to betray the queen, and tell him what she said, or did. I know one, said this writer, that departed the court for no other cause, but for that she would no longer betray her mistress.

"And after the same example he furnished the court with chaplains of his own sworn disciples, and children of his own bringing up, to be always present, and to dispute of vanities, and to water whatsoever the cardinal had planted. If among those cormorants (chaplains) any began to be much in favour with the king, and to be somewhat busy in the court, and to draw any other way, than as my Lord Cardi-

1530.

p. 124.

His craft
with the
court
ladies.Sends his
chaplains
to the
court.

1530. nal had appointed that the plow should go, anon he was sent to Italy or Spain; or some quarrel was picked against him; and so was thrust out of the court, as Stokesly was. He promoted the Bishop of Lincoln (Longland) his most faithful friend and old companion, and made him the king's confessor. To whom of whatsoever the king's grace shrove himself, think ye not that he spake so loud, that the cardinal heard it?"

Stokesly.
Bishop of
Lincoln.

Towards
his latter
end mo-
rose, and
severe.

Dr. Pace's
troubles by
his means.

L. 26. Ep.
53.

Archbishop
Warham
threatned.

p. 125.

His legan-
tine court.

Towards the latter end of his life he grew more morose; and as his greatness and wealth increased his pride, so his pride made him more froward, and uneasy to others, and apt to revenge any supposed neglect, or want of respect towards him. This made him procure Dr. Richard Pace, mentioned before, a very ingenious man, and dearly beloved by Erasmus, to be cast into prison. Whose afflictions, by the cardinal's arts, were so heavy and undeserving, after his great and faithful services done to him and the king in foreign embassies, that they put him out of his wits; and so he most deplorably ended his days: though he outlived his great enemy some years, and saw his fall; and even under the cardinal's disgrace, was restored to his liberty and dignities: upon which his friend Erasmus wrote him a congratulatory letter. He also threatned Archbishop Warham, an excellent man, and in all probability had wrought him into some disgrace with the king, had he not soon after been under a cloud himself. Whereupon Erasmus applied that of the Proverbs to him, *Ante ruinam exaltantur spiritus*. In effect, he so played his game, that toward his latter end he seemed quite changed as to his disposition, and brought himself to be the general object of the nation's hatred. Which was the fatal cause of his downfall.

For he disoblighed not only the inferior sort by his pride and haughty behaviour, but by laying his hands upon the rights, privileges and profits of the gentry and clergy, he made them his implacable enemies

too. The cardinal's ambition, as well as his injustice and covetousness appeared, in that as he made himself the great doer in all the temporal affairs of state, so upon pretence of his legantine power, he assumed the managery of all ecclesiastical matters whatsoever. He took upon him to bestow benefices, though the real right of patronage lay in others. He called all offending persons before him whether of the laity or clergy, and compelled them to compound, as his officers thought fit. He swallowed up all causes, that were wont to be tried in the bishops' courts: and no privileges of exempt jurisdictions could avail against his court. He also much incroached upon the prerogatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He visited all the bishops, and all the spiritual houses in their dioceses, and all spiritual ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparitors. He summoned convocations in Canterbury province, as well as in his own of York. And for the better bearing out himself in the doing all this, he erected a peculiar court of his own, call the Legat's Court. The judge whereof he constituted one John Alan, LL.D. a very bad man both in his morals, and for his male administration of his office: wherein he exercised much rapine and extortion. But thereby drew into the cardinal's coffers an excess of treasure. This Alan afterwards became Archbishop of Dublin, by his master's interest, no doubt; but he came to a sad end; being slain about the year 1535, by Thomas, eldest son of the Earl of Kildare, in an insurrection. This court was kept in the cardinal's chapel at York-house. One branch of the causes belonging to this court related to wills and testaments. And the cardinal had special commissaries for these testamentary causes; appointing the abovesaid Dr. Alan, his deputy in this office. This court extreemly prejudiced the archbishop's Court of Prerogative, and in effect made it useless: for when the archbishop's commissaries summoned executors into this court, the cardinal's special commissaries cited them into his; threatening

1530.

Vid. Antiq.
Brit. p. 310.
Hanov. Ed.
Herb. Hist.
p. 80. Life
of Wolsey,
cap. 5.

Prejudicial
to the bi-
shop's pre-
rogative.

1530. any that did not appear before them, to annul the will, and to cut off the party from being executor.

Yet an instrument of much public good. D. Cardinalis, magni cum primis viri, et prudentissimi: viri in gerendis publicis negotiis exercitissimi. Epist. 3, 4. Lib. 11. Ep. 1.

But to take our leave of him under some more favourable representation. As the affairs of the nation were chiefly under his management, which he conducted with great wisdom and admirable dexterity, according to the character that Vives gave of him, so he was a great instrument of doing much publick good, both to the state and to learning. And here it may not be unworthy to relate, what Erasmus once spake of the great and happy effects of his counsels: which, though we allowing something for flattery, will discover not a few things redounding to his honour. "That he was the chief bringer about of a peace, between the chief monarchs of the world, when even Pope Leo X. could only bring

An. 1518. to pass a five years' truce. That he had proceeded a fair way by his endeavours to render Britain, *ex ærea auream*, a more glorious nation than ever it was before. That he had so thoroughly purged this land of robbers, highwaymen, and idle vagrants, that it was now not more free of poyson, and noxious wild beasts, than of harmful men. That by his authority he cut in sunder many perplexed law suits, not less happily than Alexander did the Gordian knots. He composed differences that arose among the great men; restored the monasteries to their antient discipline of religion; reclaimed the clergy to a more commendable form of living; the study of the liberal arts, that were decayed and degenerated, he retrieved. As for politer learning, as yet struggling with the patrons of the ancient ignorance, he upheld it by his favour, and defended by his authority, and adorned by his splendor, and cherished by his kindness. He invited all the most learned professors by his noble salaries. In furnishing libraries with all kinds of authors of good learning, he contended even with Ptolomeus Philadelphus himself; who was more famous for this, than for his kingdom. He recalled the three learned languages, without

1530.

which, as he said, all learning was lame." Which study of tongues, it seemed, he had furthered in Oxen, where, I think, he was chancellor. Adding, "That he hoped by this most fair example, the minds of princes would be awakened, (to do as he had done for learning;) since he saw a golden age a coming, as he said, if some number of princes were but of the cardinal's mind. And that the learning of future ages would hereafter speak aloud this new happiness imparted to the world by him. In a word, that he was so beneficial a person, as though he were born to succour and help the affairs of mankind."

And in another epistle, he speaks of the cardinal's restoration of all studies for the better, and of his invitation of all by his benignity to the love of learning. Lib. 6.
Ep. 21.

And particularly congratulates the university of Oxon, which by the cardinal's means flourished in all kinds of learning and languages, and in good manners too, so well becoming the best studies. To this I Lib. 6.
Ep. 27.

will add what Caius mentions concerning him, that he brought Matthæus Calphurnius, a Grecian, out of Greece, to teach Greek learning in that university. And withal bestows this character upon him, *De bonis literis optimè meritis cardinalis.* Caius De
Pronuncia-
tione
Græcæ ac
Latinæ
Lingvæ.

And if we look again into his family, we shall find, that as it resembled a royal court in regard of those many noblemen and persons of quality that lived in it, so one might esteem it an university, for those many accomplished men in all kinds of knowledge and good learning, that were his domesticks. And it is sufficient to conclude them persons of no slight and trivial literature, that they were dear to Erasmus and Erasmus to them. The names of some of them were as follow; Thomas Lovel, doctor of the canon law, Dr. Francis, a physician, Dr. Samson, Richard Pace, Cuthbert Tonstal, Robert Tonic, Francis Philipps, Willian Burbank, Gonell, (probably Trigonwell), Clement. After the naming of whom, the same Erasmus breaks out into that *ecphonesis*: "Oh! that magnificent and happy house. Oh! truly splendid His domesticks men
of great
learning.

1530. cardinal, that hath such men to consult with, and whose table is filled with such luminaries.”*

p. 127. And indeed he affected to be styled a patron of
A patron to learning, as appeared by those most magnificent col-
Erasmus. leges he built and endowed; and by that particular
favour he bore to the greatest scholar upon earth in
his time, I mean Erasmus. Which the same Erasmus
acknowledged to Pope Clement. The cardinal invited
Quo ego jampridem
amantissimo patrono
utor. him over into England to abide here, promising him
favours and dignities. And when in the year 1524,
he was minded to take a journey into England, and
wanted nothing but an invitation at that juncture,
Ludovicus Vives, who was lately returned out of
England to Bruges, wrote him, that had he known it
before, that ceremony should not have long detained
Ep. Lud. him, intimating that he would soon have procured
Vid 12. letters to him from the cardinal, to whom he was
very dear, if not from the king himself; assuring him
that he would have been very welcome, not to the
cardinal only, but the king and all the nobility. To
the cardinal he dedicated and presented several of
his books. One was concerning the right administra-
tion of government: which was dedicated in the year
1517. Another was sent him as a new year's gift,
entituled, *De Utilitate capienda ab Inimicis*. Which
seemed to be a translation of a piece of Plutarch.
Another he presented the cardinal was entituled, *De
Discrimine Adulatoris et Amici*. This book was
also, by the author's desire, presented by the cardinal
to the king, to whom he had dedicated it. Whether
Erasmus by this writing intended any lesson for the
cardinal, or the cardinal so took it, let others enquire.
There was another, *De libero Arbitrio* against Luther.
This was writ by the king's and the cardinal's incite-
ment. The composing and publishing which book
the author stiles, *audax facinus*, a bold act, as the
affairs in Germany then stood; saying, that he ex-

* Oh! domum illam augustam, ac felicem. Oh! vere splend-
idum cardinalem, qui tales viros habet in consiliis, cujus mensa
talibus luminibus cingitur. Ep. 3. Lib. 16.

pected to be stoned for it, and that some had thrown some books at his head already. When he had compiled this book, he resolved to dedicate it either to Pope Clement VII. or the Cardinal of York: and having about the same time finished a Paraphrase upon the Acts of the Apostles, he thought fit to dedicate that to the pope, and that of Free Will to the cardinal; reckoning it would be more acceptable to him, both because wrote by his instigation, and against Luther. For the cardinal was willing upon some politic ends, that the world might see, what a zealous patron he was for the Roman Catholick religion against the Gospellers. 1530.

The cardinal, to show a further token of his respect to Erasmus, took a scholar and relation of his, named Livinius, into his family. One whom Erasmus had brought up in good literature, and intended to send him to study at Lorain. The cardinal, in favour of Erasmus, designed him partly for his secretary, and partly for a companion and tutor to his own kinsman; and after some time spent in the cardinal's service, according to Erasmus his desire, he promised to send him with his said kinsman, to the University of Lorain.

But I shall add no more observations of him, than that which the aforesaid Erasmus writ in a letter to Vergara concerning him, when the king had confined him to his house, and allowed him but thirty servants. Erasmus's character of him.
 "Hic est fortunæ ludus: ex ludimagistro subvectus est ad regnum. Nam plane regnabat verius, quam ipse rex. Metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur à paucis, ne dicam à nemine." "He was fortune's game, raised from a schoolmaster to a kingdom. For he might be said to reign more truly than the king himself. Feared by all, loved by few, or rather none at all." Lib. 26. Ep. 55. p. 128.

Cardinal Wolsey's Life was long in MS. written by Cavendish, his domestick. Afterwards printed anno 1667, for Dorman Newman, entitled, "The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, once Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of Eng- The life of this cardinal, wrote by Cavendish, his servant. Printed.

1530.

land. Containing, I. The Original of his Promotion, and the Way he took to obtain it. II. The Continuance in his Magnificence. III. His Negotiations concerning the Peace with France, and the Netherlands. IV. His Fall, Death and Burial. Wherein are Things remarkable for these Times. Written by one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman Usher." An ancient MS. of this life, which seemed to be an original, I once bought of Mr. Woodward: which I afterwards parted with to Secretary Harley, afterwards Lord High Treasurer, and Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The printed book aforesaid was dedicated to Henry Lord Marquis of Dorset. By which dedication it seems it was now newly reprinted. The preface is of the author's own writing: having these expressions: "The cardinal was my lord and master; whom in his lifetime I served: and so remained with him in his fall continually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the south and north parts, until he died. In all which time, I punctually observed all his demeanors, as also his great triumphs, and glorious estate, &c. Nevertheless, whatsoever any man hath conceived of him in his life, or since his death, thus much I dare say, without offence of any, that in my judgment I never saw this realm in better obedience and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority; nor justice better administred without partiality: as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed with too much affection."

This book is misprinted very much, as I have given a *specimen* in my marginal notes in the beginning of the book. In the edition of it, an. 1667, I did in the beginning write, as followeth. "This book was printed again, an. 1706, with another title, *viz.* 'Memoirs of the Great Favourite Cardinal Wolsey: with Remarks on his Rise and Fall; and other secret Transactions of his Ministry. Together with a Memorial presented to Queen Elizabeth by Will. Cecil Lord Burghley, to prevent her Majesty's being engrossed by any particular Favourite.' But this can

be none of the Lord Burghley's, as may be concluded by divers phrases and manners of speech, that were not used in those times. Nor would that lord have dared to write so plain and bold to the queen: nor would she have born it. It is plain, this discourse was levelled at some of the ministry in that time of Queen Anne, in order to make way for another ministry. The original book is not divided into chapters, as this is; but is a continued discourse. It hath the very faults and misprintings of the former edition: as, p. 2. *Forest* for *Feast*; and *Sir James Pawlet* for *Sir Amyas*. The preface, which is called the prologue in the MS. varies and changes words, and leaves out, to make the language more suitable to the present age: but indeed rather mars than mends the stile."

1530.

CHAP. XVII.

p. 129.

A convocation. The condition of the clergy at this time. Complaints against them in parliament. Their justification of themselves. Deliberation concerning retrenching the church's power.

A CONVOCATION of the clergy was this year held at London, when, Jan. 24, was granted to the king out of the province of Canterbury, £100,000. to be levied within five years: each year £20,000.; when the diocese of Bath and Wells was taxed at £1037. 1s. 4d. q. But farther accounts of this convocation shall be given by and by.

A convocation.
Regist. Ep.
Bath and
Wells.

And now leaving this great cardinal, let us proceed to other matters. This year the king and parliament, taking occasion on Wolsey's fall, began to be busy in correcting and modelling the clergy, which had disobliged them both: the king, by keeping courts, and acting by virtue of a foreign authority, distinct from his; and the commons by the exactions lay'd upon them. November the 6th, the parliament met,

The commons complain against the clergy;

1530. and Thomas Andley (afterwards lord chancellor) was chosen speaker: when the commons presently began with complaints of the clergy, and of their oppressions of the laity, in the probate of wills, mortuaries, &c. They complained of them that were stewards and officers to bishops, that they occupied farms; and that abbots and priors traded in cloth and wool; that priests lived in noblemen's houses, not residing upon their livings, and so took from their parishioners, but spent nothing on them. So that the poor lacked refreshing, and the parishioners lacked preaching and instruction in God's word.

Especially
for their
constitu-
tions.

Upon these complaints, divers meetings and conferences were held between the commons and the spirituality: whereat the Archbishop of Canterbury himself was present. Then, besides the former matters objected to them, they laid to their charge their laws and constitutions. To which, nevertheless the clergy stood tightly, urging for them long prescription. But the gentlemen in heat said to the archbishop, that their exactions, which they justified by prescription, were but so many robberies: however, these their bills remained unsatisfied for a while; yet not long after, acts were made about the probates of wills, mortuaries, pluralities, and nonresidences: and in the year 1533, a law was made for abridging the power of these provincial synods, and their constitutions.

But because this controversy last spoken of, is not, I think, extant in any of our historians, I will here be a little more particular. The commons in this present parliament put up a bill against the clergy, shewing that their provincial constitutions made in this his majesty's reign, by this present, and other convocations, were not only against the king's royal prerogative, but very burthensome to the commons. The king also took exceptions at their presumption in making orders to bind his subjects, in the nature of laws; but especially, in executing them without his assent and authority. However the convocation

of the province of Canterbury, seeing in what ill case they were, and some mischiefs impending over them, thought it their best course to apply themselves to the king in an humble declaration. So the upper house prepared a paper, being a form of submission, to be presented to the king, and sent it down to the lower house for their concurrence. In which submission it was promised, for the future, to forbear any more to make ordinances or constitutions, or to put them in execution, but with the king's royal assent and license. And it ran in this tenor.

1530.

p. 130.

“ First, As concerning such constitutions, and ordinances provincial, as be to be made hereafter by your most humble subjects, we having our special trust and confidence in your most high and excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal, to the promotion of God's honour and Christen religion, and especially in your incomparable learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes, that we have read of; and not doubting, but that the same should still continue, and daily increase in your majesty; do offer and promise here unto the same, that from henceforth,† we shall forbear to enact, promulge, or put in execution any such constitution or ordinance, so by us to be made in time coming; unless your highness, by your royal assent, shall license us to make, promulge and execute such constitution; and the same so made shall approve by your highness authority.

The convocation's submission to the king. Cleop. F.1.

“ Second, Whereas your highness honourable commons do pretend, that diverse of the constitutions provincial, which have been heretofore enacted, be not only much prejudicial to your highness prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your said commons, as is pretended; we your most humble subjects, for the considerations aforesaid, be contented to refer and commit all and singular the said constitutions to the examination and judgment of your grace only. And whatsoever of the same shall

1530. finally be found, thought and judged by your grace his high wisdom prejudicial and overmuch onerous, as is pretended, we offer and promise your highness to moderate, or utterly to abrogate and annul the same, according to the judgment of your grace. Saving to us always, all such immunities and liberties of this church of England, as hath been granted unto the same by the goodness and benignity of your highness, and of others, your most noble progenitors, with all such constitutions provincial, as do stand with the laws of Almighty God,* and of your realm, heretofore made. Which we most humbly beseech your grace to ratify and approve by your royal assent, for the better execution of the same, to times to come among your graces people.||”

The lower
house of
convoca-
tion demur.

But the lower house was more stout, and could not go so currently through with the laying of their constitutions at the king's feet, as the upper house had framed the writing: and were for putting in some words to restrain the sense, and to leave themselves a latitude, before they would let it pass for them. For under the writing sent down from the upper house, the lower house wrote these words:

- p. 131. “ These articles above written be agreed in the upper house, and the lower house is agreed to the same: so that in the first article be added these words, viz. *during the king's natural life*: and in the second article be added these words, *and holy church*. With a *proviso* in the latter end. And so the articles, as they be agreed by the lower house be of this tenor following.” And then followeth all the aforesaid writing over again, with this addition in the first article, “ That from henceforth, † *during your highness natural life, which we most heartily beseech Almighty God long to preserve*, we shall forbear to indict,” &c. And this addition in the second, With the lawes of Almighty God, † *and holy church*, and all your realm,” &c. And at the end, after the words, *among your graces people*, they added, † “ Providing also, that untill your highness pleasure herein be fur-

ther declared unto us, all manner of ordinaries may execute their jurisdictions according to the said constitutions in like manner and form as they have used the same in time past.” 1530.

The convocation also framed another writing, by way of defence to what the commons had so aggravated against the clergy. But neither was the king nor the commons pleased or satisfied by what they had presented to both. But the synod, instead of more compliance, stood stiffly to what they had addressed before; and vindicated themselves, and the authority of the church and the prelates of it, in making laws in faith and manners, to bind the people in spiritual matters; boldly asserting their power immediately from God. And to this purpose they put up a book to the king. But their defence ran to this tenor.

The synod
make their
defence.

“Forasmuch as the answer lately made by your clergy unto your honourable commons, for their satisfaction in their bill of complaint, put up unto your highness, doth not please nor satisfy your highness in some points, concerning your own particular interest; especially in that point that concerneth laws, either now to be by us made, or else old, to be by us reformed: for your highness better contentation in that behalf, we, your said most humble chaplains, doth now more especially answer unto those poynts, as followeth.

“First, As touching new lawes to be by us hereafter made, we say that the lawes and determinations of Christ’s holy church throughout all Christian realms received and used, been clear and manifest, that the prelates of the same church have a spiritual jurisdiction, and judicial power, to rule and govern in faith and good manners, necessary to the soul’s health, their flockys unto their care committed: and that they have authority to make and ordain rules and lawes tending to that purpose. Which rules and lawes hath and doth take their effect, in binding all Christen peopull, as of themself; so that before God there

1530. needeth not of necessity any temporal power, or consent to concurr with the same, by the way of authority.

“*Item*, They say, that this power and authority in making lawes concerning the faith and good manners, necessary to the souls health, all Christen princes hath hitherto reckoned himself bound to suffer the prelates to use them in their realmys, and have not claimed of the said prelates, that they should from tyme to tyme require their consent or licence, by way of authority, more in making of such lawes, then they the said prelates should from tyme to tyme require their consentis autorysabyll in the giving of holy orders to any of their subjects, or in the exercising of any other spiritual act, depending upon their spiritual jurisdiction. The authority whereof procedeth immediately from God, and from no power
p. 132. or consent autorysabyll, of any *secular prince*: except it be the consent of the prince his own submission to the faith catholick, made not only by their noble progenitors, when they first admitted Christ’s faith, and the law of the holy church, within their realmys; but also by themself, first, generally at their baptism, and after more especially, and most commonly, by their corporal oaths at their coronations.

“We say also, that this power of making lawes aforesaid, is right well fondid in many places of holy scripture: now so much the less necessary to be here rehersed, forasmuch as that matter is at large set out in a book, now by us put up unto your highness. And your highness yourself in your own book, most excellently written against Martin Luther, for the defence of the catholick faith, and Christ’s church; doth not only knowledge and confess, but also with most vehement and inexpugnable reasons, and authorities, doth defend the same. Which your highness book we reckon, that of your honour ye cannot, nor of your goodness ye will not revoke. Yet these considerations notwithstanding, we your most humble chaplains and bedemen considering your high wisdom, great learning, and infinite goodness towards

us and the church, and having special trust in the same; not minding to fall in contentions or dispytions (*disputations* perhaps) with your highness in a (any) manner of matter what we may do; we be contented to make promise unto your highness; that in all such acts, lawes and ordinances, as upon your lay subjects, we by reason of our spiritual jurisdiction, and judicial power, shall hereafter make, we shall not publish, nor put them forth, except first we require your highness to give your consent and authority unto them: and so shall from tyme to tyme suspend all such our acts, ordinances, and lawes, hereafter to be made, unto such tyme as your highness by your consent and authority, shall have authorise the same. Except they be such as shall concern the maintenance of the faith and good manners in Christ's church, and such as shall be for the reformation and correction of sin, after the commandments of Almighty God, according unto such lawes of the church and laudable customes, as hath been heretofore made, and hitherto received, and used within your realmes.

“ In which points our trust is, and in our most humble manner we desire your grace, that it may so be, that upon refusal of your consent, (which we reckon that we need not fear; but yet if any such thing should fall out) your highness will be then contented that we may exercise our jurisdiction as far as it shall be thought necessary unto us, for the maintenance of Christ's faith, and for the reformation of sin, according unto our offices, and the vocation, that God hath called us unto.

“ As for the second poynt concerning lawes, which in tyme past hath be made by us, or by our predecessors, contrary to the lawes of this your realm, and to your prerogative, as it is pretended: to this poynt we, your highness most humble chaplaines, answer and say, that such our lawes by our predecessors within this realm made, as contain any matter contrary to the lawes or prerogative, and be not now in use and do not concern the faith, nor reformation of

1550. sin, when we shall be advertised of them, we shall
 p. 133. right gladly in that part revoke them, and declare
 them to be voy'd, and of none effect. So that your
 said right honourable commons shall now dare exe-
 cute your lawes without any fear, dread, or danger
 of our foresaid lawes, if any such there be." Thus
 tightly did the clergy stand to their principles, and
 justify them to the king. This defence above written
 is here and there corrected and interlined by the pen
 of Stephen Gardiner, if I mistake not.

1552. But the king made them buckle at last. It was
 The clergy own the king's supremacy. another high block and difficulty for the clergy to get
 over, to reject the pope's power in England, and to
 acknowledge the king supreme head and governor in
 all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil. But that
 also at length they unwillingly yielded unto: styling
 him in their submission by the title of "Protector and
 Supreme HEAD of the English Church," and paying
 a lusty fine; and then the king granted them a par-
 don for their *premunire*, which was ratified by the
 parliament then sitting.

The convoca-
 tion of
 the pro-
 vince of
 York stand
 out against
 the supre-
 macy. Nor was the province of York, in their convoca-
 tion, less resty to acknowledge the king supreme head,
 to which they were required; drawing up their rea-
 sons against it, in a letter to his majesty, dated May
 the 6th, from York: containing a long discourse of
 their mind and opinion concerning words that had
 past the clergy of the province of Canterbury in their
 synod, in the proeme of their grant of money made
 to the king; in it inserting words of submission of
 their ordinances to him, and at large to their long
 letter. Which is to be seen in the Cotton Library,
 and is printed in the Cabbala. The king told them
 gently, that he could not conceive displeasure, nor
 be discontent with them for writing their mind to
 him, yet considering what they had said unto him in
 time past in other matters, and what they now confest
 in their letters, noting also the effect of the same,
 he could not, he said, but much marvel at sundry
 points and articles, which he promised to open unto

them : and indeed did with good learning and evident reason : as may appear by what follows, *viz.* 1532.

Whereas the convocation of Canterbury had stiled the King *Caput Ecclesiæ*, the *Church*, they said, according to the notion of the word, was not circumscribed to any place, but meant all Christendom. And therefore, that it was absurd for any to give the king that title, and not fit for him to take it. But the king answered them well, that the church, in the present controversy was restrained to that of England, and the clergy of the same. Then they shewed, that Christ was head of the church : and he divided his power after the distinction of temporals and spirituals. Whereof the one he committed to princes, and the other to priests. But the king shewed them, that the places of scripture they used to prove this, served only to prove obedience due to princes, by all men without distinction ; whereof are priests and bishops, as well as laymen, who make together the church. And that although they restrained obedience to princes in regard of temporal things only ; yet *obey* and *be subject* contained no such matter in them, whereby spiritual things should be excluded. Then they proved by certain places of scripture, that the administration of spiritual things was communicated by Christ, to priests, as to preach and administer the sacraments. Which no man, the king said, would deny ; but that it proved not, their persons, acts, and deeds, not to be under the power of their prince. Then they alledged, doctors extolling the priesthood ; and that princes be, *filiæ ecclesiæ*. And where the convocation of Canterbury, when they stiled the king “ Head of the Church,” added, *quantum per legem Christi liceat* : the convocation of York made that sentence to be as superfluous, as to say, “ Man is immortal, *quantum per naturæ legem licet*.” But to that the king told them, “ It was nothing like. For the *law of nature* is not to *immortality*, as the *law of Christ* is to *superiority*.” In fine, to the question that was sent to this synod, whether the king were

Their objection : with the king's answers.

p. 134.

1532. head of the church? they gave in no other answer but this, that he was head of the church in temporals, but not in spirituals. But however, at length this province was also brought, as well as the other, to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and to yield the king a sum of money proportionable to that northern division of the clergy.

Further
consulta-
tion upon
the clergy.

After the king had gained this point, and gotten this his title recognized in the convocations of Canterbury and York, some persons there were hammering out some further reformation of the clergy, and the affairs of the monks and friars; that so the parliament, then at present sitting, might enact them into a law. One Richard Bowyer, some learned counsellor, I suppose, propounded his thoughts (to the council, as it seems) to this purpose:

Cleopa.
Lib. 6.
p. 392.

“Whereas the synods provincial of Canterbury and York, have by their constitution in the last, and yet continued convocation, recognized, and doth knowledge, the king our sovereign lord, to be singular protector, defender, and only supreme head and lord of the church and clergy of England; that constitution must be deeply perused: and then by act of this parliament approved, accept, and established by the king, with the consent and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in the same.

“And then, whereas his grace, and not alonely his grace, but also divers others of his noble progenitors, have made, in parliaments and council, acts and provisions for the commonwealth of this his realm and clergy of England, as well for the reformation of them, that have plurality of benefices, as others that should in time to come, obtain to have the like plurality; and for reformation and avoiding of strangers, visitors, and reformators of divers orders of religion within this realm, as well exempts as not exempts: which do collect and gather great sums of money by that colour, and it convoy out of this realm:

“And not alonely do collect and convey such

money, but by semblable colour of visitation do 1532.
undermine, to know the secrets of the king, and of
the realm: which disclosed, oftentimes doth great
hurt; and as well to the merchants of this realm, as
otherwise:

“ An act to be made by the king, &c. that for
these causes and others, no stranger to be admitted
within this realm, to visit or reform any order, exempt
or not exempt: nor no religious man within this realm
to make any knowledge of superiority, or *paternitas*,
to any out-religious place: but alonely one house in
England of every order exempt, to be head and
mother of all the rest. And the abbot of that house,
to be their head visitor and reformator: as was at p. 135.
his graces contemplation, and is, the order of Premon-
stratens in England and Wales, unto the Abbot of
Welbeck.

“ An act also, that the pope’s collector shall be
an English man. By whom the pope’s holiness
may be as well answered of all duties belonging to
his chamber, as by an out-born man.

“ And whereas all such acts made for reformation
and abusion, to have plurality, triality, unions, pen-
sions, *totquot* portions, &c. *et ad tantam summam*,
be smally regarded:

“ And forasmuch, as the pope doth grant them
upon a suggestion made unto his holiness; and that
for distance of place, dangers of ways, and perils
by the sea, his holiness cannot have due examina-
tion of such suggestions; but his grants do pass him,
si ita sit: and so the grants surreptitiously, and di-
reptitiously obtained:

“ An act to be made by his grace, &c. That he
intendeth not to infringe, annul, derogate, defray,
or minish any thing, of the pope’s authority: but
rather to maintain, add to, uphold, and avaunce the
same.

“ But forasmuch as the ordinaries, from one to
another, have been remiss and negligent in examin-
ing of his suggestions and causes, deduct in his fore-

1532. said grants, and pluralities and others his gifts, as Supreme Lord Protector, Defender and Head, to supply such negligence of the ordinaries :

“ And to make by act one, two, or more commissaries, spiritual men : and with them to associate in every diocess two learned men in the temporal law, and a clark examiner. And they to make inquisition of such articles, as in this behalf shall be requisite, without exception of any person. And that during the tyme of this inquisition, no ordinary to meddle with like inquisition.

“ If I should be demanded, I shall devise the articles.

“ And this matter justly and truly execute, his grace shall find high commodity, and nothing do, but equity and right.

RICHARD BOWYER,
otherwise STIRLEY.”

Some in
convoca-
tion of
another
mind.

Notwithstanding the convocation, and especially the lower house, had shewn themselves so loth to comply, and stood so stiffly upon their spiritual jurisdiction ; there were others among them of another mind ; and that strove to reduce the spiritual power under the temporal, and that of the clergy under that of the king. And I find a paper directed to some great lord about the king, that he would instruct that sort of the clergy, that were of the king's part in the convocation, how far they should go in advancing his spiritual authority. It was without any name or date. But I think it may belong to this year, or hereabouts : and it seems to be the hand of Stephen Gardiner, that went along now with the king in his purposes, and in the fulfilling of his pleasure. It began thus :

Matters to
be pro-
posed in
convoca-
tion.
Cleop. E.
6. p. 230.

“ Whether your lordship think convenient, that we should endeavour ourselves to prove these articles following ?

“ First, that the clergy have not authority, by the law of God, to make laws, ne excommunication ; but

that such jurisdiction hath been begun, and so continued by the lenity and sufferance of temporal princes.

1552,
p. 136.

“ That the king’s majesty in his parliament hath authority to determine, what causes shall be determinable in the spiritual courts, and to limit the manner of the process, without any excommunication. Whereby offenders in the said causes shall be brought to answer in the said courts.

“ That by reason of spiritual jurisdiction in making of process, the king’s majesty leaseth much profit that might accrue and grow to him by the seals at the common law.

“ That the king’s majesty hath as well the care of the souls of his subjects, as their bodies : and may, by the law of God, by his parliament make laws touching and concerning as well the one, as the other.

“ That this text, Mat. 16. *Quodcunque ligaveritis*, &c. gave authority to all the apostles jointly to make laws and keep counsels, until such time, as a convenient number of the lay people were converted to the faith : and then the said text ceased. And the text of Mat. 18. did take that effect, which, *Quodcunque ligaveritis*, &c. gave the apostles. And that text being spoken to all the church, as well as to the apostles, gave power to the whole church to make laws, and restrained the peculiar authority of the apostles in that behalf.

“ That the successors of the apostles have not like authority in all points as the apostles had. That to affirm the Bishop of Rome to be head of the Universal Church ; and thereby to have authority to summon general councils, is heresy. And that the authority of calling general councils doth belong to kings and princes.

“ That the king’s majesty may dissolve holy days without parliament ; but that he may make no holy days without parliament.

“ That this text of *Actuum xx.* ‘ Attendite vobis

1532. et universo gregi, in quo Spiritus Sanctus vos posuit episcopos, &c. was not meant of such bishops only, as be now of the clergy; but was as well meant and spoken of every ruler and governor of the Christen people."

I leave the reader at liberty (seeing we are left to conjecture) to place this notable paper here, or to bring it under the year 1534, when an act was made, that the king, and his heirs, should be reputed "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and enjoy the stile and title annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, and should have power to restrain errors and heresies. About which act the king consulted with his council, and with his bishops; and they in their convocation discussed the point, and declared, that the pope had no jurisdiction warranted by God in this kingdom.

p. 137.

CHAP. XVIII.

New Years' Gifts to the King. The Festival. The Church Book; printed for the use of curates. What it contained. The Bedes.

The clergy present the king with New Years' Gifts. **B**UT the clergy and religious, however the king now set upon them, either that they might give the king no new provocation, or to sweeten him, presented him now in the beginning of January, with New Years' Gifts, and that in a very generous and liberal manner; considering how their proportions exceeded much the gifts of the lay nobility and gentry: some of them giving fifty pounds, when even the Duke of Norfolk's gift not much exceeded thirty pounds; and the rich Earl of Oxford presented but ten pounds, two shillings and six-pence. But behold the list, as I transcribed it from the Burghleyan MSS.

Monies given to the King's Grace for New Years' Gifts, anno xxiiij sui regni. 1532.

	£.	s.	d.
By the Busshop of York - - - - -	50	00	00
By the Busshop of Durisme - - - - -	50	00	00
By the Busshop of Excestre - - - - -	50	00	00
By the Busshop of Hereford - - - - -	20	00	00
By the Busshop of Lincoln - - - - -	40	00	00
By the Busshop of London - - - - -	22	10	00
By the Busshop of Landaff - - - - -	13	07	06
By the Busshop of Clys - - - - -	40	02	06
By the Busshop of Rochestre - - - - -	13	06	08
By the Busshop of Baithe - - - - -	40	00	00
By the Duke of Norf. xx soveraynes, 22l. 10s. and five pieces of gold at 40s. the piece, 10l. - - - - -	32	10	00
By therl of Oxford ix sufferaynes - - - - -	10	02	06
By therl of Rutland - - - - -	06	13	04
By the Lord Darcy - - - - -	07	10	00
By the Lord Lisle - - - - -	20	00	00
By the Lord Mountjoye, five suffereynes	05	12	06
By the Lord Husey - - - - -	06	13	04
By thabbey of Westmynstre - - - - -	60	00	00
By thabbot of Reading - - - - -	19	12	06
By thabbot of Petirborough - - - - -	20	00	00
By thabbot of Saint Albones, xxx suf- fereynes - - - - -	32	15	00
By thabbot of Ramsey - - - - -	20	00	00
By thabbot of Abyngdon - - - - -	20	00	00
By thabbot of Seint Mary Abbey - - - - -	20	00	00
By the Prior of Christ Church in Caun- terbury - - - - -	20	00	00
By the Maister of the Roolles - - - - -	20	02	06
By Petir Vanne - - - - -	10	00	00
By the Dean of the Chapell - - - - -	07	10	00
By the Dean of Seint Stephens - - - - -	10	00	00
By Doctour Lupton - - - - -	10	00	00
By Doctour Lawson - - - - -	06	13	04
By Maister Sydnour - - - - -	13	06	08
By Doctour Woolman - - - - -	11	05	00

p. 138.

1532.

	£.	s.	d.
By Sir William Fitzwilliam - - - -	07	10	00
By Sir Henry Wiat - - - - -	11	05	00
By Sir John Daunce, five sufferaynes -	05	12	06
By Sir Richard Weston - - - - -	07	10	00
By Hasilwood of the receipt, iij portagues - - - - -	10	00	00
Sum Total -	792	10	10

The book
of the Festival

This year was printed, or rather reprinted, the Festival, by the old famous printer Wynkyn de Worde. It was a famous church-book, used in the churches by the popish priests, and read on certain seasons to their parishioners: being taken out of the Golden Legend, and giving an account of all the festivals of the year, with a sermon upon each festival. It seems to have been first made in King Henry the VIIth's time, as I collect by the bedes there, where prayer is bid to be made for the lord prince; which must be Prince Arthur, or Prince Henry. By the prologue it appears, that it was designed to keep up a superstitious veneration in the minds of the people towards the saints: "Showing unto them what the holy saints suffered and did for God's sake, and for his love. So that they should have the more devotion in God's saints, and with the better will come to the church to serve God, and pray his saints of their help." It was written for the assistance of ignorant priests, or according to the phrase of the prologue-writer, "For the help of such clerks this book was drawn, to excuse them for default of books, and by simpleness of cunning."

Other treatises therein.

It begins with the First Sunday in Advent. Besides the Treatise on the Festivals, there be added diverse other tracts in the book. As that sermon for the *Dedication* of the church, beginning, "Good friends, such a day ye shall have your dedication day, that is, your church holy day. Ye shall come to the church, and hear your divine service in the worship

of God; and for three causes, the which the church is hallowed for; that is, for the church cleansing, for devout praying, and for the dead bodies burying," &c. 1532.

There is next a sermon called *Hamus Charitatis*: i. e. the Hook of Charity. It runs upon this subject, "Do to others as thou wouldst be done to."

Next are *Quatuor Sermones*, wherein are shewn, what things we should know God by; as namely by these that follow: and then follow expositions upon the *Pater Noster*, upon the Creed, and upon the Ten Commandments, upon the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Deeds of Mercy, the Seven deadly Sins, and the Nine Manners of horrible Pains, the Nine Manners of People shall be tormented therewith.

Then follows the general sentence, that is, the curse against many sorts of sinners, used to be said every quarter of the year: and lastly, the beads: wherein the priest instructed the people, what and whom to pray for. Which will be found in the Appendix, as I drew it out *verbatim*, and according to the spelling, in the said Festival. And I add it the rather, because it is not so correct set down in the History of the Reformation. And withal that we may thence see in part, how much our publick prayers and devotions differ from them, and from what gross superstitions the reformation of religion hath happily freed the people of this land.

The general sentence.

p. 139.

No.

XXXVII.

The bedes.

Vol ii. p.

104. Coll.

No. VIII.

But to give you a taste after what manner the curates used to entertain their audience at these times. In the sermon of the Dedication of the Church were these passages against irreverence in the church: "*My House is called a House of Prayer*, but now it is made a house of rowning, whispering, crying, clattering, scorning tales and simple speaking, moving of vanities, and many simple words and lewd. That St. Austin saw two women rownyng (that is, prating) together in the pope's chappel, and the fiend sat in their necks writing a great roll of what the women talked. And letting it fall, Austin went and took it up. And asking the women, what they had

Irreverence in the church.

1552. said in all the mass time, they answered, our *Pater Noster*. Then Austin read this bill, and there was never a good word in it.

Church-
yards.

Again, in the same sermon, speaking of church-yards, he saith, "They were appointed by the fathers to bury in, for two causes: one to be prayed for, as our holy church useth; and another for the body, to lye there at rest. For the fiend hath no manner of power within Christen burials. No burying in the church, except it be the patron, that defends it from bodily enemies; and the parson, vicar, priest or clark, that defend the church from ghostly enemies with their prayers. Some have been buried there, and cast out again on the morrow; and all the cloths left still in the grave. An angel came on a time to a warden of a church, and bad him go to the bishop, to cast out the body he had buried there, or else he should be dead within thirty days. And so he was; for he would not do as he was bidden.

The walk-
ing of
spirits.

And speaking further of burying the dead, he asserts the walking of their ghosts: "Many walk on nights, when buried in holy place. But that is not long of the fiend, but the grace of God, to get them help. And some be guilty, and have no rest. Four men stole an abbot's ox to their larder. The abbot did a sentence and cursed them. So three of them were shriven and asked mercy. The fourth died, and was not assoiled, and had not forgiveness. So when he was dead, the spirit went by night, and feared all the people about, that none durst walk after sun down. Then as the parish-priest went on a night with God's body to *housel* a sick man, this spirit went with him, and told him what he was, and why he went (walked,) and prayed the priest to go to his wife, that they should go both to the abbot, and make him amends for his trespass; and so to assoil him: for he might have no rest. And anon the abbot assoiled him; and he went to rest and joy for evermore." These trifling tales and insipid stories were the people detained with, (instead of preaching

to them Christ and the doctrine of his gospel,) to keep them in profound ignorance, and in a due fear and dependance upon their priests, and their pardons. 1532.

In the *Quatuor Sermones*, where he is explaining the second commandment concerning images there forbidden, thus we read: "Men should learn by images, whom they should worship and follow in living. To do God's worship to images every man is forboden. Therefore, when thou comest to the church, first, behold God's body under the form of bread upon the altar; and thank him, that he vouchsafe every day to come from the holy heaven above, for the health of thy soul. Look thou upon the cross, and thereby have mind of the passion he suffered for thee. Then on the images of the holy saints: not believing on them, but that by the sight of them thou mayest have mind on them, that be in heaven: and so to follow their life as much as thou mayest." Where we may observe with some wonder, how no countenance is here given to worship images, the great practice of the popish church: but the clear evidence of the second commandment struck some awe on the writer's mind, that he dared not, in the face of the commandment exhort to that which was so plain a breach of it. p. 140.

Images,
why set
up.

In the said Four Sermons, speaking concerning the modesty of women, we may there gather what their pride and fashions were in those days. "Neither by countenance, saith he, ne array, stere (stir) ye no man to sin. Ne have not your visage pomped, ne your heers (hairs) pull'd or crouled, ne your faces coloured, ne your head high, or wide, layd with costly kevercheves, ne your body too curious in clothing, ne nice in shape: but after the council of St. Paul, let your array be shamefastness, helling your heads with your heer, or with a kercher to cover your shame." Women's
behaviour.

Once more, concerning the benefit of hearing mass, the people were taught to believe strange things. Hearing
mass.

1532. "That day thou hearest thy mass, God granteth thee needful and lawful things. That day idle oaths and forgotten sins been forgiven. That day thou shalt not leese thine eye-sight, ne dy no sudden death : ne in the time of the mass, thou shalt not wax aged. Every step thitherward and homeward an angel shall reckon." And then to make all the absurdities of the mass go down the better, the people are told, "That leud men and women to dispute of this sacrament are utterly forboden. For it is enough for them to believe as holy church teacheth them." But enough of the Festival. Which though in some parts of it, as in the general sentence and the beads, it underwent some corrections, yet I think it was not laid aside wholly till the reign of King Edward.

CHAP. XIX.

King Henry's matrimonial cause. Books written of this argument. A monstrous fish. Annates. Act against them. Address of the convocation to the king.

Much preaching concerning the king's marriage.

p. 141. The judgments of universities concerning it.

THIS year also there was much preaching in the realm by the priests and friars one against another, for and against the lawfulness of the king's marriage with Queen Katherine.

The judgments of the universities of Flanders, France, and Italy, (that I may go a little back) to the number of nineteen, were current, that it was unlawful for a man to marry his brother's wife, for so the case was propounded in general; and that the pope could not dispense in matters against the law of God and nature, as he had done in this marriage. These censures of the foreign universities were presented by the lord chancellor and other lords to the house of commons in January 1530-31. And afterwards being compiled into a book were printed, intitled,

"Gravissimæ atque exactissimæ illustrissimarum

totius Italiæ et Galliæ Academicarum Censuræ, efficacissimis etiam quorundam Doctissimorum Virorum argumentationibus explicatæ, de Veritate illius Propositionis, videlicet, quod ducere Relictam Fratris mortui sine Liberis, ita sit de Jure Divino et naturali prohibitum; ut nullus Pontifex super hujusmodi Matrimoniiis contractis, sive contrahendis, dispensare possit."

1532.

Then followed the judgments of the universities in this order in the said book :

"Censura Almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis.

"Censura facultatis Decretorum Almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

"Censura facultatum juris Pontificii et Legum Almæ Universitatis Andegarensis.

"Censura facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

"Censura Almæ Universitatis Bituricensis.

"Censura facultatis Sacræ Theologia Almæ Universitatis Bononiensis.

"Censura facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Universitatis Patariensis.

"Censura Almæ Universitatis Tholosanæ, &c."

Then under each ensue the censures of the respective universities at length, with the date of the day and years (*viz.* 1530.) under their common seals, hanging to the authentic instruments. These censures may be read at large, in the History of the Reformation, and in Hollinshed's Chronicle.

Vol. I.
Collect. p.
89. p. 923.

Next after these censures of the universities, followed in this book the judgment of divers learned men. For abundance of learned men had now employed their pens in this argument, to the number of above an hundred : whereof Dr. Cranmer was one. These with the said censures of the universities, were all brought down to the House of Commons to be perused by them.

And of
learned
men.

Herb. Hist.
P. 352.

I met with two discourses of this sort among the Burghleian MSS. which may deserve to be mentioned : to shew how this question was managed, and

Two books
of this
argument
particularly
mentioned.

1532. what arguments were made, use of therein. The one was writ in 21. of the king, about the year 1529, and bare this title, *An liceat cuiquam ducere Uxorem Fratris sui defuncti absque Liberis*. And in the end it is said to be written per I. Pi. M. Who he was I cannot tell, unless it were John Prior of Merton, whose name I find subscribed in the famous convocation, anno 1536. When those remarkable articles of religion were set forth, mentioned in the memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. The other paper is a confutation of a book writ by one Abel, a hot man, the Lady Marie's chaplain: and who about the year 1534, with several others, was found guilty of misprision of treason about the nun of Kent; and in the year 1540, was executed for treason in denying the supremacy. Both these treatises are in the Appendix.

No.
XXXVIII
XXXIX.

A third,
writ by a
Venetian
divine.

To which I will make mention of a third, upon the same argument, being a just and large discourse, and writ with good learning by a Venetian doctor in divinity. And this is the more to be marked, because the Venetians declined having any thing to do in this matter, and had menaced the university of Padua for meddling. The book bare this title:

IS. XS.

Fox. MSS.

“Fratris Marci Genoa Veneti Minoristæ, Artium et Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris, Tractatus de Matrimonio, quinque Questionibus partitus: cujus summa est; ‘An liceat Christianorum cuippiam ducere Relictam Fratris in Uxorem.’ In quo quidem Tractatu protestatur se nihil dicturum, quod Sanctæ Matri Ecclesiæ repugnat; quinimo ejus Auctorotati et Correctioni quicquid dixerit submittit.”

In the end it is allowed and approved by four other doctors of divinity in Venice, together with the author's own subscription thus:

“Tractatum istum de matrimonio——ego Fr. Marcus Genoa Venetus Minorista Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, Manu propria scripsi et confeci. Quod siquid in eo dixerim, quod repugnet Auctorotati

Sacræ Matris Ecclesiæ, casso, revoco, et annullo : 1532.
cujus Correctioni, volo et intendo subjectum esse."

This treatise I suppose was one of those procured by Doctor Croke or Stokesly; who were sent to Venice to get the judgments of learned men in this case. I will but name the five questions treated of in this work, and so pass to other matters.

" I. Utrum Affinitas impedit Matrimonium ?

" II. Viso, quod Affinitas impedit Matrimonium, nunc quæro, utrum impediat ex Lege divina, vel ex statuto Ecclesiæ ?

" III. Viso, quod Affinitas in aliquibus Gradibus impedit Matrimonium ex Lege divina, nunc specialiter quæro, in quibus Gradibus Affinitas Lege divina impediat Matrimonium ?

" IV. Utrum Christianorum cuippiam liceat relictam Fratris (quæ sibi primo Affinitatis Gradu attinget) quacunq̃ interveniente Causa, accipere in Uxorem ?

" V. Quinto et ultimo, quæro, utrum Pontifex Maximus, i. Papa possit dispensare, ut Christianorum quispiam ducat Relictam Fratris in Uxorem ob quamcunq̃ Causam ?"

For it was the king's wisdom, as the Lord Herbert Hist. of King Henry, p. 319. observes, not to prevail himself of his own power among his clergy, or of the counsel the pope had formerly given him of taking another wife, till he had first discovered what the learnedest men in Christendom held in that point. Therefore two or three years now past, the king employed divers agents abroad, for the gaining of the opinions of foreign universities and doctors of divinity concerning his marriage. As at Paris, Reginald Pole, his kinsman, p. 143. (who yet did him small service that way) Sir Francis Brian, and Edward Fox : at Orleans and Tholouse, William Paget : Thomas Cranmer, Andreas, and Joannis Casalis, and Previdellus in Germany : at Padua, Richard Croke : at Rome, Hierom de Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, and Gregory de Cassalis : at Venice, the foresaid Croke and Stokesly. And The king's agents for subscriptions of foreign doctors.

1592. besides these mentioned by the Lord Herbert, there were employed in Italy, to procure subscriptions, one Friar Thomas, and another friar of Florence: Friar Ambrose; Franciscus; Dionysius; Leonicus, and others: and some of these seemed to be too mercenary. For there was one Raphael wrote one book to prove the unlawfulness of the king's marriage: and afterwards wrote another book to prove the lawfulness thereof: which last came out publickly in print. And when this fickleness was laid to his charge, he excused himself, that what he wrote before, he wrote *ex aliorum mente*, and *ad ingenii exercitationem*. But these matters may be seen more at large, in a letter to the king from Croke, who was the king's chiefest agent in those quarters.
- No. XL. Which I transcribe into the Appendix from the original.

A character of Doctor Croke.
Fox. MSS.

This Doctor Croke, to give here a short character of a great learned countryman of ours, and that deserves to be remembred to posterity, was born in the City of London; admitted a student of King's College in Cambridge, 1506, went away being scholar: and afterward followed the study of the Greek tongue. Wherein he so excelled, that going beyond sea, he became publick reader thereof at Leipswich in Germany. He excelled also in Latin oratory: and at his return into England was in great favour with King Henry VIII. and with most of the nobility, that were learned. He was the first Greek professor in Cambridge, (after Erasmus,) who came hither by the persuasion of Doctor Fisher, then Bishop of Rochester: and for the love he bare to King's College, whence he had his beginning, in the first oration he made, he confessed it. In short space after, the University of Oxford, by great means of honourable friends, and fair promises of large allowance, invited him thither, to be their reader. Camerarius confessed himself to be his scholar in his narration of Hesus. He was the first publick orator of the University of Cambridge, and commenced

doctor of divinity in the year 1523. And he after lived in Oxford to his death; and wrote there diverse things against John Leland the antiquary. For which Leland hath a copy of verses against him in print. But I return from this digression. 1532.

It hath been an old observation in this kingdom, that near upon the death of kings, or some great personages of this land, whales and such like huge fish have come on our coasts, and into our rivers. Certain it is, that in the month of August, when Archbishop Warham died, at Tinmouth the sea cast up a fish of a monstrous bigness: which because our historians, I think, speak nothing of, I will here describe. It was ninety foot long. From the belly to the back, it was about eight or nine ells. The length of the mouth six ells and an half. The jaw bone seven ells and an half; the circuit thereof one ell and an half. It had thirty ribs, of the length of one and twenty foot; each in circuit a foot and an half. It had three bellies, resembling vast caverns, and thirty throats, five whereof were vastly great. Two finns; each fifteen foot in length. One whereof ten oxen could scarcely draw. To the palate stuck as it were plates of horn, on one part hairy. The length of his head, to that part where the mouth openeth, seven ells: the tongue about seven ells. The space between the eyes six ells. The eyes and nose altogether unequal to so great a body; being such as belong to an ox: the tayl was forked and rugged like a saw, seven ells long. Two great holes in his head: through which the great creature was thought to cast forth water, as through pipes. No teeth: whence it was esteemed to be no whale (for, they say, they have huge teeth,) but instead thereof he had things resembling plates of horn. This account a gentleman of England, that saw it, wrote in a letter to his friend: and is set down by Olaus Magnus. A monstrous fish.

Olaus
Magn.
Hist. Sep-
tent. Lib.
21.
p. 144.

This year three personages were preferred: who proved great and happy instruments for the reforming

Three great
instru-
ments of
the refor-
mation
raised.

1532. of the abuses of religion, and amending of many things amiss in the English church; *viz.* the Lady Ann Bolen, Marchioness of Pembroke, advanced to be queen: Thomas Crumwel, master of the jewel house, now made one of the privy counsil, and grown in great favour with the king, and soon after this made secretary of state. The third was Doctor Cranmer, nominated (while abroad in the king's service) and elected to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. To which I may add a fourth, Sir Thomas Audley, a great lawyer, now made lord keeper.

The act
against
Annates.

Vol. I. p.
117.

No. XLI.

Now past the famous act against Annates: whereby archbishops and bishops were forbidden to pay the first fruits to the See of Rome, and other payments for the obtaining of their palls, bulls, &c. And that henceforth they should cease, upon pain that whosoever paid them should forfeit his lands, goods, and chattels. The act is set down in the History of the Reformation. This proceeded regularly from the convocation first, which sued to the king, that these Annates might cease: and that if the pope made process hereupon, the king and people might withdraw their obedience from him: this suit sets forth the abuses of Annates, and was drawn by some good hand. I think it worth transcribing, and placing in the Appendix, for the reader to peruse; to shew upon what good reasons these dealings of the nation against the Bishop of Rome proceeded. It set forth, "How the court of Rome had executed these first fruits before the bishops could obtain their bulls out of the said court, The mischief the payment thereof did to the treasure of the realm; to the decay of the land, and the great impoverishing of the bishops, and of their friends and relations, if they should chance to dye within two or three years next after their promotions. And that the bishops by these exactions were not of ability to repair their churches, houses and mannors, in a great part of their lives. And that is to be assigned the reason of their falling into such decay. And that hence it came to pass, that

they could not bestow the goods of the church in hospitality and charity: which they ought to have done by the law, and the mind of the donors of their churches possessions. And many reasons more were given in this draught. But these reasons do make against paying first fruits to the king, as well as to the pope. And therefore, I suppose, these were not thought fit to be inserted into the act, it being intended not wholly to take away the payment of them, but to divert them into another channel, to wit, from the pope to the king. 1532. p. 145.

By this time the creatures of the papacy grew very jealous of the king, and feared their superstitions and corruptions might come under a further inspection. For the king had already done several things, that that party did not at all like of: as the sifting of the pope's power of dispensation, and disallowing it in some cases: The clergy of England put under a *premunire*, for breaking the statutes against provisors and provisions; and the bringing them to submit unto, and acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church: to which we must add, the act last mentioned, of stopping the Annates; and lastly, nominating Cranmer for Bishop of Canterbury. Therefore the popish party used their arts to keep the king from apostacy from them. I find about this time, a book of Dionysius Carthusianus, being his Exposition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, dedicated to the king by the monastery of the Carthusians of Colen. Which I believe was the first edition of that book, printed from some of their MSS. The Epistle was composed by Theodoric Loer, vicar of that house, but by the order of Peter Blomevenna, the prior, and the principal visitor of his province of the Rhine, and of the whole society: chiefly by the instigation, as it seems, of John Batmanson, prior of the monastery of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin near London; who had written to Colen, that Dionysius, one of their fraternity, his works would be acceptable in England. And under that pretence they chose the

The Carthusians dedicate a book to the king.

1532. rather to dedicate this work unto the king. In this Epistle they flattered him for his high learning, and zeal for religion: and that by his writings concerning the sacraments, he had displayed his glory over his people. That he had put on the harness of Catholick doctrine, like a giant, and girt his loins with the warlike arms of scriptures in his battels of disputations against hereticks, and defended Christ's camp, with the sword of his learning: that he was like to an evangelical lion, and a mystical lion's whelp, sent down from heaven to hunt the hereticks: extolling him much for persecuting those that disturbed his faithful subjects by their heresies." They knew, it seems, the king's mind, how he loved to be flattered and admired. But these fair words would not divert the king's purposes.

p. 146.

CHAP. XX.

The Princess Mary. The king's appeal against the pope. The supremacy. Books writ against the pope's usurpations.

1533.
A message
to the
Princess
Mary, to
lay aside
that title.

AS after the pronouncing of the sentence of divorce, the king commanded Queen Katharine should no more be called Queen, but Princess Dowager, and widow of Prince Arthur: so, soon after the birth of the Lady Elizabeth, which was, according to the Lord Herbert, Sept. 6, 1533, the counsil sent the Princess Mary word, by the king's order, that she should lay aside the name and dignity of princess; and commanded her servants no longer to acknowledge her such. This message was carried to her to Beaulieu by one Huse, a promoter, formerly employed by the king in his matter with the queen. He came privately without any privy counsellor, or person of honour accompanying, and without any commission, or other writing from the king. Which gave her occasion to refuse to obey the message, as not giving credit thereunto: telling the messenger boldly, that

she was the king's true and lawful daughter and heir. Her servants also would not take notice of this order upon the same reason: but hear the letter of Huse to the councel concerning the delivery and success of his journey.

1533.

"Please your good lordships to be advertised, that according to the king's high commandment, lately shewed unto me by your lordships at Greenwich upon Sunday last, I have signified unto the princess his most gracious pleasure, concerning the diminishing of her high estate of the name and dignity of *princess*. Wherein her grace coulde not a little marvaile, that I being alone, and not associate with sum other the kinges most honourable counsail, ne yet sufficientlie auctorised, nethre by commission, ne also any othre writing from the kinge's highness, wolde attempte to declare suche an high interprise and matier of no litle weight and importaunce unto hir grace, in depeyring and diminishing hir said astate and name: hir grace not doubting, but that she is the kinges true and legitimate doughter and heyr, procreate in good and lawful matrimonie: and ferther adding, said, that unless she were advertised from his highness by his writing, that his grace was so mynded to diminishe hir said astate, name and dignity, which she trusteth his highness will never do, hir grace will not believe it. And ferther, I have declared your said commandment unto all the princesse servants concernyng the premisses: who have made me answere, that they in most humble wise shal always obey the kinges high commandements, in al things which his highness shall commaunde them to do, saving there conscience. Notwithstanding they think, that this commaundment, being so high and weighty, geven by me only without writing from the kinge's highness, and othre his counsail associate with me, is in there judgements not sufficient.

Which she
refuseth to
do.
Fox. MSS.

"Wherefore, my lords, I committe this matier unto your lordships to be fertherly wiede, as shall stand with your high and moost discrete wisdomes.

1588.

P. 147.

Which I pray God may be to his high pleasure, and to the honour of the king's grace, and to the welth of his realme. And thus the Holy Goost have your good lordships in his most merciful tuition. At Beaulieu the twenty daye of Septembre. By me the king's subgiēt.

JOHN HUSE."

And in this persuasion she stood obstinately for three years, till the king was very angry with her. But then about the year 1536, she acknowledged herself a bastard.

A book
published
upon the
pope's re-
jection of
the king's
appeal.

Upon the quarrel between the king and the pope, arisen by the divorce, the pope being almost ready now to denounce his fulmination against the king and kingdom, his majesty by his ambassador Boner declared to the pope, that he appealed from him to the next lawful general council. This appeal the pope rejected. Upon this breach, the pope also being strengthened by a league both with the emperor and the French king, the king was under great fears and apprehensions of some *interdict* of the realm soon to follow; and upon that an invasion or insurrection of the people, or both. Wherefore a discourse was now framed and published, or designed to be published, in the king's name, to justify his appeal from the pope, and to vindicate himself to his people, in these words:

Cleopa.

E. 6. p. 326

"If mortal creatures to their head sovereigns, and natural princes, be chiefly bound next unto God; especially where they, as careful fathers and tutors, prudently and rightly rule and govern the great numbers and multitudes of men by God committed to their obedience; and where they in their royal persons often forgetting the regard of their princely majesties, valiantly withstand, abide and resist whatsoever troubles, dangers, perils, assaults, wrongs, injuries, or displeasures soever, at any time happen, chance, threaten, or be incident unto their people or countries: besides many and innumerable other displea-

sure and troubles, which daily and hourly, for the defence, maintenance, and supportation of their realmes, people and countries, secretly happen, and chance them, their people seldome or at no time privy thereunto; whereby of good congruence all subjects become most bound to their sovereigns and princes, and them ought most faithfully to love, honour, obey, serve and dread, and their majesties to maintain, support and defend with all their power, might, strength and ability.

“Then let no Englishman forget the most noble and loving prince of this realm: who for the godly example of his people, the love and dread he hath to God, and observance of his most reverend lawes, hath, to the evident knowledge of all his well beloved subjects, long endured and abidden, to his inestimable cost, charges, trouble, vexation, and inquietude, the trial of his great cause: and at the last, after innumerable most famous and learned men’s judgments, on his side therein given; yet for all that most wrongfully judged by the great idol, and most cruel enemy to Christ’s law and his religion, which calleth himself *Pope*, and his most just and lawful provocation and appellation from the said enemy of Christ’s law to the general council made, also refused, denied and forsaken.

“Wherefore, and to the intent that all men may know the abominable wronges, which our most noble and gracious prince doth sustain, by so unlawful entreatings; therefore these few articles, hereafter following, are presented unto those that shall both desire to know the truth, and in truth shall thirst and covet feithfully to assist, maintain, support, defend and stand by their prince and sovereign in his most just, lawful and rightwise cause. p. 148.

“I. That the general council lawfully gathered is, and ought to be superiour to all jurisdictions, either usurped and suffered, as the papal; or justly holden, as (that of) kings, in all matters concerning the faith, and direction of the whole Church of Christ: and

1533. also ought to be judged thereby, and by the decrees of the same only, and by none others; they being consonant to the law of Christ.

“ II. That princes have two wayes principally, when none other can prevail, to attain right. The one against the other. That is to say, in cases concerning the soul, being mere spiritual, *appellation* to the general council: in temporal causes, the *sword* only, (except by mediation of friends the matters may be compounded.) So that whosoever would go about to take away these natural defences from princes, is to be manly withstand, both by the princes and their subjects. And thereto all Christen men should be animate by the words of our Lord Jesus Christ: which are, ‘Obey ye princes above all, and ‘then their deputies, or ministers:’ not giving power to foreigners within their rules and dominions.

“ III. That divers general councils have determined, that causes of strife or controversy, being once began in any region, shall there, and in the same region be finished and determined, and not elsewhere. Upon which ground the king’s highness, his nobles, both spiritual and temporal, and commons, by one whole consent, upon divers most prudent, wise and politic reasons and weighty considerations, agreeable to the same general councils, have made a law: by the which good people, living within the limits of true and lawful matrimony, shall not by malice or ill will, be so long detained and interrupted from their right, as in times past they have been: neither unjust matrimony shall have his unjust and incestuous demoure and continuance, as by delayes to Rome it is wont to have. Which now may evidently appear by that that our prince’s weighty and long protracted cause of matrimony, hath his final and prosperous end, according to the lawes of God, with brief success of issue already had, and other like to follow. Lauds be to God, the only worker of the same.

“ IV. That our said prince and sovereigne, according unto the liberty and lawes of nature, and

constitution of general counsels, as afore hath been, provoked and appealed from the most unjust and unlawful sentence, wrongfully given against him by the Bushop of Rome, to the general council next ensuing, and lawfully congregate: that is to say, from the sentence of the usurper of God's lawes, and infringer of general counsels, which calleth himself POPE. In the which our said prince's doings all just and true Christen men, especially his most loving subjects, I doubt not, will support and maintain him. Which provocations and appellations also standing in force, and being intimate to the person of the said usurper, (as indeed they be,) and by him be denied and refused, sequestreth him wrongfully from all manner of processes, belonging, or in any wise appertaining to the said fact or matter, other diabolick arts and statutes by some of his predecessors to the contrary notwithstanding.

1533.

p. 149.

“Wherefore what censures, interdictions, or other his cursed inventions soever they be, fulminate or set forth by the said usurper, the same ought not only to be abhorred and despised, but manfully be withstood and defended. And who so doen shall have for their buckler, the latter and better part of this verse ensuing, and the maligners the first part. Which is, ‘Quoniam qui malignant exterminabuntur, sustinentes autem dominum, ipsi hæritabunt terram.’

“V. That where indeed by holy scripture, and Christ's law, there is none authority nor jurisdiction granted more to the Bushop of Rome, then to any other bushop *extra provinciam*: yet because that sufferance of people, and blindness of princes, with their supportation hitherto, hath sustained the same, doing themselves thereby too great injury and wrong; it is now thought therefore not only convenient, but also much more then necessary, to open the same unto the people: to the intent they should from henceforth, no lenger be disseyved, in honouring him as an idol, which is but a man, usurping God's power and authority: and a man, neither in life, learning nor conver-

1533. sation, like Christ's minister or disciple: yea, a man also, though the See Apostolick were never of so high authority, yet most unworthy, and unlawful, by their own decrees and laws, to occupy and enjoy that usurped place. For first, he is both baste, (bastard,) and also come into that dignity by simony. And now by denying the king's lawful provocation and appeal, and in supporting the diabolick decrees of his predecessor Pius, is determined by a general council, a very heretick.

Clement.
VII.

“Wherefore all true Christen people, except he amend, ought to dispise both him, and all his facts, and be no longer blinded by him: but give themselves intyrelly to the observance of Christ's lawes, in which is all sweetness and truth: and in the other nothing else, but pomp, pride, ambition, and wayes to make himself rich, which is much contrarious to their profession. The Lord amend them.”

Books
against the
pope.

The pope's authority here in England was now more and more agitated and sifted: and it was thought highly necessary to vindicate the king's *supremacy* against the pope's usurpations. And the king drove it on vigorously. State books for this end were written about it: and as many treatises were composed for the king's supremacy, so some against it too. The king himself this year wrote one. Which, together with his divorce, did extremely irritate and provoke the Roman bishop: but the book most of all. It was a large and ample treatise of the tyranny and usurpation of the Bishop of Rome: and bore this title, “De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem, et horribilem Impietatem.”

The king's
book
against him

Life of
King
Henry.
p. 385.

This book, mentioned in Beutherus his History, because the Lord Herbert had not seen, he supposed that author might mistake it for another book, intituled, “De vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis et Ecclesiæ.”

p. 150. But this must be a book different from that before mentioned: this being writ by Fox, Bishop of Here-

ford, and came not forth till the year after, *viz.* 1534, if we may believe the late Reverend Mr. Fulman, well skilled in these antiquities; who also distinguishes these books, and saith, there was such a book intitled, “*De Potestate Christianorum Regum*,” &c.—The book “*Of the true Difference between the King’s Power and that of the Church*,” was so well thought of in King Edward’s reign, and esteemed so seasonable in those days, that it was then reprinted, having been turned into English by Henry, Lord Stafford, and recommended by an Epistle before the book, wrote by him.

1535.
Hist. Re-
form.
P. II. Ap-
pend.
p. 413.

Becon’s
Reports.

To which let me add another book, *viz.* “*Becken-shaw’s Commentary of the Sovereign and Absolute Power of Kings*,” cited by King James in his “*Triplici Nodo triplex Cuneus*.”

CHAP. XXI.

Deliberation at the council board about casting off the pope’s authority. Resolutions taken. Doctor Sampson’s book for the King’s Supremacy.

FOR the concerting of these affairs, let us see what was privately transacting within the walls of the king’s court, among the privy counsellors. Who were minded first, to see how the bishops stood affected towards the pope and his authority in this kingdom, and what their judgments were of general councils. They propounded, that the common people of the land should be better instructed concerning the pope’s power, and his encroachments upon sovereign princes. They saw it needful, that all friars and religious persons, belonging to the monasteries which were addicted to the pope, should be brought over. And so in like manner all the inferior clergy. They thought it convenient that the king’s appellation from the pope, and the reasons of it, might be every where publicly known. They deliberated about securing the king-

The coun-
cel in deep
debate.

Sovereign
princes.

1533. dom against any foreign attempts, by making and keeping a good understanding with Scotland, and Germany, both the princes and Hanse Towns thereof. And lastly, for settling the Princess Dowager's household, and her daughters, and the family of the Lady Princess Elizabeth, who was now scarce three months old.

All these matters were, about the very beginning of December, propounded in the king's council, under nineteen articles. Which I shall first set down: and then shew the resolutions taken by the said council hereupon.

p. 151.

" Propositions for the king's council.

The result of a deliberation at the council board concerning the pope's authority, and how to deal with the bishops and orders in relation to this.
Cleop.
E. 6.
page 319.

" I. To send for all the bishops of this realm; and espccially for such as be nearest unto the court, and to examine them apart, whether they by the law of God can prove, and justly, that he that is now called the Pope of Rome is above the general council, or the general council above him: or whether he hath given unto him by the law of God, any more authority within the realm, than any other foreign bishop.

" II. *Item*, to devise with all the bishops of this realm to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the king's people, that the said Bishop of Rome, called the Pope, is not in authority above the general council, but the general council is above him and all bishops; and that he hath not, by God's law, any more jurisdiction within this realm, then any other foreign bishop, being of any other realm, hath. And that such authority, as he before this hath usurped within this realm, is both against God's law, and also against the general council. Which usurpation of authority only hath grown to him by the sufferance of princes of this realm, and by none authority from God.

" III. *Item*, therefore that order be taken that such as shall preach at Paul's Cross from henceforth, hall continually from Sunday to Sunday preach

there, and also teach and declare to the people, that he that now calleth himself Pope, ne any of his predecessors, is and were but only the Bishops of Rome, and hath no more authority and jurisdiction by God's laws within this realm, then any other foreign bishop hath; which is nothing at all: and that such authority as he hath claimed heretofore, hath been only by usurpation and sufferance of princes of this realm, and that the Bishop of London may be bound to suffer none others to preach at St. Paul's Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same. 1533.

“ IV. *Item*, that all the bishops within this realm be bound, and ordered in the same wise; and to cause the same to be preached throughout all their dioceses.

“ V. *Item*, that a special practice be made, and a streight commandment given to all provincials, ministers, and rulers of all the four orders of friers within this realm; commanding them to cause the same to be preached by all the preachers of their religious, in and through the whole realm.

“ VI. *Item*, to practise with all the friers observants of this realm; and to command them to preach in like wise: or else that they may be stayed, and not suffered to preach in no place of the realm.

“ VII. *Item*, that every abbot, prior, and other heads of religious houses within this realm, shall in like manner, teach their convents and brethren, to teach and declare the same.

“ VIII. *Item*, that every bishop shall make special commandment to every parson, vicar and curate, within his diocese, to preach and declare to their parochians in like wise.

“ IX. *Item*, proclamations to be made throughout the realm, containing the whole Act of Appeals. And that the same Act may be impressed, transsumed, and set up on every church door in England: to the intent, that no parson, vicar, curate, nor any other of the king's subjects, shall make themselves ignorant thereof. p. 152.

“ X. *Item*, the king's provocations and appella-

- 1533. tions, made from the Bishop of Rome unto the general council, may also be transsumed, imprest, published and set up on every church in England: to the intent, that if any censures should be fulminate against the king, or his realm, that then it may appear to all the world, that the censures be of none effect: considering, that the king hath already, and also before any censures promulged, both provoked and appealed.

“ XI. *Item*, like transsumpts to be made, and sent into all other realmes and dominions, and especially into Flaunders, concerning the king's said provocations and appellations: to the intent the falshood, iniquity, malice and injustice of the Bishop of Rome, may thereby appear to all the world: and also to the intent that all the world may know, that the king's highness standing under those appeals, no censures can prevail, ne take any effect agenst him and the realm.

[Not yet done, ne can well be done before the parliament.]

Margin of the MS.

[Send letters to my Lord Darces, my Lord of Northumberland, and Sir C— Clifford.]

Margin of the MS.

[In the king's arbitrement.]

Margin of the MS.

“ XII. *Item*, a letter to be conceived from all the nobles, as well spiritual as temporal, of this realme, unto the Bishop of Rome; declaring the wrongs, injuries and usurpations, used agenst the king's highness and this realm.

“ XIII. *Item*, to send explorators and espies into Scotland; and to see and perceive their practises, and what they intend there; and whether they will confedre themselves with any other outward princes.

“ XIV. *Item*, certain discreet and grave persons to be appointed to repair into the parties of Germany: to practise or conclude some league, or amitie, with the princes and potentates of Germany: that is to say, the King of Pole, King John of Hungary, the Duke of Saxony, the Dukes of Baviere, Duke Frederic, the Landgrave Van Hesse, the Bishop of Magons, (Moguntium,) the Bishop of Friers, the Bishop of Colen, and other the potentates of Germany. And also to ensearch of what inclination the said princes and potentates be of towards the king, and this realm.

“ XV. *Item*, like practise to be made and practised with the cities of Lubeck, Danske, Hamburg, Bromeswick, and all other the Stedds of the Haunse Teutonic. And to ensearch of what inclinations they be towards the king and this realme. 1533.
[To know
whom of
the king.]
Marg. of
the MS.

“ XVI. *Item*, like practise to be made, and practised, with the cities of Norimberg and Augsbourgh.

“ XVII. *Item*, to remember the merchant adventurers, haunting the dominions of Brabant, and to speak with them. [This is already
done.]
Marg. of
the MS.

“ XVIII. *Item*, to set order and establishment of the Princess Dowager’s house, with all celerity, and also of my Lady Mary’s house. [The order
is taken.]
Marg. of
the MS.

“ XIX. *Item*, a full conclusion and determination to be taken for my Lady Princess (Elizabeth’s) house.” [The orders
taken.]
Marg. of
the MS.

The resolutions that were taken by the privy council upon these propositions abovesaid were these, as I extract them from the same MS. in the Cotton library:

“ *Acta in concilio Domini Regis 2do. Decembr.*

“ First, that the conclusions mentioned in the first article of this book, with the circumstances thereof, be committed to Mr. Dean, (Doctor Sampson, dean of the king’s chapel,) and the almoner (Doctor Fox,) and other doctors; to search their books, and to make an answer again thereupon to the lords of the council by Friday and Saturday next. The resolutions
taken
hereupon.

“ The Bishops of London, Lincoln and Bath, to be warned to be here afore the council.” (These bishops being nearest the court: the Archbishop of Canterbury is not mentioned, either because he was one of the privy council, or was now down in his diocese.) This added
by another
hand.

“ And as to the other seven articles, depending upon the said first, the council will be advised thereof, until the return of the said answer.

“ And as to the ninth, tenth and eleventh articles, it is committed to my Lord Chancellor (Sir Thomas

1533. Audley) and Master Cromewel, to put in execution with all speed, according to the effect of the same.

“ And as to the twelfth article, it is ordered, a minute of a letter shall be drawn and conceived by Mr. Almoner, according to the purport thereof. And that first of all there shall be exhibited to the council, the copy of an old letter, sent unto the pope by the nobles in King Edward the Ist. his reign; and all the letter, which we last sent unto the pope.

“ And as touching the thirteenth article, it is committed to my Lord of Norfolk and Mr. Cromewel.

“ And as unto the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth articles, it is ordered that letters shall be with all speed devised and sent unto Mr. Wallop, to advertise the French king thereof, before any of them shall be put in execution.

“ *Item*, for the diminishing the house and order of the Princess Dowager, the King's Highness hath appointed, that the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Sussex, master controulour, and Master Den (Denny, I suppose) shall repair thither, and to use themselves according to such instructions, as shall be devised for the same.

“ *Item*, for the diminishing of the house and ordering of the Lady Mary, the King's Highness hath appointed, that the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Marneux (Marnix,) the Earl of Oxford, and Mr. Almoner, shall repair thither, and use themselves according to such instructions, as shall be devised for the same.

* Who was now near a quarter old.
† It was first writ the Castle of Hertford, but that was dashed out, and Hatfield put in.

p. 154.

“ *Item*, the King's Highness hath appointed, that the Lady Princess (Elizabeth*,) shall be conveyed from hence towards Hatfield†, upon Wednesday the next week: and that Wednesday night to repose, and lye at the house of the Earl of Rutland in Enfield; and the next day to be conveyed to Hertford (Hatfield,) and there to remain with such formerly in houshold, as the King's Highness hath assigned, and established for the same.”

Sampson, dean of the chapel, his

Richard Sampson, LL.D. dean of the chapel, mentioned a little above, this year wrote and pub-

lished a certain Latin oration, for the vindicating the king in taking the supremacy into his own hand, and for confuting the doctrine of the papal power in this kingdom. It was printed by Thomas Barthelet, *cum privilegio*. And the king sent it abroad, and dispersed it among foreigners, for the vindication of his doings: and among the rest appointed it to be sent to Pole, as shall be seen hereafter.

1533.
book
for the
king's su-
premaciacy.

This book I have seen in vellum in an exquisite collection of curious books; and which I exactly transcribed: and have now put into our Appendix. No. XLII. *Qua docet, hortatur, admonet, &c.* as it stands in the title, giving the purport of the said oration, *i. e.* "That it taught, exhorted and admonished all persons, and particularly the English nation, that above all they were bound to obey kingly dignity; because the law of God commanded it: and that they should not listen to the Bishop of Rome; who had no power by any divine right over them; after that the king had so commanded to obey him only," &c.

In this book he grounded the king's power over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as lay, upon these scriptures, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; and, submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake." He asserted hence, that kings are God's vicars or substitutes; because they have their power of God himself. And that the Bishop of Rome hath nothing to do without his province. That in England he had no more power than the Archbishop of Canterbury had at Rome. And that there was no word in scripture that attributed power to him out of the Roman province: nor no more mention of the Bishop of Rome in the holy scripture, than of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But however it was thought necessary that this book of Sampson's should be answered: and so it was afterward by Cochläus, a violent Papist.

Rom. xii.
1 Pet. ii.

And yet this writer, who hath shewn such loyalty to the king by this state book of his against any foreign power, to be superior to that of the king, we

1533. shall hear in the progress of these Memorials, what a secret favourer he was of the pope, and of such as would not renounce his authority in this kingdom.

This oration of Sampson's was some years after put into English by a learned divine, and writer, with a freedom of paraphrase sometimes. Which, for the benefit of English readers, is as followeth :

Dr. Samp-
son's Ora-
tion.
Becon's
Reports.

“ A KING is appointed of God for the punishment of evil doers, and for the prayse of the good : whom he regardeth, defendeth, advaunceth. And as it appertaineth unto his office to save and to defend the good and honest people, so it is his duty to punish the wicked and disobedient. This power hath he of God. The matter is playne ynough. The scriptures are evident. For it is the word of God which teacheth us to obey this power. It excepteth no man in the world. Neither is there found in holy scripture one jote or tittle that maketh free any disobedient and wicked person from the power of the king.

p. 155.

“ Marvel not thou therefore, if thou see either priest, or monk, or byshop punished, if he do offend, no more than thou dost wonder at the punishment of

Rom. xiii.

a lay person. ‘ If thou do evil,’ saith the apostle, then ‘ fear the power of the sword.’ For he speaketh this to all men, and every one of them. ‘ What

1 Pet. ii.

‘ matter thankworthy is this,’ saith St. Peter, ‘ yf ye ‘ do amiss, ye take it patiently, when ye are buffeted ‘ and beaten? Have therefore,’ saith he, ‘ a good ‘ conversation ; that men speak not evil of you, as ‘ malefactors. Therefore be yee subject to all hu- ‘ mane ordinance for the Lord’s sake ; whether it be ‘ to the king, as supreme head,’ &c. God himself therefore commaundeth that we should obey the king, his power and his laws, in all things that belong to the princes of this world. Seeing then that the king hath his supreme power of God, it is to be wondred, that such foolish men are found, which cannot abyde (so much as in them is,) that the king should be adorned with the name of Supreme Head.

Supreme
Head.

But either imprudently or impudently, and ambitiously labour also, that other may not agree thereunto. Is not he worth the name of Supreme Head, to whom alone in earth the supreme and most high power is given by the word of God? I would that they which think themselves learned, should bring forth out of the holy scripture any one power, which may be compared unto this regal power. 1533.

“ This power therefore have the kings of God himself. His ministers they are. Of him are they sent, as St. Peter saith: and his vicars are they. All therefore must needs obey this power, that will be subject unto God. He that receiveth not him, and obeyeth not him, whom God sendeth, and to whom God hath given this express and manifest power, doth utterly cast away God, or rather despiseth him. Let the king therefore be called Supreme Head: for the same is he indeed: confirmed with the word of God, &c. The king is God's vicar.

“ What other thing then is it, to contemne and despise the word of God, not to obey the king, which is God's minister, and God's vicar? I mean not, by this vicar of God, that Byshop of Rome, which by his proper ryght hath nothing to do without his province. He is the Byshop of Rome: let him play the Byshop of Rome. For in England he hath no more power than the Archbyshop of Canterbury hath at Rome. There is not one word in the holy scripture, which attributeth any power unto him without the Roman province. Which thing I will make most evident and playne unto thee. If he hath that power by the law of God, which he so greatly seeketh after, he must prove it by the word of God. But of the Byshop of Rome there is no more mention than of the Archbyshop of Canterbury. Therefore out of this fountain he cannot draw thys water, where none at all is. Whereas he saith, that he is the successour of Peter, and that by this succession he hath received this power, if Peter himself were here present, he would utterly deny it, and without all doubt The Bishop of Rome hath no power, but in his own province.

The words of St. Peter concerning the pope.

1533. cry out against this lyar, and say, O impostor, and deceaver, O ambitious, proud, and arrogant man! My Master Christ taught me humility, the denying of myself, the despying of this world, and of all the pomp thereof. Peace, &c. But how far estraunged from humilitie he is, which in my name chalengeth unto him the primacy and highest authoritie, his outward manners do evidently declare. The tree is known by the frutes. For the denying himself, he goeth about to do all things after his own will and pleasure. For the contempt and despying of this world, he loveth nothing so derely, as the things which belong to this world. In pride and pomp he passeth the princes of the heathen. For peace, he rayseth up battel in every place; yea, and that for none other cause, then that he may live and do all things according to hys own wil and pleasure.—These things, I say, and many more, would St. Peter speak of the Bishop of Rome; if he were here.

p. 156.

The man-
ners of
Rome cor-
rupt.

“ But as touching the most corrupt and abominable manners of Rome, I say nothing. For I should almost as easily draw out all the water of the ocean sea, as rehearse those manners, and set them forth in their right colours. I beseech God, for Christen charity, that he may learn to know God; and that when he once know him, he may love him: and that he, that is to say, the Bishop of Rome, may at the last begynne more studiously and diligently to practyse and follow those things which Christ commaundeth. That as he now, a great number of yeres, hath been the parent and father of al abominations (as I may with one word comprehend al evils) setting forth the works, not of Christ, but of the devil; so likewise now at the last he may repent and amend. That many Christen men, that now hate him, yea, and that both worthily and justly, may rejoyce at the conversion of one, so famous a synner, I have hated, saith the prophet, *the wicked*. And let the Bishop of Rome above al things, learne to contain and hold himself within his own bounds and limits. For he

Paul. cxix.

doth folishly to chalenge that by that right of succession, or by the law of inheritance, which the holy fathers never had, nor yet would they have. For St. Peter did nothing less than arrogate and chalenge unto himself such primacy and superiority. He did never exercise it, because he never had it. For thou shalt find in no place, that he at any time did send any of the apostles, or that he commaunded any of them to do any thing. But we read, that he was sent of the apostles. 1533.
Peter had not the superiority.
Act. viii.

“ If that Peter alone had the absolute power, whereof they so greatly boast, what shall we then say of Paul? which without his counsil or licence did found and stablyshe, with his doctrine, the Corinthians, Galathians, yea and the very Romans also. He appointed Timothy to be bishop in Ephesus, Titus in Creta, and that they should appoint priests, or seniours in every citie, and set the things in order, &c. But as touching Peter, he openly reproveth him unto hys face: nether did he confer his gospel with Peter alone, but with the apostles. If we wil ascribe and attribute the chief authority to St. Peter, then must we provide, that we stretch it not out beyond Jewry, nor further then the coasts of the Jewish country: yea, and that by the testimony of Paul, which saith, that he was appointed to be the preacher and teacher of the Gentiles: and that the gospel of uncircumcision was no less committed unto him, then the gospel of circumcision was committed unto Peter. He saith also, that neither Peter, nor any other of the apostles, did help him any thing at all. Neither doth he attribute to Peter any superiority above the other apostles: for he saith, ‘ James, Cephas, and John, which seemed to be the chief pyllars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands, and agreed with us.’ In the which place he doth not only make the other equal with Peter, but also he giveth him not so much honour, as to name him first. For he first nameth James, &c. 1 Tim. i.
Tit. i.
Gal. ii.
Peter’s authority extended but to Jewry.
p. 157.
Gal. ii.

“ Peter was the first of the apostles, but he was Peter the first, how.

1533. not the first and chief in power and authority. For they were al equal in power, &c.

“ If St. Peter were present, without al doubt he would take nothing more heavily, then that the Byshop of Rome doth challenge unto him thys more then secular power, under his title and name. For if St. Peter had receaved thys power of Christ, with this commaundment, that he alone should exercise it, and that all other should take their power of him, (as the Byshop of Rome doth now challenge unto hym.) Then should both Peter grievously have offended, which did not obey thys commaundment, and they also should most fowly have erred, which without his authority took upon them to minister in the church of Christ. Neither would Luke have silenced this matter in the Acts of the Apostles, which after Christ’s ascension wrote the things which the apostles did. But how far this is from the apostles dedes, we have already declared evidently ynough.

How the
pope came
by his su-
periority.

“ Seeing then that St. Peter had not this power, by what authoritie hath the Byshop of Rome challenged and taken it unto him? verily, by the too much sufferance of the princes and of the people, and thorow the filthy ambition and pride of the bishops of that place. Which thing I will make unto thee more open and clear than the very sunne, yea, and that in few words.

“ First of al, there is nothing more certain under heaven, than that unto the Bishop of Rome, there is no more either primacy or power attributed and geven by the law of God, than unto any other byshop eyther in England, or in Fraunce, or in Italy; seeing that St. Peter himself had it not. It must needs therefore follow, that the power, which he chalengeth, he hath it by man’s law. Therefore many of the auntient byshops of Rome did neyther covet, nor yet at any tyme went about to exercise any such authoritie: neyther did other men geve it unto them, or to any of them such power.

“ There are certain familiar Epistles of Cyprian, Byshop of Carthage, unto Cornelius Byshop of Rome, written about CC and L. years after Christ. How much primacy he geveth unto him, the superscription of those letters declareth evidently. ‘Cyprian,’ saith he, ‘sendeth gretyng to his brother Cornelius.’ Neither do the words of the Epistle geve unto him any more power. The faith of God’s word, which both the apostles Peter and Paul, as well with their doctrine, as also at the last with their martyrdome, left sound and perfect, before other places, at Rome, both those old fathers had in great reverence; and also the good Byshops of Rome kept whole and safe stil, even in the time of Cyprian. Neither doth St. Hierom attribute and gyve to Damasus, Bishop of Rome, which lived about CCCLXVIII years after Christ’s ascension unto his Father, any other primacy in his Epistles, which he wrote unto him, then that he should follow the faith of that See of Rome, and advaunce that to the uttermost of his power. And as concerning that St. Hierom saith, ‘Extra hanc domum qui agnum commodedit profanus est:’ that is to say, ‘He that eateth the lamb without this house, is ‘profane,’ and an unholy person, in a certain epistle, which beginneth *Quoniam vetusto*, tom. 3. p. 59, he meaneth undoubtedly ‘without this faith:’ although Erasmus in that place chiefly do not seme so syn-
cerely to speak, as he doth in many other places, which very uncircumspectly interpreteth that *house* the primacy of the Church of Rome. For such primacy was not known in that age, &c.

1533.

p. 158.

The primacy of the pope was not known in St. Hierom’s time.

“ Seeing then that the Byshop of Rome hath so greatly degenerated from the word of God, what is more right and lawful, then to cast away, and utterly to refuse him, and all his ambitious canons or laws? for they are not the canons and rules of Christ, but rather of this world; saying they teach none other thing, than pomp, ambition, pride, covetousness, &c. Hereof cometh this noble primacy. Hereof springeth the dominion far passing the dominion of heathen

The pope with his canons are to be refused.

1553. kings. Hereof also ryseth that abominable kyssing of feet. Paul and Barnabas rann out into the multitude, rentyng their garments for sorrow, when the people began to worship them, crying out on this manner, 'We also are mortal men like unto you.' And when Cornelius fell down at Peter's feet, Peter lifted hym up straightwayes and said, 'Ryse, for I also am a man.' How then doth the Byshop of Rome wish, that Christen men should obey hym, seyng al that he teacheth or doth, is so contrary to Christ? eyther must we forsake Christ, or the Byshop of Rome with these manners. For no man can serve these two maysters. So long as the Byshops of Rome followed Christ, there was no nation among all the Christians, so subject unto him, and so obedient (not in respect of any supreme power, but even of their own free will) as the English nation was.

Acts xiv.

Acts x.

No man
can serve
both Christ
and the
pope.

King
Henry en-
acted no
obedience
to the pope

"The common weal of England, long and many a day hath sustained of this See of Rome intolerable burdens and injuries. But after that, neither measure nor end could be found, our most prudent king (Henry VIII.) as it was his duty, although long first, at the last provided for his common-weal. He hath enacted (whom all we are bound to obey by the word of God) that we should shew no obedience to the Byshop of Rome, which requireth obedience at our hands without any warrant of God's word.

"He therefore that will both be counted, and also be a true Christian, must nedes obey the word of Christ. Thou art bound by the word of God to obey the king, as we have playnly proved and taught: but so art thou not the Byshop of Rome. The king commaundeth thee to obey him. The Byshop of Rome commaundeth thee to be subject unto him. The king commaundeth by the word of God. But the Byshop of Rome chalengeth obedience by the law of man. If thou be a Christian, thou wilt obey the word of God. 'If thou love me,' saith Christ, 'kepe my commaundments. He that loveth me not, kepeth not my commaundments, he that is not with

John xiv.

‘ me is against me,’ saith he. That thou therefore mayest be of God’s part, thou must nedes do that which God commaundeth. Otherwise shalt thou undoubtedly be of those enemies, which would not have the king to reign over them, as Luke saith. Ye shall dy in your sinns, bycause ye do not only not love God, but ye seme also to hate hym, seying ye refuse and utterly despise his word, after that ye be taught it, ye contemn and set at nought al humane usurped power, and obey the word of God. The word of God is, that ye should obey the king, and not the Byshop of Rome. 1533.
Luke xix.
p. 159.

“ With a certain secret or still consent of men, the Byshop of Rome crept into this realm. But now for many, yea, and those most just causes, as we have tofore partly touched, is it enacted with an open and universal consent, that ye should no more be subject to this foraign power of the Byshop of Rome. Thys doth God commaund, bycause the king, God’s minister in earth, doth commaund it, to whom by the word of God, the supreme, or most high power, is geven. He useth his right. He will no longer suffer, that he, which hath too long usurped a power here after a thevysh sort, should thrust hym out of his right. Every true English hearted man is bound to obey this law and ordinance, that ye may specially love the king, supreme head: again, that ye all which are members of this head, may heartily love one another, as ‘ I,’ saith Christ, ‘ have loved you,’ &c.” The pope’s
usurped
power
justly ba-
nished out
of England

CHAP. XXII.

Struggling for the pope. Wilson. Hubbardin. Powel.
Latimer. Antichrist.

THIS time the bishops generally and most of the clergy were great Papalins: and seeing how the king’s proceedings tended not only to the abating, but destroying the pope’s authority and sway here in The Popish
clergy’s
practice.

1533. England, it sore grieved them; and they did what they could to keep it up among the people: hoping, that when the king saw, how tightly the subjects every where stood for the pope, he might be the more tender, how he went on infringing his power. For this purpose they now privately procured several doctors of the universities, such as were the most popular and ready preachers, to be in the nature of the Itineraries, to ride about the countries, and to preach up, from place to place, the pope's power over kings; extolling the Bishop of Rome, and diminishing the power of secular princes. One of these was Dr. Wilson of Cambridge, a North countryman. About this time he travelled into the countries about Beverley in Holderness. And from thence he went a progress, by some private appointment, through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so toward the West parts, to Bristow. Another was an old divine of Oxford, named Hubbardin, a great strayer about the realm in all quarters, to deface and impeach the springing of Christ's gospel. He was employed in the West country, and was wholly at the devotion of the bishops, doing whatsoever they bad him. He magnified the pope above measure, to the derogation of the temporal princes. But his behaviour, and life, and manner of preaching, was most indecent, and a sort of interlude: and so the more taking among the vulgar sort. He would rail in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Frith, Tyndal, Latimer, and such like eminent professors of the gospel. He would, for his better reception among the people, openly and ostentatiously give such alms as he had received out of other men's purses. He used long prayers, pretended devotion, and great fasting. He ordinarily rode in a long gown down to the horse's heels, all bedirted like a sloven, as though he were a man of contemplation, little regarding the things belonging to the body. His sermons consisted of tales and fables, dialogues and dreams. He would dance, and hop, and leap, and use histrionical gestures

Latimer's
letter to
Morice,
in Fox.
p. 1581.
Dr. Wilson

Hubbardin

p. 160.

in the pulpit. At which he was once so violent, stamping so much, that the pulpit, wherein he was, brake, and he fell down, and brake his legs, whereof he died. This man once made an oration in the praise of thieves and thievery; which he did at the command of some highway-men that robbed him. And they liking it so well, returned him his money again, and two shillings more to drink their health. The MS. whereof is still extant, and was once sold at the auction of Mr. Smith's books. I have a grave monitory letter written to this man by Latimer, advising him to leave off his blasphemies, and confuting some passages by him uttered in a sermon. This letter you shall have in the Appendix.

1535.

No XLIII

Dr. Powel.

Another of these emissaries was Dr. Powel. Who once preached before the maior of Bristow, extolling the pope with abundance of zeal: little regarding in the mean time the power of the secular sword. He preached also much for pilgrimages; proving them from that scripture in the gospel, "Whosoever leaveth not father and mother, and houses and lands," &c. By which may be perceived what hard shifts they made, to make the scripture speak for them. For, together with the pope's supremacy, they were instructed to do their utmost to defend and maintain the superstitions of the church: and especially such as were gainful to the priests; such as pilgrimages to saints, shrines, and purgatory were.

There is a letter of friar Thomas Powel from Paris, a saleable letter against the king, anno 1536. Which began thus: "We behold, how the king is chaunged from a Christian to a heretic," &c.

Hunting
the Rom.
Fox. p. 4.

I find Nicolas Wylson and Edward Powel, (who, I suppose, were the Wylson and Powel, before named) attainted with John Bishop of Rochester, for refusing the oaths of supremacy and succession in the year 1534; and their benefices declared void. Wylson was parson of St. Thomas Apostles, London: and by the Archbishop of Canterbury's persuasion, he was at length brought to swear, and so

1533. escaped for that time; but it was but a dissembling the matter.

The people's opinion of the pope.

As to the supremacy, they had the king against them, who had resolved now to abolish the pope's power in England. Which he saw there was great necessity to do, in order to the vindication of his own regal authority. And therefore he ordered the point to be much disputed. And it was argued of thoroughly both in parliament and convocation: and the reasons on both sides well considered. And all this the more gently to bring off the generality of the nation, which was bred up in an awe of the pope, and had a mighty inveterate opinion of the papal jurisdiction, even to the making it equal with Christ's. Take the opinion of the common people from one, who lived and conversed long among them: I mean Hugh Latimer, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and lastly a martyr. He in a letter to Sir Edward Bainton, tells him, "That the pope, Christ's vicar, had been lord of all the world, as Christ is. So that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or you, saith he to the knight, of the lordship of Bromeham, it had been enough. For he could do no wrong. That he himself thought in time past, that the pope's dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and of absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God. Forasmuch as he had heard, 'Ecce vobiscum sum, et qui vos audit, audit me,' tended to corroborate the same." And there was an Italian this year in England, named Raphael Marulphus, formerly a merchant of the pope's dispensations, who had such an opinion of the pope's high dominion over all, that Latimer verily believed, he would dare to dye in his quarrel, and look upon himself in so doing, God's true knight and true martyr.

p. 161.

Fox's Acts.
p. 1586.

Latimer at
Bristow.

I have made some mention of Latimer, whom Bishop Ridley called "*Nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum Apostolum*, The very Apostle of England." He was now parson of West Kington in the county of Wilts: a great and useful preacher in those parts,

and who took frequent occasion to declaim against the superstitions of the church. Sometimes he was procured to preach in the populous city of Bristow. Whose sermons, as they gave great satisfaction unto many good people there, so no little disgust to the papists. Insomuch, that the priests bent themselves against him, and created him much trouble. And one Richard Brown, a priest, wrote, as it seems from Worcester, to some eminent person in the convocation at London: which I do verily think was Peter Vannes, Archdeacon of Worcester; informing him against Latimer for a sermon preached at Bristow: and that he being to preach at Bristow at Easter, might be forbid so to do by the Dean of Bristow, by the said archdeacon's interest with the said dean. The letter is as follows: whereby will appear what Latimer's crimes were. 1553.

“Right worshipful Master, my duty unto you remembered: eftsones it may like you to be advertised, that upon the second Sunday this Lent at Bristow, there preached one Latimer. And, as it is reported, he hath done much hurt among the people by his said preaching, and soweth errors. His fame is there, and in most parts of the diocese. He said, that our Lady was a sinner, and that she ought not to be worshipped of the people, ne any of the saints. Exclaimeth upon pilgrimage. And also where the gospel, the said Sunday specifying of the woman of Canaan's calling upon Christ to help her; and how the disciples prayed for her, saying, ‘dimittite eam,’ ‘quia clamat post nos:’ the same Latimer declared in his said preaching, that the woman of Canaan by the desire and prayer of the disciples to Christ for her, she rather fared the worse then the better by the prayer of them. And diverse other opinions vented in his preaching, fully against the determinations of the church. Whereby he hath very sore infect the said town of Bristow, as it is reported. The same Latimer is assigned for to preach again at Bristow the Wednesday in Easter week, except by

A priest complains of his preaching at Bristow. Cleop. E. 5.

1533. your commandment unto the dean there, he be denied and forbid to preach. The good catholick people in the said town do abhor all such his preaching. The fellow dwelleth within the diocese of Bath: and certain times cometh into my Lord's diocese of Worcester. This doing such hurt, I am required to certify your mastership of this wretched his abusions: and that ye would write unto the dean of Bristow, to forbid and deny the said Latimer to preach there, or within any part of my said lord's diocese. It is reported, that he is commanded not to preach within the diocese of Bath. This ye know, now what is to be done, as it shall be your pleasure; and our Lord God send you good speed in the convocation, and send you merry home to Worcester. This xviii. day of March.

By your true obedient servant,
RICHARD BROWN, Priest."

Their affronts and abuses of him.

And indeed such effect had this letter, that they procured him to be inhibited to preach at Easter, though he were appointed thereto by the maior; under pretence, that none might preach in the Bishop of Worcester's diocese, that had not his licence. Of these their doings and untrue accusations, Latimer complained to Mr. Morice, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Secretary, a good friend of his: who became a patron to the preachers of the gospel. For, as he related his own case, the priests at first invited him to preach at Bristow, welcomed him, and made much of him, and allowed all that he said, while he was with them. But after he was gone, they perceiving how the people favoured him, became his enemies, and procured some priests to preach against him. And some, that had a faculty that way, to make him the more both odious and ridiculous, were employed to make ballads upon him. One of which for a taste of the poetry of those days, and the anger of the priests against him, may be read in the Appendix. The burden of the song was that, "It was

Fox.
p. 1580.

pity he should dye for cold:" meaning, that he deserved to be burnt for an heretick. But both the ballad-mongers and the preachers belyed him, as he affirmed to his friend Morice. 1533.

For as to what they laid to his charge, that he should say our Lady was a sinner, Latimer said for himself, that he said no such thing; but reproved certain priests, which gave so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ: asserting, whether she were a sinner or no sinner, she must be saved by Christ, either by delivering her from, or preserving her from sin. And then as to the second accusation, that he should say, neither she nor any other saint, was to be worshipped: therein they belyed him too. For that, as he said, he distinguished between the images of saints, and the saints themselves, inhabiting heaven. The former he said were not to be worshipped; taking worshipping them for praying to them: and yet that they might be well used, to be laymen's books, for remembrance of heavenly things. But taking saints in the latter sense, he denied not praying to them, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators to God, though not by way of redemption, yet by way of intercession. And as to the third accusation, his exclaiming against pilgrimages, he said, "He never denied pilgrimages, but that much scurff must be pared away, ere it could be well done: as superstition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image traveled unto, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's ordinance for doing of the thing. For debts must be paid, restitution made, wife and children be provided for, duties to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before pilgrimage be vowed, it need not to be done. And counsel is to be taken with curates before it be vowed to be done." After this wary manner did this good father preach in these dark times; and so unwillingly could the priests and friars bear to have their old profitable superstitious practices shaken.

His apology for himself, and his sermon.

p. 163.

1333. And therefore there were many procured to preach against him, and publickly to confute whatsoever he said: and not only so, but they disparaged him to the king, as an ignorant unlearned man. Which last accusation made him wish, that the king would command him to preach before him a whole year together every Sunday, that he might perceive, how they belyed him, saying, that he had neither learning nor utterance.

Former
troubles of
Latimer.

Nor was this the first time he felt the rancor and ill will of the priests: for about two years before, *viz.* 1531, he fell into much trouble, having been informed against by such sort of men: so that he was cited up to London, and made his appearance before five or six bishops, Archbishop Warham and Bishop Stokesly being two of them: when he was examined thrice a week for divers weeks, as he tells his own story in one of his sermons; and many snares and traps were laid to get something out of his own mouth against him. At last he was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hung with Arras, where he had before been wont to be examined. But now at this time the chamber was altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an Arras hanging hanged over the chimney, and the table was placed near the chimney's end. So that he stood between the table and the chimney. Which was so ordered out of design, as shall be seen by and by, among the bishops that examined him. One of them, with whom he had been formerly very familiar, whom he took for his great friend, and very aged, was the person especially, of all the rest, that was to lay the snare for him. He that sat next the table's end, among other questions put forth one very subtle and crafty one: bidding him withal speak out, because he was thick of hearing, and there were many that sat at a distance. Latimer began now to suspect, marvelling, that in that chamber he was bid to speak loud, and giving an ear to the chimney, he heard a pen

Sermon at
Stamford,
p. 96. b.

writing there behind the hangings. Where indeed they had appointed one to write all his answers: thinking to make sure work, that he should not start from them. And had not God assisted him in the answers he made, he could never have escaped. Now the question was this, "Master Latimer, Do you not think in your conscience, that you have been suspected of heresy?" A subtle question, to hold his peace had been to grant himself faulty. And to answer, was every way full of danger. But in this extremity, God gave him a mouth and wisdom to make so prudent and wary a reply, that though they were upon the catch, they could take no advantage against him. And so he was delivered that time out of their hands. 1532.

The pope was now reckoned among many as the Antichrist, for the opposition he made by his creatures to the gospel, and for his overthrowing the laws of it by his dispensations and traditions; and for his pride and affectation of superiority over all princes and bishops throughout the world. And the king was the more willing to allow people to lay that severe charge upon him, that he might the better vindicate his own supremacy in his own dominions. But the favourers of the pope were much concerned at it, and endeavoured to lay that name of Antichrist somewhere else. I met with a MS. writ by some papist, (about this time as I guess) treating about Antichrist. Wherein the author undertakes to tell us by diligent reading of books, as he pretends, that Antichrist should be born of the Jews, and of the tribe of Dan. Because in Gen. chap. xlix. it is said, *Dan shall be a serpent in the way*. That in his conception, the devil shall enter into the womb of his mother: and that he shall hold her altogether, both inwardly and outwardly; that that which is born may be altogether wicked, and the son of perdition. That he shall be born in Babylon, and brought up in Bethsaida and Chorazin: because the Lord cursed those places, Luke x. That he should

The pope
called Anti-
christ.

p. 164.

1533. come to Jerusalem; and that all such Christians as will not turn to him, he shall slay by divers torments, and place his seat in the holy temple, and shall call himself *the Son of God*. That there shall be sad tribulation for three years and an half. That he shall come at the consummation of Rome's empire. Because it is said, there shall come a *departing* first, 1 Thessal. ii. that *departing* he makes to refer to a certain French king, that shall hold the Roman empire, and at last shall come to Jerusalem, and there lay down his scepter and crown in Mount Olivet. That this Antichrist shall circumcise himself, and then call himself Christ. And then all the Jews shall flee unto him. But after three years and an half, in which time he shall make all this havock, and stir in the world, God shall destroy him with the breath of his mouth. But I refer the reader for the whole comment to the paper in the Appendix. The papists by these fabulous and ridiculous stories of Antichrist, endeavoured to cast a mist before men's eyes, that they should the less believe and understand the pope to be him.
- No. XLV.

CHAP. XXIII.

The general sentence. Books prohibited. Proclamations and acts against the pope. The friars inclinations. Orders sent to the bishops. Latimer made the king's chaplain.

1534. **I**N the year 1534, when orders came forth for the regulating of preaching and bidding of the beades, the *General Sentence*, as it was called, was also forbidden to be used any more. This general sentence was a solemn curse, to be denounced by the curates to their parishes once a quarter: wherein a great number of persons were wont to be accursed; and a large share of these execrations were framed to fall upon those that infringed the privileges and immunities of holy church, or that deprived it of any of its rights and
- The general curse forbid to be used.

dues. This may be read in the Appendix, as I took it out of the Festival, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1532, together with the manner of a prelate's fulminating the sentence, in his albe, accompanied with other priests, the cross erected, and candles burning.

1534.
No. XLVI.
p. 165.

Much light was let in among the common people by the New Testament, and other good books, in English; which, for the most part, being printed beyond sea, were by stealth brought into England, and dispersed here by well disposed men. For the preventing the importation and using of these books, the king this year issued out a strict proclamation, by the petition of the clergy now met in convocation, in the month of December.

English
books for-
bidden.

Nor was this the first time such books were prohibited to be brought in. For no small quantities of them were secretly conveyed into these parts from time to time, for the discovering in that dark age, the gross papal innovations, as well in the doctrine of the sacrament, as in image-worship, addressing to saints, purgatory, pilgrimages, and the like. In the year 1526, October 23, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, by the instigation of Cardinal Wolsey, sent forth an order directed to the archdeacons of his diocese, for the calling in all English translations of the scripture. Other books of this nature were then forbid. Which, I think, may not be unacceptable to enumerate by their titles; that though the books themselves are almost perished, the memory of them may remain with some of their authors.

A cata-
logue of
books pro-
hibited;

An. 1526.

The first was, "The New Testament," translated Tyndal.

"The Supplication of Beggars."

"The Revelation of Antichrist," written by Luther.

"The Wicked Mammon."

"The Obedience of a Christian Man."

"An Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans."

"A Dialogue between the Father and the Son."

"Oeconomicae Christianae."

1534. "Unio Dissidentium."
 "Piæ Precationes."
 "Captivitas Babylonica."
 "Joannis Hussi in Oseam."
 "Zuinglius in Catabaptistas."
 "De Pueris instituendis."
 "Brentius de admiranda Republica."
 "Lutherus ad Galatas."
 "De Libertate Christiana."
 "Luther's Exposition upon the Paternoster."

An. 1529. Three years after, viz. 1529, by the bishop's instigation, the king issued out a proclamation against a great sort of Latin books, in number about eighty-five. A catalogue whereof, containing the titles and authors, Fox, the martyrologist, took out of the register of the Bishop of London, and may be seen in his "Acts and Monuments." The names of the writers were, Wickliff, Luther, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Pomeranus, Pellicanus, Bucer, Melancthon, Brentius, Fr. Lambertus, Wesselus, Gocchius, Faventinus, Carolostadius, and others; generally German divines: having this title, "Libri Sectæ sive Factionis Lutheranæ, importati ad Civitatem, London." By this proclamation, a mark of disallowance also was set upon these books following:

"A Book of the Old God and New."

"Godly Prayers."

"The Christian State of Matrimony."

"The Burying of the Mass." A book made by Barlow.

"The Sum of the Scripture."

"Mattins and Evensong, Seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations."

p. 166. "An Exposition on the Seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians."

"The Chapters of the Book of Moses, called Genesis."

"The Chapters of the Book of Deuteronomy."

"The Matrimony of Tyndal."

"David's Psalter," in English.

“ The Practice of Prelates.”

1534.

“ Hortulus Animæ,” in English.

“ A. B. C. for the Clergy.”

“ The Examination of William Thorp.”

To these we may add some others that were of the same nature with the former, and privately dispersed and greedily read about this time :

“ Tyndal's Answer to Sir Thomas More.”

“ The Prologue of the Five Books of Moses.”

“ A Dialogue between the Plowman and the Gentleman.” This was composed by Barlow.

“ The Primer,” in English.

“ The Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Hus.”

“ Catalogue of Famous Men.”

“ A Disputation concerning Purgatory.” By John Frith.

And many there were that ventured their lives in bringing in, and conveying abroad these books in London, and other places of the nation. Among these, Richard Bayfield was one, once a monk of St. Edmund's Bury. Who twice in the year 1530, and once in the year after, imported his books : which he landed, for the more privacy, in different places ; as once at Colchester, the next time at St. Katharine's, London, and the last in some port in Norfolk : whence he brought them to London in a mail. At last he was taken at his bookbinder's in Mark-lane ; and finally burnt at Smithfield, in November 1531. Another of these was Thomas Garret, curate of Honey-lane, who, in the year 1526, dispersed books of this sort in Oxford, whereby many in that university were enlightened in the truth of religion. He also suffered martyrdom about the year 1540. A third was George Constantine, who about the time of Bayfield passed and repassed the seas upon the same errand. He also was at last taken and put in custody. But he disingenuously confessed to Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, several of his companions and fellows, and disclosed the shipmen, who brought over

The dispersers.

Bayfield.

Garret.

Constantine.

1534. many of these books, and the marks of the fardles. By the which means the books were afterwards taken and burnt. By this his confession and compliance he escaped: and was afterward register to Farrar, the Bishop of St. David's, and one of his ungrateful accusers.

Proclama-
tions and
acts
against the
pope.

Besides the proclamation aforesaid, divers others this year were issued out, and acts of parliament made against the pope, and for restoring to the crown its ancient privileges and prerogatives. Among the rest, one was, that no bishops should be henceforth commended, presented, or nominated to the Bishop of Rome, or should send for bulls or palls from thence. But that at the vacation of any bishoprick, the bishop elect should be presented to the archbishop of the province, to be invested and consecrated.

p. 167.
A friar
preacheth
at Exeter,
in favour
of the
pope's su-
premacy.

However, great were the strugglings of the clergy in the pope's behalf; to whom they stood so marvellously well affected, especially the monkish sort of them. I shall give one instance, which I meet with, this year, as I conjecture. It was a sermon preached by some monk or friar in the cathedral church of Exeter. For some expressions wherein, that looked askue upon the king's supremacy, but clothed in very crafty words, he was laid in hold, and demanded by the provincial an account of the said sermon. The passages that gave him his troubles were these, as he related himself. "I asked, where Peter denied Christ? And I said, *In domo principis*. Have not we served him well, or be not we Christ's friends, taking his part against Peter? In that we consider, that St. Peter denied Christ, therefore like loving people we deny Peter, and take Christ's part." And in another sermon preached at Exeter, "Masters, I fear me, that the mystical body of Christ is made a monster. For that is called a monster after the mind of the philosopher, when there lacketh a part of the natural body, or else, when there be too many parts, as two heads, or four legs of a man; or else,

Cleop. E.
6. p. 202.

when the parts stand out of order. And so the mystical body of Christ is, or may be called, a monster: and why? For because thereas the eyes should stand, there stand the hands. And thus all the other parts stand out of order." But for these words he was fain to submit himself, and writ a letter mentioning at large what he had said, and acknowledging his fault. 1584.

But before this year went out, whatever averseness was shewn by the clergy and the religious, the king had so dealt with them, or so convinced them, that now at a convocation it was declared, that the pope had no jurisdiction in this kingdom; as the parliament had enacted, That the king should be reputed and accepted the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have authority to visit and reform all errors, heresies, &c. The convocation own the king's supremacy

But to say a little more of the friars. They of the order of St. Francis especially stuck to Queen Katharine, and particularly they of the monastery at Greenwich. One of them, Peto by name, who was afterwards Queen Mary's confessor, and sent by the pope to be his legate in the room of Cardinal Pole, had the confidence, as our historian relates, to preach to the king's own face, in his own chapel, that many lying prophets had deceived him: and he denounced the same judgment against him, that God's prophet did against Ahab. And that it was the king's misery that he was so flattered. And when by the king's appointment, another was put up the next Sunday to confute Peto, another observant friar, named Elston, of the same house, interrupted him boldly in the king's presence, and told him he was a lying prophet. The friars are for Q. Katharine. In the king's chapel.

Another of these friars of Greenwich, as I find by an original letter in my custody, named Father Robinson, did offer to dispute the queen's cause publicly with an abbot, who had preached at Paul's Cross in favour of the king's cause. And it seems he did this openly to the abbot's face, while he was At Paul's Cross,

1554. preaching. Whereupon was a report given out, that the friars of Greenwich, if they might be suffered to tell the truth, would put to silence all, that had or should preach in favour of the king's matter, and prove all false that they had preached. And the said p. 168. Father Robinson did intend, with all his wit and learning, to preach on the queen's part, the next Sunday after at Paul's Cross, that he might have the greater audience.

In a conventual church.

The king was somewhat moved at this convent so near his court, and no better affected towards him: as he was also at other convents in the parts in and about London. And therefore some of his learned chaplains were appointed to preach sometimes among them, to state and explain more truly the king's cause. But while one of them was thus preaching in a conventual church of the Franciscans in London, the warden thereof stoutly stood up and reprov'd him, and that, as it seems, in an undecent way. The doing of which was, by the vicar of the same convent, told to some of the friars of Richmond with great commendation; saying, "That it was not the warden that spake, but the Holy Ghost spake in him." These friars fed themselves with a conceit, that by these their oppositions, they should bring the king at last to acquiesce with his Queen Katharine. For they gave it out, they should prevail at last against all those that favoured the king's cause.

Some friars secret informers against the rest.

Yet the king had commonly some in these houses that were otherwise minded, and discovered the treachery and disaffectedness of the rest. Such an one was one Laurence, of the same convent with the warden and vicar aforesaid; who, by way of letter, wrote an information of these false practices to a certain nobleman unnamed, (the Earl of Wiltshire, as I suppose,) and offered to discover more by word of mouth to the king, which he dared not do either by letter or messenger. He that is minded to read Friar Laurence his letter, must betake himself to the Appendix. Where it may be found.

In pursuance of the act, wherein the parliament had given the king the supremacy, he first took the corporal oaths, subscriptions and seals of the bishops of the realm, unto the said supremacy. Next, he address'd letters to every bishop in his respective diocese, requiring them to do these things following:

1534.
Orders to
the bishops
concerning
the supre-
macy.

First, In their proper persons, every Sunday and high festival throughout the year, to preach the sincere word of God; and to declare, that this stile and title of Supreme Head belonged to the crown and dignity of this realm.

Secondly, That they should give monition to all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and all other ecclesiastical persons, to teach and publish the said stile and title every Sunday and high festival, in their respective houses, churches and parishes.

Thirdly, To command all schoolmasters to instruct and teach the same unto the children committed to them.

Fourthly, To cause all prayers, rubricks, canons of mass books, &c. wherein the Bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp mentioned, to be utterly abolished and razed out; and his very "name and memory to be never more remembered, except to his contumely and reproach." For in those words the king's letter runs.

Fifthly, To leave out in the general sentence all such articles, as tend to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome. Upon which order it soon was laid wholly aside.

And lest any bishop or ecclesiastical man, after these commands, should not do his office, or leave undone any part or parcel of the premises, or do it coldly, or use any manner of sinister interpretation; the king therefore set the sheriffs of each county as monitors over them. For by a letter also to them, the king required them to admonish him thereof with all speed. Threatning them, with great severity, upon their neglect, or halting and stumbling in any

p. 169.
And to the
sheriffs.
Fox's Acts,
p. 963.

1534. part thereof. This was given at Westminster, June the 9th.

Orders for
preaching,
and the
beads.

And somewhat before this, a remarkable order hinted before, was given out for preaching and bidding the beads in all sermons to be made within the realm. Wherein, as to the prayers, it was commanded to pray for the King, and Queen Anne, and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir to them both: and to add no more. As for preaching, that the preacher was to preach once against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome. That there should be no open contention in pulpits. Several doctrines not to be touched at in sermons for a year. That preachers should preach the word of God sincerely, without mixing it with human inventions: and diverse other injunctions. And particularly there was to be a large declaration made, concerning the king's great cause of matrimony. The specifical order I omit, since it is exemplified in Bishop Burnet's History of the Re-

Coll. p. 58. formation, vol. iii.

Heines and
Skip, sent
to Cam-
bridge to
preach the
king's su-
premacy.

And for vindication of the king's supreme authority in his own dominions against the pope's pretended power and jurisdiction, were sent to the University of Cambridge, two very learned and eminent men from the court, *vis.* Dr. Heines and Dr. Skip; who, both by publick preaching and disputation, should debate the same. And this occasioned great disputes and arguings among the scholars there. Whereby it appeared, how earnestly they generally stood affected to the pope, and were prejudiced against acknowledging the king, in derogation to the Papal See. Inso-much as to speak or think otherwise, was enough to disappoint any preferment hoped for there. Such a case happened at this time towards Roger Ascham, that exquisite scholar, then of St. John's College, as he tells us the story himself, who being now batchelor of arts, stood for a fellowship of that house. And chancing among his company to speak against the pope, was in all likelihood to be put by his election. For this coming to the ears of Dr. Metcalf, the

Ascham,
Schoolmast

master, Ascham was called before him, and the seniors. And after grievous rebuke, yea, and some punishment, open warning was given to all the fellows, none to be so hardy as to give him his voice at that election. But notwithstanding, he had the good fortune to be elected by the master's means, privately favouring him, as it seems, for his learning and hopefulness. Which himself relates after this manner; "Yet for all these open threats, the good father himself privily procured, that I should even then be chosen fellow. But the election being done, he made countenance of great discontentation thereat." And then he goes on, to express his gratitude in these words: which I must take leave to subjoyn, in memory of that useful man, and excellent scholar; "This good man's goodness, and fatherly discretion used towards me on that day, shall never be out of my remembrance all the days of my life, &c. Next to God's providence, surely that day was, by that good father's means, my *dies natalis* to me, for the whole foundation of the poor learning I have, and for all the furtherance that hitherto elsewhere I have obtained." 1534.

About this time, the king by the means of Crumwel and Dr. Butts, his physician, had made Latimer his chaplain. Thus after all his former troubles, he became advanced to honour, and brought into favour with the king; being much employed in the court in consultation about matters of religion, wherein the king was now very busy. And among the rest of the learned clerks, Latimer always made one. He was then esteemed a man of excellent elocution, and so was often put up to preach before the king. And being a bold man, would speak his mind with great freedom. His practice was, in his sermons at court, to declaim against the vices there. And against the vices of the common people, when he happened to preach before them in London, and elsewhere. And against the vices of the ecclesiastics, when he came up before them. Which honest freedom created him much trouble.

p. 170.

Latimer
made the
king's
chaplain.

1534.

Accused
before the
king of
seditious
doctrine.

He had lately, in a sermon before the king, spoke his mind very plain; which some of his enemies thought to make their advantage of, and thence to take their opportunity to complain of him to the king; that so they might get him out of the way. Soon after his sermon, he and diverse others, being called before the king, to say their minds in certain matters; while they were thus before him, one kneeled down to his majesty, and accused Latimer of sedition before his face, and that he had preached seditious doctrine. The king turned him to Latimer, and said, what say you to that, Sir? Latimer kneeled down, and turning him first to his accuser, asked him thus, "What form of preaching, would you appoint me to preach before a king? would you have me to preach nothing concerning a king, in the king's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me, what I shall preach?" He asked him diverse other questions, but he would answer none at all. Nor had he any thing to say. Then he turned to the king, and submitting himself to his grace, said, "I never thought myself worthy, nor ever sued to be a preacher before your grace. But I was called to it; and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my discourse, according to mine audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." These words were well accepted of the king, as Latimer concluded, because the king presently turned to another communication. At that time, certain of his friends came to him with tears in their eyes, and told him, they looked for nothing, but that he should have been sent to the Tower the same night.

Latimer's
third ser-
mon before
the king.

Latimer
blames the
king in his
sermon.

The matter I suppose was this. Before the abbies were dissolved, the king had charged certain of them with the maintenance and care of some of his horses. The inconvenience whereof was, that hospitality and

feeding the poor became hereby much hindred, the king's horses being maintained out of the revenue. For this, did Latimer, in a sermon at the court, take the confidence to blame the king. "Abbies," he said, "were ordained for the comfort of the poor. Wherefore it was not decent the king's horses should be kept in them: as many were at that time; the living of poor men thereby minished and taken away." Afterward a nobleman said to him, what hast thou to do with the king's horses? He answered, he spake his conscience, as God's word directed him. The nobleman said, horses were the maintainers and parts of a king's honour, and of the realm also. Wherefore, in speaking against them, ye speak against the king's honour. Latimer replied, "God teacheth what honour is decent for a king." And said moreover, that "God hath appointed a sufficient lyving for his state and degree, both by lands and other customes. But to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the king."

1534.

p. 171.

And thus we have found out his seditious preaching. It was indeed an ordinary charge, to charge him and other gospel preachers, with sedition. So one said, of a sermon he preached before King Edward, when one asked him, how he liked Latimer's sermon before King Edward; "Even as I liked him always. A seditious fellow."

First sermon before
K. Edward

CHAP. XXIV.

Books and discourses about this time. Bishop Fisher's troubles.

THIS year (if not before) came forth the famous book, "*De vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis, et Ecclesiasticæ.*" The author of this book was mentioned before. It was published by the advice and consent of that memorable convocation, which assured the king, that the authority and government in all matters and causes ecclesiastical belonged unto his

A book comes out of the "Difference of Kingly and Ecclesiastical Power." Chap. xx.

1554. estate, both by the word of God, and the antient laws of the church. And therefore promised him, *in verbo sacerdotij*, by their priesthood, not to do any thing in their counsils without his assent. And this clergy consisted not only of divines, but of the wisest and most expert and best learned in the civil and canon laws, that was then, or hath been since: as particularly, Dr. Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, Dr. Stokesly, Bishop of London, Dr. Gardynier, Bishop of Winton, Dr. Thirlby, afterwards Bishop of Westminster, and Dr. Boner, and many others. By the advice and consent of these, and the rest of that learned convocation, was that book made and published: as we are told by Dr. Horn, Bishop of Winchester, in a certain book of his. "Neither was this a new device, said that bishop, to please the king withal, or their opinion only: but it was, and is the judgment of the most learned civilians and canonists, that when the clergy are faulty and negligent, it appertaineth to the emperor, to call general councils, for the reformation of the church."

Answer to
Fecken-
ham. fol.
86. b.
Print.
1565.

Another
book comes
forth of the
king's
power.
Ubi supr.
fol. 76. b.
p. 172.
Gardiner's
book of
Obedience.

Another book appeared this twenty-sixth year of the king, entitled *De Potestate Regis*, as I find by the same Bishop Horn. It treated of the doings of the kings of this realm before the Conquest, in matters ecclesiastical.

This year also Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, put forth his book, *de vera Obedientia*: of true Obedience. Which he wrote to justify the parliament in giving the king the title of Supreme Head of this church. In which discourse were these words: "I think it necessary for me, to touch the cause which is commonly in use, and spoken of at this day almost in all men's hands, and in all men's mouths; whether the whole consent of English men be grounded upon God's law, in that they declare and honour the most victorious and most noble prince, King Henry the VIIIth. King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, to be in earth the *superior head* of the Church of England;

Becon's
Reports,
p. 270.

and is granted unto him by authority thereof in open court of parliament, freely to use his right, and to call himself "Supreme Head of the Church of England," as well in name as deed. Wherein there is no newly invented matter wrought: only their will was to have the power pertaining to a prince by God's law, to be the more clearly expressed, with a more fit term to express it by: namely, for this purpose, to withdraw that counterfeit vain opinion out of the common people's minds, which the false pretended power of the Bishop of Rome, for the space of certain years, had blinded them withal, to the great impeachment of the king's authority. Which all men are bound to wish, and to their utmost power see kept safe, restored and defended from wrongs. 1534.

This book was reprinted in the year 1536, and a preface added of Boner, Archdeacon of Leicester. Wherein he accused the Bishop of Rome of many grievous and horrible wickednesses and sins, meaning the pope then living. He said, "He had made many laws to the contumely and reproach of the Majesty of God, under the title of Catholick Church, and the authorities of the apostles, Peter and Paul. When notwithstanding, he is a very ravening wolf, drest in sheep's cloathing; calling himself 'Servant of servants,' to the damage of the Christian commonwealth. Thus did these two divines write and think now of the pope, who afterwards became his chief champions." Boner's Preface thereto. Becon's Rep. p. 269. b.

That I may here bring matters of the same subject together, though belonging to another year, Simon Matthew, who was a learned and good man, and prebendary of St. Paul's, London, and had about the year 1537, or 38, preached and printed a sermon at Paul's Cross upon this text, "By this cognizance," saith Christ, "all the world shall know that ye are my disciples, if ye have unity among you." On which (to give the reader a taste of the man) he thus descanted: "Unity, I say, of faith and spirit, fixed Simon Matthew's Sermon.

1534. and stedfast in God, and not in any mortal creature, as many have thought necessary: that, if a man should be of the church of Christ, he must be of the holy church of Rome, and take the holy father thereof for the supreme head, and for the vicar of Christ, yea for Christ himself: and to be divided from him were even to be divided from Christ. Such damnable teachyngs have there been, which have caused men to leave the commandments of God undone, for humane traditions. But whatsoever hath been done

p. 173. by ignorance, let us reform it, and not be ashamed to profess the truth. Which is, that next unto God, the prince is to be honoured, and that the Bishop of Rome hath no more power by the laws of God in this realm, than any other foreign bishop. And again: the Bishop of Rome shall never prove by scriptures such pre-eminence to be due to him, as he challengeth. But he defraudeth temporal princes of the honour that God gave them, and causeth their subjects damnably to disobey the ordinance of God. As of late you have had experience of some, whom neither friends nor kinsfolks; neither the judgment of both universities, Cambridge and Oxford, nor the universal consent of all the clergy of this realm, nor the laws of the parliament, nor their most natural and loving prince, could, by any gentle ways, revoke from their disobedience; but would needs persist therein: giving pernicious occasion to the multitude to murmur and grudge at the king's laws."

Starkey's
book.

Not far wide of this time also, Thomas Starkey, a very learned man, the king's chaplain, as it seems, (who was a great acquaintance with Pole in Italy, and afterwards wrote diverse letters to him from England, to reclaim him to that king's part) wrote a book intituled, "An Exhortation to the People, instructing them to Unity and Obedience." Printed by Berthelet. It runs upon the point of the superiority of the pope, in confutation of it, and of dependance thereupon. Wherein, after he had shewed, "how the pope for maintenance of his authority, under colour of religion,

had brought in among Christians much false superstition, and for the maintenance of his pride, set great divisions among Christian princes: what insolent pride and arrogance it was in the pope to affirm a superiority among Christ's disciples, making Peter chief head, and so the Bishop of Rome he that must be chief judge over all Christendom, and over all princes and laws, with interdicts and dispensations to rule them at his pleasure: that the pope's prerogative could not be shewn from any ground of scripture. That until the time of Pope Sylvester, about the space of four hundred years, there was no mention at all made of this head: that all the antient and good interpreters of Christ's gospel among the Greeks, kept silence concerning this authority, in all their books never making any mention of it: and that if this were true, then should all the Indians these thousand years have run headlong to damnation, who never took the Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's church: the same might be said of the Greek nation, and of the Armenians: who would never own that bishop for their head; he concluded thus, Wherefore, dear brethren, let us not, blinded with foolish superstition, by process of time copen into our hearts, bind our own conscience with scrupulous necessity of such a thing. Which undoubtedly grew in among us only as a thing of convenience, and as a thing of great help and succour to the maintenance of a certain unity in Christ's church, and not as a thing of necessity.

"Therefore, as it is in the politic life and civil, nothing convenient to have one emperor, by whose judgment all other causes, worldly and politic, in all nations should be defined: forasmuch as thereby all princely authority should be derogate, and be in subjection: so it is, in the spiritual policy of Christ's church, one head to be with such authority, as of many years hath been used, a thing most inconvenient, and to all Christen nations plain injury, yea, and plainly to say, to the doctrine of Christ nothing

1554. agreeable. Wherefore, dear friends, seeing that this superiority, given to the Bishop of Rome, is neither by God's word in his scripture granted, nor by the practice thereof by his apostles, inspired with his spirit, confirmed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man requisite and necessary: I see no cause, why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugn to such good and common policy; whereby is plucked away from our nation such a cloked tyranny, which under the pretext of religion hath stabled among us much superstition, to the great ruin and decay of the sincere, simple and pure doctrine of Christ."

A book
proving the
king's su-
premacy
by law.

Besides these books before mentioned, written by divines, to overthrow the pope's authority by arguments taken from scripture, and ecclesiastical history, another notable state book came out about these times, viz. in the year 1538, printed also by Berthelet; written against him by some learned lawyer, intituled, "A Treatise, proving by the king's laws, that the Bishops of Rome, had never right to any supremacy within this realm." The design of which book was to shew, (as it is in the preface,) "That notwithstanding the Bishops of Rome in many realms, and especially in those where the law civil is used, have of long time had possession of their said usurped powers, yet the same never could take the full and perfect effect in this realm: but the king and his most noble progenitors, always justly resisting and repugning the same, have been continually supreme judges here under God. So that all laws, powers and jurisdictions, pretended by the Bishops of Rome and the clergy within this realm, have been under the correction and orders of the kings and their laws:" as appeared by diverse reasons, laws, statutes and customs of this realm contained in the said treatise. And thereby it was made appear to all men, "That the king's majesty's being recognized to be supreme head under God, of the Church of England, had thereby no new power

given unto him: but that the self same power and supremacy had always been in his most noble progenitors, kings of this realm, and united and knitted to the imperial crown of the same, though they had not used to write the same in their styles.” 1534.

But now return we to our year 1534. In which happened the troubles of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor. Who were put into the Tower upon the business of Elizabeth Barton, the nun, and the acts of succession, lately made in parliament: wherein it was enacted, that the issue of Queen Katharine should be cut off from succeeding to the crown, and that of Queen Anne should have the right of succession invested in them. To which the subjects were to swear. And that this act might take the more effect, commissioners were sent abroad to require the oath. These two, before mentioned, refused it. Yet were content to swear to the succession itself, but not to the whole act, some by-things in it not agreeing to their judgments. Which undoubtedly were either, because it was suggested in that act, that the marriage with Queen Katharine was not dispensible by the pope, as being against the law of God; or somewhat relating to the mention in that act made of the legal proceedings in the divorce by Cranmer, or some touches against the pope's authority. But which of these particulars offended them, they would not discover. They had also given credit and countenance to Elizabeth Barton the nun, called the holy Maid of Kent: who proved an impostor, and was executed with several of her accomplices. Bishop Fisher's troubles.

p. 175.

There were great means used for the reducing of Fisher to compliance, in respect of the great reputation he bare for learning and piety. Crumwel had been with him in the Tower, to persuade and convince him. And soon after he sent Roland Lee, elect of Coventry and Litchfield. That which stuck with Fisher was, that the marriage was to be reckoned Endea-
vours used
to reduce
him.

1534. contrary to the law of God, because of a prohibition in the Levitical law. About this Lee was sent to discourse with him. The issue was, Fisher declared that he would take an oath to the succession, that he would swear never to meddle more in disputation of the matrimony, and promised allegiance to the king. But his conscience could not be convinced, that the marriage was against the law of God. But the event shewed, the king would make no abatement of his act. The bishop was now reduced in the Tower to a very low condition, both as to body and purse. "His body could not bear the cloaths on his back; he was nigh going, and could not continue unless the king were merciful to him," as Lee wrote to Crumwel, after the visit he had made him.

His piteous condition.

His necessity.

Crumwel advised him to write unto the king, (probably) to declare his mind to him in swearing to the succession, and to petition him to let that suffice, because his conscience could not serve him to consent to the rest of the act. Fisher knew well the jealous temper of the king: which made him tell Crumwel, that he feared to write to him, because he feared the king might take something amiss. But because it was the secretaries mind, he set himself to do it. He was now reduced to a want of cloaths; those he had being ragged, and not sufficient to defend him from the cold in that winter. And his food also was very course and scanty. He requested of the secretary to let him have necessaries in his old age; and to obtain of the king his liberty, and some other requests he made. But take his own words:

His letter to the secretary. Cleop.E.6.

"Furthermore, I beseech you be good master unto me in my necessity. For I have neither shirt nor sute, nor yet other cloaths, that are necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too shamefully: notwithstanding, I might easily suffer that, if that would keep my body warm. But my diet also God knoweth how slender it is at many times. And now in my age my stomach may no away, but with a few kind of meats: which if I want, I decay forthwith,

and fall into crases and diseases of my body, and cannot keep myself in health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me, for to provide any better, but as my brother, of his own purse, layeth out for me, to his great hindrance. 1534.

“Wherefore, good master secretary, eftsones I beseech you, to have some pity upon me, and let me have such things as are necessary for me in mine age, and especially for my health. And also that it may please you, by your high wisdom, to move the king’s highness to take me unto his gracious favour again, and to restore me to my liberty, out of this cold and painful imprisonment. Whereby ye shall bind me to be your poor bedesman for ever unto Almighty God. Who ever have you in his protection and custody. p. 176.

“Other twain things I must desire upon you. The toon is, it may please you, that I may take some priest with me in the Tower, by the assignment of master lieutenant, to hear my confession against this holy time. That other is, that I may borrow some books, to say my devotion more effectually these holy days, for the comfort of my soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your charity. And this our Lord God send you a mery Christmas, and a comfortable, to your heart’s desire. At the Tower, the xxii. day of December.

Your poor bedesman,

JOHN ROFF.”

After the bishop’s execution, the papists business was to extol him and make him a saint; and a Charter House monk feigned an apparition appearing to him, and assuring him, that Fisher was a martyr; a letter whereof was sent to Crumwel, and may be seen in the Cotton Library. An apparition concerning Fisher. Cleop. E. 4. p. 123.

1554.

CHAP. XXV.

The holy maid of Kent. Confessions brought in to Crumwel concerning her. Matters of Sir Thomas More, with respect to this nun. Gives the king occasion of displeasure against him.

A friar's
relation of
the nun.

C RUMWEL, on whom lay the care of searching into the sayings and doings of the pretended holy inspired nun, and her accomplices, had at length diverse confessions brought in unto him from those that were concerned with her. And among the rest, one, unnamed, was required to confess and relate what he had heard one Rich, a friar observant, tell him of her. With which Rich he had much conversation: and from whom he had heard many of her speeches and pretended converse with angels. This man, who himself was obnoxious, as it seems, freely sent in a large account of what he had heard from the said friar. And because I know none of our historians have related these things so much at large concerning her, I shall here transcribe the very letter sent to Crumwel from this person: taken, as I did transcribe it from the original.

p. 177.

“SIR,

Rich, a
frier, his
confession
concerning
the nun.
Cleopatra,
E. 4.

“It may please you to be advertised, that according to your commandment, I have put the articles of the communication betwixt me and Mr. Rich in writing, (and as he saith you have them in writing before,) even as I heard things worthy to be noted upon the margin of my book in the Dutch and French tongue, to the intent he should not understand my purpose, why I did write them. Yet did I not believe such tales, which he calleth revelations. For I have learned the gospel, *Attendite a falsis prophetis*; if I had remembred another commandment, as well as I did that, *non concupisces rem propinqui tui*, I should not have fallen into this misery. I have in remembrance XXX or XXXI

of these tales; which are not possible so to be set forth in writings, that their intent should be known. And I suppose that XX sheets of paper will not write them at length in order. Wherefore I have written the name of the story, whereupon it doth treat: so that then if it be, as he saith, the whole story will be in his remembrance.

“ I. Of an angel that appeared, and bade the nun go unto the king, that infidel Prince of England, and say, that I command him to amend his life; and that he leave three things which he loveth, and purposeth upon, that is, that he take off the pope’s right and patrimony from him. The second, that he destroy all these new folks of opinion, and the works of their *new learning*. The third, that if he married and took Anne to wife, the vengeance of God plague him. And, as he saith, she shewed this unto the king, &c.

“ II. *Item*, after this two or three months, the angel appeared, and bade her go again unto the king, and say, that since her last being with his grace, he hath more highlier studied to bring his purpose to pass: and that she saw in spirit the King, the Queen, and the Earl of Wiltshire, standing in a garden together: and that they did devise, how to bring the matter to pass. And by no means it would not be. But at last a little devil stood beside the queen; and put it in her mind to say thus: you shall send my father unto the emperor, and let him shew your mind and conscience; and give him those many thousand duckets to have his good will. And that it will be brought to pass. Go, and fear not to shew the king this tale and privy token, and bid him take his old wife again, or else, &c. It is so naughty a matter, that my hand shaketh to write it: and something better unwritten than written.

“ III. *Item*, that when the king’s highness was over at Calais, she saw the host taken from the priest, with the blessed blood: and that angel brought it her for to receive, saying, &c. Two sheets will scant write this story.

1554.

“ IV. *Item*, that she was charged to go unto the cardinal, when he was most in his prosperity, and shew him of three swords, that he had in his hand : one of the spiritualty, another of the temporality, and the other of the king’s marriage. A long matter. The Bishop of Canterbury and Bocking to be remembred.

p. 178.

“ V. *Item*, another season after, the angel commaunded her to go unto the said cardinal, and shew him of his fall ; and that he had not done as she had commaunded him, by the will of God.

“ VI. *Item*, that since he dyed, she saw the disputations of the devils for his soul ; and how she was three times lift up, and could not see him, neither in heaven, hell, nor purgatory : and at the last, where she saw him ; and how by her penance he was brought unto heaven ; and what souls she saw fly through purgatory.

“ VII. *Item*, more, the angel warned her, that she should go unto a abbot, and warn him to take three of his brethren by name. For they were purposed to have run away the night with three men’s wives : and that God would they should have better grace, &c.

“ VIII. *Item*, of another, that had beaten himself so with rods, that the stamel was bloody : which he thought to have buried in the garden. And she by the commandment of the angel met him, &c. A high matter for penance.

“ IX. *Item*, of two other monks which had taken shipping to go unto Tytealle. Which by her prayer was turned. And the ship had no power to depart from the haven, &c.

“ X. *Item*, that the angel commanded her to go to another monk, and bid him burn the New Testament, that he had in English, and of great visions seen of the same, in token of grace.

“ XI. *Item*, of the warning that the angel gave her of a woman that came unto S. Thomas of Canterbury. A mervailous matter, and a long.

“ XII. *Item*, the angel shewed her, that the ambassador of the pope should be at Canterbury: and how she sent by him the message of God unto the pope.

“ XIII. *Item*, that she spake by the commandment of God at London with one other; and bade him write the message of God unto the pope. To the which she did set her hand, &c.

“ XIV. *Item*, of the old Bishop of Canterbury. How he had promised to marry the king; and of his warnings by the angel of God, &c.

“ XV. *Item*, that she did shew unto Dr. Bocking the hour of his death, &c. That she heard the disputation between the angels and the devils for his soul.

“ XVI. *Item*, she did see him, when he went into heaven, with his words that he spoke. And how S. Thomas was there present, and accompanied him, &c.

“ XVII. *Item*, of the going, and return of the Earl of Wiltshire into Spain; with the receiving of the king's letters there; and the answer of the emperor, &c.

“ XVIII. *Item*, of the vision which he had, if the king should have married at Calais: of the great shame that the queen should have had, &c.

“ XIX. *Item*, of such persons as the angel of God hath appointed to be at her death; when she shall receive the crown of martyrdom; and the time, with the place.

“ XX. *Item*, how diverse times the devil hath appeared unto her. One time he came in the likeness of a good man, and brought with him a lady; and before her face had to do with her upon her bed: with other matters, too abominable. p. 179.

“ XXI. *Item*, of a certain vision that Gold's wife had upon Saint Katharine's Day: which the angel of God did shew by her prayers, &c.

“ XXII. *Item*, how at Courtup-street, when Mr. Gold went unto mass, the other Gold's wife desired

1534. her to make her prayers unto God, to know the state of Princess Dowager. Of two other women, and of two friers, which was Rich and Risby. Assoon as the priest began *Confiteor*, she fell in a transe; and of her wonderful answer.

“XXIII. *Item*, of a certain gentleman dwelling about Canterbury, that had long time been tempted to drown himself by the spryt of a woman, that he had kept by his wife’s days; which was demanded, &c. A long matter and a strange.

“XXIV. *Item*, of the visions seen by her sister, mervaiulous. And how she took the bloud of our Lord’s side in a chalice. And how she saw the plague for the City of London, &c.

“XXV. *Item*, of the words that the nun spake unto Mr. Richards. How the angel of God asked for his faith; with certain privy tokens that she shewed him, that he had in his *Memento*; with divers other things in their house: which causeth them all to muse, &c.

“XXVI. *Item*, how the angel of God hath commanded her to say, that all are but illusions. For the time is not come that God wol put forth your work.

“XXVII. *Item*, Of 9|9|9 the reign of the king, how long he shall reign; as saith a prophecy. Which agreeth with her saying, &c.

“XXVIII. *Item*, of three letters, A. F. G. by a prophecy, that is in the hand of holy Richard. If you send to me John Godolphin, your servant, I can cause him to find him by enquiry at the temple.

“XXIX. *Item*, more a great deal of a golden letter that Mary Magdalen did send. And how the angel commanded her to counterfeit another. Because the people should have power upon her body, &c. What money that was hid, &c.

“XXX. *Item*, that six days before the said Richard was taken, he went to a man that hath a prophesy: and with him Nesywick, the Observant. Who shewed unto them wondrous things, pens and

inkhorns: letters of prophesies, and of all their troubles at Paul's Cross. This man dwells two miles from Bugden. His name is Hanford, &c." 1534.

All this was the confession of one concerned with Elizabeth Barton, the pretended holy maid.

As for More who underwent the same fate with Fisher, and for the same offence, before he was committed he was under a cloud, the king having been offended with him about three things, *viz.* The Nun of Kent: the king's great matter, that is, his business of the divorce; and the pope's supremacy, which More called his primacy. Concerning each of these, in a long letter to Crumwell from Chelsey, where he dwelt, he frankly and plainly set down his own confession. For having solicited Crumwell, that he would do what he could in his favour to the king, Crumwell sent this message back again to More by his son Rooper, That he should give him an account of himself, whereby he might be the better enabled to represent More's love and sincere loyalty to the king. For which More thanked him; and proceeded to give an account of those three matters distinctly. Excusing his letter, which he had writ to the nun, and his communication with her, and the friars her complices; and his words against the king's supremacy, and what he had said of the marriage. The king offended with More for three things. p. 180.

Concerning his dealings with the nun, he referred himself to a former letter written to him, wherein he gave a full account of that. This letter is recorded in the History of the Reformation. In short, he confessed he had discourse with her: and by the great shews of holiness she made, and the good words she spoke, he once reputed her a virtuous woman, and one inspired: but was now fully convinced she was an impostor: calling her in this letter "That housewife," and the "lewd nun of Canterbury." He highly commended Crumwel for the detection he had made of her, "in bringing to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby other wretches might take warning, and be feared to set forth their own The holy maid of Kent. Vol. II. Collect. p. 286. More's concerns with her.

1534. devilish dissembled falshood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God." He acknowledged, it was an evil spirit that inspired her. And so indeed she confessed herself at Paul's Cross. And he sent word to her admirers, the prior of the Charter House, that she was undoubtedly a false dissembling hypocrite. But before this, he treated her in another manner, that is, with the highest honour and deference: and in a letter, which he wrote to her, he gave her the title of *Madam* and *Your Ladiship*, and *His right dearly beloved Sister in our Lord God*. And being minded to advise her not to talk with any person in matters relating to the prince's affairs, or the state of the realm, he prefaced it with an apology, how God sometimes suffereth such as are far inferior, to give advertisement to such as are much above them; as Moses, God's high prophet, was counselled by Jethro.

Meets her
at Sion.

At the monastery of Sion, More saw her, and spake with her in a little chapel: where were present but they two only. He told her, it was the report of her virtues made him desirous both to see and hear her; that she might remember him to God in her devotions. She answered him, that God did of his goodness far better for her a poor wretch, then she deserved; and that many, of their favourable minds, reported of her far above the truth: and that she had heard so much of him, that she had already prayed for him, and ever would. At parting he gave her a double duccat, and begged her prayers. At this meeting she told More, what care people ought to have, that they take not diabolical delusions for heavenly visions; and acknowledged, that she had sometimes the former, as well as the latter: and that lately the devil in the shape of a bird flew and fluttered about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in hand suddenly changed in their sight that were present, into an ugly fashioned bird; that they were all afraid, and threw him out of the window.

I will take leave here to give some further account of this nun of Canterbury, professed of the priory of St. Sepulchres there. Her name was Elizabeth Barton, commonly called "the holy Maid of Kent." That which gave the first occasion of this imposture was: This maid, living in the parish of Aldington, before she was professed, was visited with sickness; and in the violence thereof, she would fall into fits, wherein she uttered many foolish and idle words. Richard Master, parson of the said parish, made use of this for some ends of his own: and thenceforth gave out, that these fits were divine trances, and what she spake in them she spake from God; and instructed her to say and affirm so, (though she knew not what she had said, when she came to herself) and often upon occasion to feign fits. And to serve himself of this woman, and her fits, for his own benefit, he with one Dr. Bocking, a monk of Canterbury, directed her to say in one of her pretended trances, that she should never be well, til she visited the image of our Lady in a certain chapel in the said Master's parish, called the chapel in Court at Street; and that our Lady had appeared to her, and told her so, and that if she came on a certain day thither she should be restored to health by miracle. This story, and the day of her resort unto the chapel, was studiously given out by the said parson and monk; so that at the appointed day there met two thousand persons to see this maid, and the miracle to be wrought on her. Thither on the set time she came, and there before them all disfigured herself, and pretended her extasies. All this was the invention of Master for his own lucre, to bring the people afterwards in greater plenty to the chapel in pilgrimage. In her trance in this chapel she gave out that our Lady bad her become a nun, and that Dr. Bocking should be her ghostly father. And so she was, and hereby that monk (whose invention this was) had opportunity of going to her frequently. At which times he and she consulted together concerning the

1534.

Some account of her.

p. 181.

1534. tricks she should play, and the words she should use; which generally were very sanctimonious, inveighing much against the new opinions lately sprung up, and against the king and queen, and the late marriage.

Books of her revelations. At length many books were written and printed of her revelations, made and composed by the said Bocking and Master, and one Dering, another monk of Canterbury. And one Thwaites, a gentleman, wrote a great book of her feigned miracles, for a copy to the printer to be printed off. At two several times she declared her false revelations to two of the pope's orators. One Gold took upon him to be the interpreter between her and one of these orators, named Anthony Pulleon, at London; and one Laurence a monk had the same office between her and the other called Sylvester, at another time at Canterbury. She began her pranks about eight or nine years before her execution. She travelled about from place to place: and had the confidence to come before the king, and Cardinal Wolsey, and Archbp. Warham, and Bp. Fisher. To all whom she talked very much of her visions, and revelations and inspirations. She told the cardinal, that she had a revelation concerning him, of three swords that God had put into his hand. The one was the ordering of the spirituality under the pope, as legate: another, the ordering of the temporality under the king, as chancellor: the third was the business he was engaged in concerning the king's marriage. And she told him, that unless he used all these well, God would lay it sore to his charge.

A list of her sayings sent to the king.

p. 182.

Archbp. Warham, having a roll of many sayings which she spake in her pretended trances, some whereof were in very rude rhimes, sent them up to the king. Which, however revered by others, he made but light of, and shewed them to More, bidding him shew his thoughts thereof. Which after he had perused, he told the king, that in good faith (for that oath he used) he found nothing in them, that he could either esteem or regard. For a simple

woman in his mind of her own wit might have spoken them. 1534.

She would ramble about the countries unto gentlemen's houses, and especially to houses of religion; chiefly those of the Observants. She would seem to be sometimes in trances; and then after them fall to her discourses and speeches. Whereat some of the friars and others would seem to take great comfort. Of these, were Father Risby, an Observant of Canterbury, and Rich, late warden of the Friars Observants there, and the prior of the Charter House at Shene. These had a mighty opinion of her, and talked much of her to More. Some of her revelations were no better than silly tales: such was a certain tale of Mary Magdalen, delivering her a letter from heaven, that was limned with golden letters: which indeed was written by a monk of St. Augustines, Canterbury: and another at Calais. For being there invisible in our Ladies church, the host was brought to her by an angel: who took it away from the priest while he was officiating at mass, that so King Henry then present might now see, in token of God's displeasure: and then on a sudden was rapt away over sea into her nunnery again: which made More think the worse of her, and of those friars that believed them. She was once at a knight's house in Kent, that was sore troubled with temptations to destroy himself. Of which one Friar Williams of Shene told More a long tale. When some came to her, it was said, she would tell them the causes of their coming, before themselves spake thereof; as though she had the gift of knowing men's thoughts: but this might be done easily by combination.

At this time there was one Hellen, a maid dwelling about Totnam, that had visions and trances also. She came to this holy maid, and told her of them. But she assured her, (it may be, because she had a mind to have the sole glory of such visions herself) that hers were but delusions of the devil: and advised her from henceforth not to entertain them, but

The Observants admire her.

Hellen of Totnam.

1534. to cast them out of her mind. And ever after, as that maid of Totnam told More, giving credence unto the nun, she was the less visited with such things, as she was wont to be before.

The cause
of the
nun's death

As this woman went on a great while in these her impostures, so had she not meddled with matters of state, and those which the king now was so earnestly concerned about, she might, for ought I know, have gone on still without danger: but framing revelations against the king's matrimonial matter, and pretending to prophesy, that if he did proceed in his divorce from Queen Katharine, he should not be a king a month longer, this made the king jealous of some insurrection by her means. And hereupon he resolved to have her examined. And by the industry of Archbishop Cranmer, Secretary Crumwel, and Hugh Latimer, it was found, that all her inspirations and extasies were meerly juggle and deceit, as she was instructed to do by certain friars and priests; and so she herself voluntarily and publickly confessed at Paul's Cross: and in the year 1533, was attainted by parliament, and executed, with six others, (whereof the Friars Risby and Rich, before mentioned, were two) at Tyburn for treason. And six more found guilty of misprision of treason concerning her; whereof Bp. Fisher was one.

p. 185.

II.

The king's
marriage.
Cleop.
E. p. 6.
p. 149.

A second cause, that threw More under the king's displeasure, was his marriage with the Lady Anne, and his divorce from his former queen. Which More could not be brought to meddle in, or like of. Concerning which he made this apology for himself to Crumwel, as I take it from his own letter in the Cotton Library. "That when he came from beyond sea, he repaired to the king at Hampton Court: when the king suddenly in his gallery brake with him his great matter: shewing him, that it was then perceived his marriage was not only against the positive laws of the church, and the written law of God, but against the law of nature: and that so it could not be dispensable by the church. Then the king himself

laid open the Bible before him, and read him the words, that moved his highness and diverse others erudite persons to think, that it was against the law of nature. And then asked him what he thought thereon. Whereupon More discovered his thoughts to the king, as a man in doubt. Then the king bad him commune farther with Fox, his grace's almoner; and to read a book with him, that then was in making for that matter. This book More read, and gave the king his opinion thereupon. At another time the king assembled a great number of learned men at Hampton Court: when though there were diverse opinions among them; yet, as he said, he never heard otherwise, but that they all then agreed upon a certain form, in which the said book should be made. The book was afterwards, at York-place in my lord cardinal's chamber, read in the presence of diverse bishops and many other learned men. Still they all thought that there appeared in the book good and reasonable causes, that might move the king's highness to conceive a scruple against his marriage. Which, while he could not otherwise avoid, he did well and virtuously, for the acquiescing of his conscience, to sue and procure to have his doubts decided by judgment of the church. And so his suit began, and the legates sat upon the matter.

“ While this business was sat upon by the legates, the king sent him, with Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, ambassador to Cambray. Where a peace was made with the emperor, and kings of England and France. Upon his return he was made lord chancellor: (which was in the year 1529, upon Wolsey's fall.) Then the king told him, that if he should see such things in this marriage, as should persuade him unto this part, he would gladly use him, among other his counsellors, in that matter. And the king then assigned unto him, as most studied in the point, the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, Dr. Fox, and one Dr. Nicolas, an Italian friar. But all these,

1534. with all their readings beside, could not persuade More. So the king made use of him and others in his other business only: and in this, such whose consciences his grace perceived were well persuaded on that part."

III.
The pope's
supremacy

p. 184. But however this gave the king a secret displeasure against him: concerning the third, the *primacy*, he confessed, "That once he was not of that mind, that the *primacy* was of divine institution: but that the king's book against Luther convinced him in it. And that he had then advised the king to leave out that point, or to touch it more slenderly. Because afterwards there might hap to follow questions between the pope and the king. And since that time for ten years, he had found in the fathers, from Ignatius to our times, a consent in this doctrine: and that it was confirmed by general councils too. In fine, he modestly excused himself in these his opinions, that it was not out of an obstinate mind, or misaffected appetite, but of a timorous conscience." The whole letter, though it be long, I have transcribed from the original, and put into the Appendix. His conscience, thus hampered with the papal power universal, brought him to his unfortunate end. Which we shall hear of the ensuing year.

No. XLIX.

CHAP. XXVI.

The authority of the kings of England in spirituals.

UPON the great work now on foot, of reducing the Bishop of Rome's power, and that of the bishops in the English Church, and restoring the king his authority in his own realms and dominions, some learned divines and lawyers were employed to search the scriptures, and catholick authors, and good histories, for the more right stating this matter, and proceeding the surer herein. There is, in a volume

of the Cotton Library, a very large collection of authorities, and places of scripture; under these various heads or titles presently following: but by whom, it appears not. I should be apt to guess it to be Archbishop Cranmer, who was a great collector of writings upon such arguments.

1535.
Collections
out of au-
thors con-
cerning
kingly
power.
Cott. Libr.

“ Regia Institutio, Officium et Potestas; ex Veteri Testamento.

“ In Clerum Regia Potestas.

“ Regia Institutio, Officium et Potestas, ex N. Testamento. Item ex Autho. Regia Potestas in Ecclesiam, seu Concilium.

“ Regia Potestas in Personas Ecclesiasticas.

“ Regia Potestas in Res Ecclesiasticas.

“ Regi Angliæ Legem petenti jubet S. Pontifex, ut relictis Romanorum Legibus, lege Dei se, ac Populum Dei, regat.

“ Regis Angliæ Officium et Potestas.

“ Regis Angliæ in Concilium, in Personas et Res Ecclesiasticas Potestas.

“ Regis Angliæ in Gualliam, Hiberniam et Scotiam Potestas.

“ Regis Angliæ in summum Pontificem Liberalitas.

“ Regia in investiendis Episcopis Potestas.

“ Regum Angliæ in investiendis Episcopis Potestas.

“ Fundatio monasterii Sancti Albani.

“ Episcoporum jusjurandum duplex.

“ Concilii Potestas et Pontificis.

“ Regia et Ecclesiastica Potestas simul, tam quoad Personas quam Res: seu Gladij duo.

“ Regia et Ecclesiastica Potestas simul, seu Gladij duo, in Anglia, tam quoad Personas, quam Res.

“ Episcopale Officium, et Sacerdotale.

“ Episcopi, vel Sacerdotis Potestas.

“ Terrenarum, Temporalium, vel Secularium rerum fuga, Ecclesiasticis præscripta.

“ Dominium, Imperium, Potentia terrena Ecclesiasticorum. p. 183.

1535.

- “ Judicia } Ecclesiasticorum.
- “ Leges } Ecclesiasticorum.
- “ Negotia }
- “ Prædia, Possessiones Ecclesiasticæ.
- “ Bona Ecclesiastica cur, et a quibus donata.
- “ Bonorum Ecclesiasticorum per Avaritiam, vel ambitum, effrænâ cupiditatem.
- “ Bona Ecclesiastica cur quærentur.
- “ Honores et bona Ecclesiastica, quibus acquirantur Artibus.
- “ Bonorum Ecclesiasticorum usus, et ad quos ea pertineant.
- “ Abusus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum per Avaritiam, luxum, fastum, in victu, veste, supellectile Domestica, Ædificijs, nobilitando Genere, per Libidinem, perq; Otium, seu fugam Laboris.
- “ Luxus et fastus in victu, veste, ac ædificijs.
- “ Convivia.
- “ Libido.
- “ Nobilitatio Generis, seu Cognatorum.
- “ Otium, fuga Laboris, et Periculi.
- “ Periculum.
- “ Honor et Gloria.
- “ Ecclesiæ primitivæ Idea.
- “ Pontificis summi Potestas et Officium.
- “ Pontifex de sua ipsius Potestate.
- “ Pontificis Potestas in Electionibus et Confirmationibus Episcoporum.
- “ Excommunicandi Potestas.
- “ Onera et injuriæ Apostolicæ sedis, vel Dominium Romanæ sedis.
- “ Onera a Romana sede Anglis imposita.
- “ Annatarum Origo.
- “ Annatæ ex Anglia.
- “ Anglorum de non solvendis Annatibus decretum.
- “ Angli in Comitibus, seu Parlamento, Annatarum Solutionem damnant.
- “ De Annatis et similibus, ex Concilio Constan.
- “ De Annatis, ex Concil. Basiliens.
- “ De Annatis, ex Glossa pragmaticæ Sanctionis.

" Bulla Nicolai Papæ de Approbatione Concil. 1535.
Balsiliens.

" Concilij Basiliensis Narratio.

" Concilij Basilien. Confirmatio ex Panormitano.

" Annatas Romanæ sedi denegare Fidei Christianæ
non repugnat.

" Romanorum Mores ex eisdem Authoribus.

" Metropolitani Legati privilegium.

" Ne actor reum extra Diocesim vocet.

" Judicia peregrina, vel Primatis Jurisdictio vel
Jurisdictio Provincialis.

" Judicia peregrina, vel Jurisdictio Primatis in
Anglia.

" Appellatio.

" Primatis, vel Patriarchæ jus.

" Legati jus.

" Cantuariensis Jurisdictio.

" Canones Patrum, quando et quo pacto primo in
Anglia recepti sunt."

All these heads and the collections under them, were, I suppose, but the rough cast of some learned books, then written against the pope.

As the bishops had all subscribed to the king's supremacy the last year, so the king now required them by his letters, to publish and declare as much in their own cathedral churches, and to set forth the king's title of *Supreme Head, under God, of the Church of England*; and to see the people in their respective dioceses effectually instructed in this point by the clergy in their parishes. These letters bare date in the beginning of June this year. Which, with a declaration to be read to the people, were sent by Crumwel to all the archbishops and bishops. And they, how willingly I know not, but outwardly complied with these commands, perceiving well how bent the king was upon this matter. Therefore they wrote their letters of answer to Crumwel, signifying their respective receipts of the king's and his letters in this behalf, together with their promise of yielding obedience thereto, and accounts of their so doing,

The bi-
shops in
person de-
clare the
king's stile.

1535. But Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, took great joy hereat, as appeared by their letters.

Nic. Bishop of Sarum.

The latter in his letter to Crumwel, dated June the 4th from Mortlake, shewed, " how he rejoiced, that the king had writ so earnestly to his bishops in this cause: and that he concluded, that God had made use of his wisdom to stir up the prince thereunto. Thanking God for it, and beseeching him to go on still from one thing to another, till the usurped power of that man of Rome were clean abolished and put out of the hearts of the king's subjects. And that he, for his own part, would apply with all diligence to this so godly a commandment.

Robert, Bishop of Chichester.

Robert, Bishop of Chichester, June 13, preached at his cathedral; and there declared openly the king's commandment concerning the uniting of the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England unto the imperial crown of this realm: and also the abolishing and secluding the enormities and abuses of the Bishop of Rome's authority, usurped within the same. He likewise sent forth his suffragan to preach and publish the same within the populous towns of his diocess. And took effectual care by the 28th of June, that all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars and curates, in his diocess, had commandment to publish the same in their churches every Sunday and solemn feast. And intended to see and cause them to do their duty in that behalf. And all this he signified to the secretary in a letter dated June the 28th from Selsey; and prayed him, that by reason of his great age, being now ninety years and upwards, he would move the king, that his further doing in these premisses by other sufficient persons might suffice for his discharge.

The Bishop of Lincoln.

John, Bishop of Lincoln, also set forth the king's title, dignity and stile of Supreme Head: and caused the same to be declared through his diocess; and the declaration to this purpose, which Crumwel had sent: copies whereof to be dispersed to every curate in his

diocess, he caused his clerks to write out, as many and as fast as they could. But his diocess being so large, he caused 2000 to be printed. And of all this he certified the secretary, from Woburne, June 25. But praying that he might know his pleasure and approbation, whether he should in that manner send them forth. 1535.

Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, had an university within his diocess. And for the execution of the king's letters there, he took this course, as it seems, enjoying every master and fellow in each college and hall, according to their seniority, every Sunday and festival to preach in the parish church, within whose bounds the college stood; and there to set forth to the people the king's stile of Supreme Head, and to renounce the pope. As seems to appear from a letter sent from the Bishop of Ely, dated June 27, at Somersham, to Dr. Edmunds, Master of Peter House: signifying, "That having received an honourable letter from the king, to charge all parsons, vicars and curates, and other ecclesiastical persons, abiding within the precinct of his diocess, to preach every Sunday and solemn feast, the very sincere and true word of God; and to set forth his title, dignity, and stile of Supreme Head, as the truth thereof may thorowly shine and appear to the people and subject; and to declare also unto the same his renunciation of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and all other foreign potentates: I do therefore charge you (as the letter runs) on the king's behalf, as you would answer unto his highness for the same, not only to preach in proper person, but also to command the fellows of your house to do the same in order every Sunday and solemn feast in your parish church in Cambridge. So that the parishioners thereof may have every of the said festival days, the word of God, and other things abovementioned, either by you, or by one of your fellows, shewed unto them. Thus the Lord keep you."

Bishop of
Ely's order
for the uni-
versity.

E. Bibli-
oth. C.C.C.

p. 187.

The same commands were dispatched to the

1535.
The Arch-
bishop of
York.

bishops of the province of York by Sir Francis Bagot. The Archbishop of York was commanded in his Majesty's name, to give this charge to all the prelates and ecclesiastical persons within his province. Which was but a backing and reinforcing of what had been given the year before, when the king by word of mouth enjoined these things upon him, as well as the rest. And but a little while after his departure home, Archbishop Cranmer, by the king's command, sent him a book, wherein was an order for preaching, and a form for bidding the beads. In which the king's title of Supreme Head was contained. And therein it was enjoined, every preacher after Easter once in a solemn audience, to declare the pope's usurped jurisdiction within the realm, and the king's just cause to decline from the same. And also to open and declare such things, as might avow and justify his highness's refusal of marriage with the Princess Dowager, and lawfully contract with Queen Anne.

The king
blames
him for
his back-
wardness.

It was told the king that Lee, the Archbishop of York aforesaid, was negligent in all this, and that he had not done his duty in teaching these things himself, nor causing them to be taught by others, within his province and diocess. For this, the king in his letter twitted him, telling him, that he had forgotten his consent given to the abolishment of the pope, and to the king's supremacy in his profession and subscription, signed with his own hand and sealed with his seal.

He vindi-
cates him-
self.

But this was but misinformation. For (as the archbishop by a letter he wrote to the king in his own vindication, dated June 14, the next Sunday after the receipt of Bishop Cranmer's book, had said) he went from Cawood to York, and there declared the king's title, concerning the matrimony, and his refusal of the pope's jurisdiction. And that the thing might be the more publick, he sent to York before he came, that he would be there next Sunday: requiring also the maior and his brethren to be there

present, with two of his majesty's chaplains, Mr. Magnus, and Sir John Lawson by name. So that there was a very great multitude met together, and the greater, because it was noised he should preach. And he began not till other churches in the city had done, that there might be the greater confluence to hear his sermon. He took for his text that part of the gospel of the day, "I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come." Thence he took occasion to explain, declare and open both the abovesaid matter, and the injury done to the king by Pope Clement. And the king's chaplains that heard him, thought the audience was well satisfied. Bnt however, something now gave occasion to a report at the court against the archbishop; and that was, that he meddled not with the king's title of supremacy, neither in his sermon, nor prayer. Whereof he gave the king this reason, because there was no order given then, but only to make mention hereof in the prayers, or beads. And the reason he mentioned it not in his prayer, was, because it was his known custom, ever since his coming into his diocese, for the getting more time for the uttering his sermon, that he made no prayer at it; but proceeded forward in it without stop. There was present among others, at his sermon, the king's two chaplains aforesaid, the Abbot of St. Mary's of York, and Sir Francis Bagot, Treasurer of York.

He also caused his officers, that could write, to transcribe a great number of copies of the book aforesaid, to be delivered to every preacher within his diocese; charging them withal to do according to the instructions thereof: and to every curate, a book was also delivered comprizing as much as touched their charge. And the curates accordingly followed their book in every point: praying for his highness as chief head of the church, and doing all other things required. To a great number the bishop himself delivered the book, and spake to them, giving them their orders by word of mouth. And to the curates he gave charge, that they should suffer none

p. 188.

His orders
given in
his diocese;

1535. to preach in their churches. On purpose, that those that would preach should be constrained, first to come to the archbishop, that he might deliver them the said instructions. As any came to him for licenses to preach, he gave them the book. In the religious houses, where any of the friars were preachers, he gave books there likewise. And so did he to all that he knew within his diocese, with charge to follow the book. When any religious man came to him, he told him what he had done, and gave him counsel to do the like: as divers had come to him, both Observants, Carthusians, and others. Upon Good Friday, he charged the Treasurer of York Church, that he should leave out the collect *Pro Papa*; and the deacon that sung the hymn *Exultet Angelica* in the hallowing of the paschal, that he should leave out mention therein made *propapa*.

All this the Archbishop of York, in a letter, informed the king, that he had done: telling him, "That what was imputed by his majesty to him, was taken from information peradventure of his enemies: that he had somewhat known him: that he had been always open and plain: and he dared avow, that hitherto he never deceived him, nor never would in any thing that he took upon him, as his learning and conscience would serve.

And in his
province.

Moreover, upon the king's foresaid letters to him, he sent his letters to his province, viz. to the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and to all archdeacons: giving them strait commandment, as the king had given him: and charging them to deliver books to all curates and others, of the old instruction: adding thereto what was now increased in these last letters. All this beforesaid is the sum of this archbishop's letter, as I found it in a volume of the Cotton Library.

Cleop.
E 6.
p. 236.

p. 189.

This archbishop was much suspected by the king, (and probably not without grounds) having some privy accusers of him; as appears by the said letter. And therefore he thus concluded:

“ I trust your highness shall never find in me, but that I promise I shall fulfil ; and all things do with good heart, that I may do at your highness commandement, God not offended. And most humbly prostrate, I beseech your highness, to be so gracious good lord, not to believe any complaints of me, afore you have heard my answer. The time is now such, that some men think they do high sacrifice, when they may bring into your highness displeasure such a poor priest as I am. But I trust in our Lord, that your highness doth not so take it : and that our Lord will continue your highness gracious mind towards your poor priests and chaplains : and that he should send to them, that causeless provoke the grievous displeasure of your highness against your said priest, better grace hereafter. For which, and for the continual keeping of your highness in his governance, I shall, as I am most bound, continually pray. From Bishopthorp, the xiv. of June, 1535.

1535.
His words
upon the
king's sus-
picion of
him.

Your highness most humble

Priest and bedeman,

EDOWARD EBOR.”

And that he might set himself right, if possible, with the king, and with Crumwel the secretary too, he soon after (*viz.* July 1,) wrote to the latter : giving account to him what he had done as to this business of the king's supremacy. That he had made two books, (which he then sent up to Crumwel) for the use of his clergy. One whereof comprised articles, which every curate and all other ecclesiastical persons should read and declare to their audience, and every preacher should extend and furnish (that is, enlarge upon) as his learning should serve. The other book he conceived, was a brief declaration to the people, as well of the king's stile and title of Supreme Head, as also that the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm by the law of God. Which he had spread abroad and dispersed, that all curates and others might at least read it to their audience. But

The arch-
bishop
makes two
books for
his clergy.

1535.
The clergy
of York
poor and
ignorant.

the archbishop said, "That many of the curates could scant perceive it, their benefices were so exile, of £4, £5, £6 *per ann.* that no learned man would take them. And therefore that they were fain to take such as were presented; so they were of honest conversation, and could competently understand that they read, and minister sacraments and sacramentals, observing the due form and right; although otherwise they were not all perfect, but must resort for counsel. And that in all his diocess he did not know of secular priests any number, that could preach, necessary for such a diocess; truly not twelve. And that they who had the best benefices were not there resident. Which considered, he trusted the king's highness would be content, if he did the best he could." This he wrote, because the king in his letters had commanded him to charge all ecclesiastical persons, "To teach and preach the very sincere word of God, and to declare and set forth his title, dignity and stile of Supreme Head, and also his highness just renunciation of the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority. Therefore, in excuse of himself, though this were not exactly obeyed, he assured the secretary, that he did not know in all his diocese twelve secular priests preachers, and few friars, and almost none of any other religion. But as for himself he promised him, that he would not fail to preach every Sunday and solemn feast, in one place or other, and now and then at the cathedral church. He also took order with the dean of the church to do his duty: and that all rural deans should hearken, whether men did their duty; and if otherwise, to advertise him thereof.

The pope's
injuries to
the king to
be de-
clared.

And because in the king's instructions sent to the archbishop last year, concerning the injuries done him by Pope Clement, in relation to his marriage, he proceeded thus in his letter to Crumwel, "That he durst not overpass those injuries: and therefore he put them into his book, that all the curates and other ecclesiastical persons might declare, as well the justification of the king's cause of matrimony, as also

the express injuries done to his highness by the Bishop of Rome. Hitherto, he said, preachers had only declared this once, but in his mind it was not to be forborn : and desired therefore to know how long it was the king's pleasure it should be still declared." And all this diligence had the archbishop taken to satisfy the king. 1535.

Notwithstanding within less than half a year after, new suspicions arose of him, as though he favoured not the king's title : it was reported, that he spake certain ill words to the general confessor of Sion, or to some other which that confessor sent, about the king's taking the supremacy upon him. As that he should say, that " he would stand against the king's title of Supreme Head even to the death, if he thought he might therein prevail." Upon this he was strictly examined by Dr. Layton, and Dr. Leghe, the king's visitors. This occasioned another letter, which he wrote to the king from Cawood, Jan. 14, to clear himself. " I avow, (writeth he,) and assure your highness *in verbo sacerdotij*, and by that faith, that I owe to God and you, I never spake with the said confessor, ne sent any counsel to him, ne received any message from him, or from any in Sion, for any such matter, neither touching that stile or title of Supreme Head, &c. And he added, that his counsel he gave to those that came to him, tended to the king's service. And particularly to four Chartereus, viz. of Richmond, Coventry, Hull, and Mountgrace, he always said, what counsel shall I give you, but to do as I have done myself ; and as many others have done, both great learned men, and taken for good men?"

New sus-
picious of
the said
archbishop

His letter
hereupon.
Cleop. E.
6.

The priors of Hull and Mountgrace were sore bent rather to die, than to yield to the king's royal style. But the former he turned from his stiff opinion, and made him yield with thanks : and he of Mountgrace desired, that he might alledge before the archbishop such things as moved him. He heard him at length, answered his allegations, and afore two or three of

He satis-
fieth cer-
tain scru-
pulous
priors.

1535. his chaplains, the said prior of Mountgrace said, he was well satisfied. And to confirm him, the archbishop shewed him two or three things, whereof he took notes; and said he would do his best to turn some of his brethren, which were yet stiff, albeit after recovered.

p. 191.
The arch-
bishop's
judgment
of Bishop
Fisher's
death.

And as to what was laid to his charge, that he should say, "He would stand against the king's title to the death," and encouraged others so to do, he added in his letter, "That it was more likely he should say to such as pretended they would or should rather die than yield, that as it is allowable to die for the truth, when the cause is good, and the ground sure; so it is folly to die, the cause being evil, and the ground unsure. For that he had often said, that these causes be no causes to die for. And this his chaplains had heard him say. They heard him say moreover, concerning the late Bishop of Rochester, that he marvelled he was so stiff to die in these causes, without good ground; whereas in other high matters of his faith, and errors against the same, he had dissembled, and had not been content with such as had written against them," meaning Erasmus, I suppose; and that name is by some pen inserted in the margin. For this Archbishop Lee had wrote against him: whom it seems Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, favoured not, but Erasmus and his writings rather, "for the favour which he bear to the party, in whose book they were found. In which cause, saith this archbishop, he should not only not have dissembled, ne have favoured the party, but rather have dyed than have suffered such errors to grow. Of which sort there were divers and sundry in one man's books." Against which many clerks in divers regions, and some universities have written.

Surrenders
Pomfract
to the
rebels,
Lord Her-
bert's Hist.
p. 477.

But notwithstanding all this, in the northern rebellion the next year, this archbishop and the Lord Darcy surrendered the strong castle of Pomfract to the rebels, pretending want of furniture and provisions to hold out a siege: and took an oath, which

they gave him, to enter into their pilgrimage of grace, 1535.
as they termed their rebellion.

There was also another bishop of fame in these northern quarters, I mean Tonstal, Bishop of Durham. Who likewise received the king's letters by the hand of Sir Francis Bagot to the same purpose, as the archbishop had done. Tonstal had once before, in obedience to command, *viz.* the last year, set forth the king's title, and caused others to do the same. And the king accordingly was prayed for in his diocese with his titles. Upon these new letters, he preached again at Durham, before a great company, setting forth the king's title, and declaring the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome. And as he had done so before, so from time to time he intended to do in his diocese. In the king's letter before mentioned, he girded him, as he had done the archbishop of York: telling him, that "he looked for a new world, or a mutation," as though Tonstal had desired the restoration of the Pope. This inwardly grieved him, that the king should entertain some sinister thoughts of him. And he told Crumwel, in a letter to him, "That if the king knew his mind as God did, he would not have used those words. For that he had been as sore, he said, against such usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, as daily did grow, as any man of his degree in the realm. And that it was not likely that he should now look for the renewing of that, which he withstood as heretofore, as far as he might, in his most flourishing state. That he looked for no mutation, nor new world, but the change of this transitory life for the life eternal." Some of these letters of the bishop's before mentioned I have preserved in the Appendix, for the service of such as shall be minded to peruse them.

Tonstal,
Bishop of
Durham.

p. 192.

No. XLIX.
L. LI. LII.

And that the king might see and know what these and the rest of the bishops had preached upon this argument of the supremacy, there was a command that they should send up to court their sermons.

The
bishop's
sermons
sent to the
king.

1535. These sermons were not long after delivered to Dr. Barnes, the king's agent to the German princes, together with the book for the king's supremacy, made by Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel: to be shewed to them: to satisfy them how cordial the king was in rejecting the pope's authority, and casting it out of his kingdom.

CHAP. XXVII.

The northern clergy backward. Some of them taken up for seditious preaching.

THThe clergy in the North great friends to the pope. IT was mentioned before, how suspicious the king was of his northern bishops: as was manifest by certain expressions in his letter to them. Nor could the king well be otherwise, while in their dioceses the clergy were endued with such earnest minds and inclinations to Rome. Which the king had well observed, and took notice of to the Earl of Sussex two or three months before. The priests and religious in these parts, uttered many things, reflecting upon the king and his orders; and intimating their very affectionate opinion and devotion towards the pope. They did use much to set forth his jurisdiction and authority. They prayed for him in their pulpits. They made him a kind of god; to the seducing of the subject, and bringing the people into error and sedition, and into a murmuring and grudge against the king and government. Which occasioned the king to dispatch a letter to the Earl of Sussex, lord lieutenant, (if I mistake not,) in those parts, in the month of April, to enquire diligently after such seditious preachers and promoters of the pope's usurpations, and to apprehend them and commit them to ward, to remain without bail or mainprize, until the king and his council should further direct him what to do with them. The letter is transcribed into the Appendix.

But notwithstanding this strict letter, they could not be restrained. For about June, or the beginning of July, a priest of Holderness spake these words: "They say there is no pope. I know well there was a pope." The occasion of which speech, I suppose was, because it was now strictly enjoined, that the Bishop of Rome should not be called pope. But upon this he was taken up, and examined before Sir Ralph Evers, and Sir John Cunstable, and others: and maintaining before them that he said so, he was, because he lived within the archbishop's liberty of Beverly, sent to the archbishop's jail: where he was commanded to be kept, till the king or council's pleasure were known. And July the 9th, the said archbishop sent up word to Crumwel of him.

1535.
A priest in
Holder-
ness taken
up.

Doctor Langrige, archdeacon of Cleveland, who was also chaplain to the Archbishop of York, repaired to his archdeaconry, setting forth the king's commandment, and delivering books to preachers and curates, as was ordered by the king's letters before mentioned, and among the rest to the prior of Mountgrace. But now he allowed not the supremacy, and said, he trusted, that none of his brethren would allow any such thing. The archdeacon tried to persuade him, but could not. Notwithstanding a little before to the archbishop he had declared himself satisfied, as hath been mentioned. Whereupon the archbishop sent a letter to him. Four curates came to the archdeacon to the monastery of Gisbourn, and told him, that they were sore threatned, if they published any such thing, as they were commanded to do. And prayed the archdeacon to spare them until S. Thomas Day, that they might see, whether those that threatned them, would continue in their opinion so long, and if they did, then they would certify the archbishop. And all this was certified up to court by the archbishop.

p. 193.
The prior
of Mount-
grace.

It was mentioned before, how the king on the 3d of June sent letters to the bishops to preach and publish him Supreme Head, with a declaration to

The justices appointed to inform against the bishops,

1535. that effect, to be pronounced in all the churches, and by all the curates and preachers in their respective dioceses. But the king, as though he suspected his bishops and clergy in their faithful discharge of this command, thought fit to set spies and monitors over them: and they were the justices of the peace. To whom he issued out his letters dated June 9, giving them in strict charge to watch and see, whether the bishops and clergy did truly and sincerely, without any cloke or dissimulation, execute their charge to them committed, in causing the king's authority and supremacy to be maintained, and the pope's usurpations laid open. And they were to certify the king or his council, if any of them should omit, or leave undone any part of their duty in this behalf; or if it were done coldly and fainedly, or any untoward or sinister interpretations, or additions were used. And hence I doubt not sprung the information against Archbishop Lee before mentioned, which gave him so much pains to vindicate himself. This letter to the justices is preserved by Mr. Fox.

Acts and
Monu-
ments, p.
963.

Another
letter to
them to
the same
tenor.

And this letter the king backed with another to the justices, or judges, I cannot tell whether, about fourteen or fifteen days after, for their direction in their sessions and assizes. The contents of which were, "Again to make search and enquiry, whether the bishops and clergy preached to the people, as was their duty, in the aforesaid causes. And that in their assizes and sessions of peace, they themselves should declare to the people the purpose of the premisses. And that they should at the said sessions, shew them particularly the treason committed against the king and his laws by the late Bishop Fisher, newly executed, and Sir Thomas More: who endeavoured, as the letter runs, to sow among the people a most mischievous and seditious opinion. And that if they found any manner of person deficient in duty in this part, they were to signify it to the king and council. And they were threatned, that if they should be slack in these commandments of the king, he would so

punish them, that it should be an example to others, not to frustrate and disobey the commands of their sovereign, contrary to their allegiance, and oaths: and especially when such things did so much import to the unity, concord and tranquility of the publick state of the realm." This letter may be seen at length in the Appendix. 1535.
p. 194.

We heard before of a book, sent by the king to the bishops, to be by them dispersed among their clergy: which contained orders for preaching, and the beads, and acknowledging the king's supremacy; to which was joined a notable declaration in the king's favour, setting forth, how he had been wronged and affronted by the Bishop of Rome. Which was to be read to the people. Of the same nature about this time, was another book also framed for the use of curates. Which book, a month or two afterwards, was thought fit to be revised and corrected, and enlarged, and somewhat altered: being judged to be of good service for the bringing the people to the true understanding of the king's right, and the pope's usurpations: that it might be ready to be carried along with the king's visitors, who were this year going a general visitation by the royal command. For that purpose the book was sent to Thomas Bedyl, who was clerk of the council, a learned man, and much made use of by Crumwel. In the month of August he sent it back again with his own emendations and additions, to them that employed him in it, the visitors, I suppose. In what he had done he consulted with Fox, the king's almoner, a learned, wise and moderate man; and then fully employed at Lambeth with the Archbishop of Canterbury about some affairs of the church. To whom he shewed the alterations he had made, and had his approbation. His design herein was so to frame the book, that it might be accomodated to the capacity of the auditors, and supply the ignorance of curates. What alterations Bedyl made, may be seen by his letter, preserved in the Appendix. No. LIV.
A book for the king's supremacy, to be read by curates; with a declaration. Another book for curates.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Some executed for refusing to swear to the king's supremacy.
 The Charter House monks. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas
 More executed.

1535.
 Some suffer death
 for the
 pope.

AND as the king had used these milder means, to draw his subjects to own his supremacy, and to challenge this right of his crown against the pope's invasion thereof; so he neglected not sterner courses also. And as the parliament had the last year by an act made it high treason to adhere to the pope, a foreign potentate, and to deny the king to be supreme head of the church in his own dominions, so he let that act take its effect upon some, even of the chiefest rank and reputation.

The prior
 of the
 Charter
 House.

p. 195.

When this act was first made, it put many, the religious men especially, into a very terrible concern, being persons so devoted to that foreign prelate. Such were they of the Carthusian order particularly. John Haughton, prior of the Carthusian monks of the Charter House, London, a devout man in his way, the year before had much contest with the king's commissioners, who were sent to his house, to take the consent and oath of him and his monks to the king's second marriage, and the dissolution of the former with Queen Katharine. For the king's act absolutely required the consent of all his subjects hereunto, from sixteen years old and upwards. The father answered at first, "That it belonged not to him, nor to any of those under him to meddle with the king's business: nor that it concerned him, whom the king would divorce, and whom he would marry." But the commissioners charged him, that he should call the convent together immediately: who were all required under their oath to affirm the former marriage to be unlawful, and by the same oath to profess to yield obedience to this second marriage

and the issue thereof: the prior said, "For his part he could not apprehend, how the former marriage, celebrated according to the rites of the church, and so long continued, could be void." Whereupon he was clapt up in the Tower, and Father Humphrey, procurator of the house, with him, for a month. Afterward some learned man persuaded them, that this present controversy was not a lawful cause to expose themselves to death for it. This learned man, I suppose, was Lee, Bishop of York: for this he used to affirm. So they promised to yield to the command of the king, and thereupon were dismissed and came home; and then propounded to the brothers to take the oath, which, it seems, they could not yet be persuaded to do. But at length, when the king's councillours, and the governors of the city, came to the convent again with officers to carry them away prisoners, unless they would swear, by the counsel and exhortation of the prior, they submitted and took the oath with this condition, *as far as was lawful*. This was done May 4, 1534. 1535.

The priory
of Charter
House
swear to
the succe-
sion.

But however they got over this act, another that followed in the beginning of the next year, of renouncing their great patron the pope, they could not. For the prior having called a chapter, and declared to the convent, what was coming; they were extremely troubled in their minds. And by a mollifying speech of the said prior, taking much compassion especially on the youngest sort of friars, that were in great danger to be corrupted by the world, they all fell a weeping; and made a resolution, that they would all dye in their simplicity. But the father said, "That he would willingly expose himself to God's mercy, and would be an Anathema for these his little brethren, meaning the younger of them: and would yield to the king's will, if he might lawfully do it, to preserve them from so many and great dangers. But if they should decree to do otherwise, and demand the consent and oath of the whole house; and if the death of one, that the whole people perish not,

The prior
and chap-
ter consult
what to do.

1535. will not serve them, the will of God, saith he, be done. And I wish there may be a sacrifice of us all. And then he advised them all to prepare themselves by a general confession ; giving liberty to every one to chuse what confessor he would in the cloister." The next day, that they might die in charity, the prior having first given them a sermon of charity and patience, they were all reconciled to one another ; which was done after this manner. The prior preached upon Psalm lix. and the 15 first verses, beginning, " Why hast thou cast us off, O Lord," &c. At the conclusion of his discourse, he desired them all to

P. 196. do as they should see him do. And presently rising up, went to the senior of the house sitting by, and kneeling on his knees, asked him pardon and indulgence for all his excesses and sins, any ways committed against him, in heart, word or work. And the other did the like to the prior. And so the prior going on did to every one, to the very last. And so in like manner did the rest to one another.

They celebrate the mass of the H. Ghost, to prepare them for suffering.

The third day they celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost, to obtain his grace, to be able to accomplish his will and pleasure. And a popish historian tells us of a great miracle that now happened, namely, that as soon as the elevation was done, there was heard a small hissing wind. Whereat every man's heart was filled with a sweet operation. Which they would have to be the descent of the Holy Ghost into them, as he once fell upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. And so after this time they continued instantly in devout prayer and supplication night and day.

Hist.
Martyr.
Angl. 1550

Three pri-
ors sent
to the
Tower.

About this very time came to London Robert Laurence, Prior of Belleval, but profess'd of that house : and Augustine Webster, another prior, and profess'd of the house of Shene. And both now lodged at the Charter House. Where they consulted together all three, and resolved to prevent the coming of the king's counsellors to them : and so went themselves to Crumwel, desiring him, that they might

be exempted from this act, or obtain some mitigation from the rigor thereof, in taking the oath. But Crumwel sent them to the Tower as rebels. And within a week after, he, with several others of the council, came to them, demanding their oaths to the king. The fathers answered, they would consent to all things, which, and as far as, the divine law would allow. But Crumwel would not allow of any exception. Then these urged, that the Catholick Church did always hold and teach otherwise: and against that, because of the fear of God, they dared not to go, nor to forsake the Catholick Church.

1535.

In fine, being brought to their trials afterward, they said, they would by no means go contrary to the law of God, and the doctrine and consent of Holy Mother Church, in the least matter. But it seems the jury had such a reverence for these three fathers, that they deferred their verdict till the next day. To whom Crumwel sent to know, what made them so long; and what they intended to do. They sent this answer back, that they could not bring in such holy persons guilty as malefactors. Which when Crumwel heard, as saith their abovementioned historian, he sent them word immediately, that if they found them not guilty, they should suffer the death of malefactors themselves. But they still persisting in their former judgment, notwithstanding Crumwel's threatening, he came to them himself, and so overawed them with his threats, that they at last brought them in guilty of treason. And five days after, they were executed at Tyburn, being May the 4th. Prior Houghton, being upon the ladder, when one of the council assured him of a pardon, if he then would obey the king, and the parliament's decree, he replied; "I call the Omnipotent God to witness, and all the good people, and beseech you all to attest the same for me in the terrible day of Judgment, that here being to die, I publickly profess, that it is not out of obstinate malice, or a mind of rebellion, that I do disobey the king; but only for the fear of God, that I

Condemned of treason and executed.

Prior of Charter House his speech.

1535.
p. 197.

offend not the Supreme Majesty. Because our Holy Mother the Church hath decreed and appointed otherwise, than the king and parliament hath ordained. And I am here ready to endure this, and all other torments, that can be suffered, rather than oppose the doctrine of the church. Pray for me, and pity my brethren, of whom I was the unworthy prior." It was said, that after he was cut down, he spake these words, "Most holy Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me in this hour." And then when the executioner pulled out his heart, he said, "Good Jesu! What will ye do with my heart?" And being quartered, one of his arms was set upon the house where he was prior.

His arm,

This arm two days after fell down. Which the friars looking upon as a miracle, took up, and laid it with his bloody shirt in a coffin: and so disposed it in a place under ground with an inscription of the cause of his death: intending, no question, in times more favourable to bring it forth, as an holy relick.

Laurence
Webster
and Rein-
olds ex-
ecuted.

At the same time also were executed Robert and Augustine, the two other priors: and with them one Reignolds, or Reinolds, a monk of Sion, of the order of St. Bridget. The ordinary report went among the common people, that these had combined together to kill the king; and therefore they justly underwent this punishment.

Hist.
Martyr.
Angl.
fol. 11.

They were hanged in their habits. Which a popish author makes a great matter of, as though there were no reverence shewed to the order, or the priestly garments: for it was done without any degrading. He saith also, that they were hanged with a great rope, that they might not quickly be strangled, to endure the more pain, when they should be cut down and ripped up. At their deaths they professed, "They never were disobedient to the king, unless in matters that were repugnant to the Holy Gospel and the Catholick Church. And therefore that they took their death not only patiently, but chearfully,

Their
speech,

Acknowledging, that they had obtained great favour from God, that he had given them to die for the truth, and for the assertion of the evangelical and catholick doctrine; namely, that the king is not supreme primate in spirituals, and the head of the Church of England. 1535.

Two of these, Houghton and Reinolds, were of celebrated fame for their piety. Of the former, Crumwel, in the chapter house of his convent, said before a great many, that he was a just and holy man. Of the latter, the foresaid author of the History of the Martyrs of England saith, that he was Dr. of Divinity, "A man full of the Spirit of God, and looked like an angel;" the character given to St. Stephen, the first martyr. At his trial, which was April 15, he said, "That he had determined to imitate the Lord Jesus, when he was brought before Herod to judgment, and not to answer any thing. But, said he, because ye urge me, that I may satisfy my own conscience, and the consciences of these that are present, I say, that our opinion, if it might go by the suffrages of men, would have more plenty of witnesses than yours. For, for some, which you (speaking to the Lord Chancellor) produce from the parliament of one kingdom, I have with me the whole Christian world, except those of this kingdom; I do not say *all* of this kingdom, because the less part is with you. And granting that the major part of the nation followed not my opinion, it was, he said in external dissembling only, and for fear of losing their dignities or honours, or for hope of obtaining the king's favour." Upon this the secretary charged him upon pain of incurring the rigor of the law, that he should declare who those were, that he spake of. To which he answered, It was all the good men of the kingdom. And then he went on; "That as to testimonies of the fathers, he had on his part all the general councils, all the pastors and doctors of the church, which were for fifteen hundred years past: particularly Hierom, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory. And

Houghton
and Rei-
nolds fam-
ed for
piety.

p. 198.

1535. I am sure, said he, that after his majesty shall have known the truth of this, he will be offended above measure with some bishops, who have given him this counsel." Then he was asked, why he did, contrary to the king's authority within his kingdom, dissuade many, that they should not consent to the opinion of the king and parliament. He said in answer, "That he never declared this his opinion to any man living, but to those that came in confession; which he could not resist in discharge of his conscience. He said, if he had not declared his mind then, he would now declare it. Because in that part he was obliged to God and his conscience; and that in such things he could not offend justly." After he was brought in guilty by the jury, he said with great constancy, "This is the judgment of the world."

Three
monks
more of
the Charter
House exe-
cuted.

The 19th of June, three more of the aforesaid house of Carthusians, London, being found guilty of high treason, for denying to take the oath of supremacy, were executed (whose names were Humphrey Middlemore, then vicar of the house, William Exmew, procurator thereof, and Sebastian Newdigate, priest and monk) after a fortnight's imprisonment; where they were said to be bound with chains about their necks and legs. Being brought before the council, they constantly professed, they would not go against the decrees and customs of the Holy Mother Church. They alledged before the bench from places of scripture, that the king could not claim to himself duly, and by authority of God's law, that supremacy and primacy of God's church, that Jesus Christ had given to the pope and the priests. So they were condemned to suffer the same death with the former. These three were young men and of good families; and Sebastian had been brought up at Court.

The king
endeavour-
ed to re-
claim them

The king was loth to put these men to death, but more loth to have his supremacy disowned, considering the ill consequents that might thereupon ensue. This made him send several to them in prison, to convince and gain them over, if possible. But they

stood too firmly to be stirred in the least. Nay, though these very men had agreed not long before in convocation, as the rest of the nation had, with one consent to the act, that all the king's subjects should revoke the pope's superiority: but now they affirmed the contrary, that the pope's superiority was necessary to be held in order to salvation; and that it was according to God's law, and instituted by Christ, as necessary to the preservation of the unity of the church: and that the pope was immediately judge under Christ, on whose determination all Christians should of necessity depend. Secretary Crumwel sent Starky, a very learned man, to Reynolds to hear his reasons. Which when he heard, he found, that they were neither strong, nor was his learning great in the defence of them. But nothing that could be said to him, nor the rest, could bring them to reject the pope: and so they were put to death, as rebels. And the said Starky, writing to Pole (with whom he had conversed and contracted a friendship in Italy) concerning them, to justify the proceedings in England, which had been so heavily censured in those parts, where Pole was: and to satisfy him, who conceived an high veneration for Reinolds: and that he might the better vindicate his prince and country; dilated upon these men and their deaths, and said, that to him it seemed, that "they sought their own death, and of it none could be justly accused but themselves."

1535.

Starky sent
to Reynolds.

p. 199.

One Friar Maurice Channey, or Chauney, of the house of Carthusians aforesaid, fled afterward beyond sea, and there wrote a relation in Latin of these sufferings of his fellow monks: dedicating it to John, the prior of the greater house of Carthusians, and primate of the whole order. Out of which I have made some of these collections. This relation was in the year 1550 printed with the Lives of More and Fisher in a book, intituled, *Historia Martyrum Angliæ*, by Vitus a Dulken, prior of the house of Mount St. Michael, near Mentz: and printed again under another title with additions, 1573.

A popish
book printed
1550, of
the History
of the
Martyrs of
England.

1535. After the death of these, were set two seculars
 The condi- over the house; who handled the friars hardly;
 tion of this cutting them short in their commons, but pampering
 house after themselves. Others also were sent to have an eye
 this, upon them. And they cut off an aqueduct, fed from
 a spring in the north suburbs, that supplied the house
 with water. They took away books from them, which
 they had in their cells, that they might not prove the
 right they had to that spring. All this severity was
 exercised upon them, because it was known, how ill
 affected they stood to the king's proceedings: and
 several of them even now writ against the king. The
 king's counsellors after came to them, and used both
 threats and flatteries: permitting liberty to any of
 them, that would go out of their house: but none
 would. Once Crumwel caused four of them to be
 brought out of their house, even when they were at
 high mass, to be present at the cathedral, to hear a
 bishop preach, (I suppose in behalf of the king's
 supremacy;) but they could not be convinced: thus
 the foresaid author writ of the present condition of
 the Charter House: but this that follows is more
 certain, which I take out of original papers.

An order for the Charter House of London.

Temporal
 governors
 set over the
 Charter
 House.
 Cleop. E. 4
 p. 6.

First, That there be five or six governors of tem-
 poral men, learned, wise and trusty; whereof three
 or four of them shall be continually there together
 every meal, and lodge there every night.

Item, That the said governors shall call all the
 monks before them, and all the other servants and
 officers of the house; and to shew them that the
 king's grace hath pardoned them of all heresies and
 treasons by any of them committed before that
 day: giving them warning, that if they eftsones
 offend, to dye without mercy: and that there be a
 pardon purchased for them all under the king's great
 seal.

p. 200. *Item,* That the same governors take the keys from
 the proctors and other officers; and to govern the

house, and to receive all rents, and make all payments, and to be countable to the king's grace thereof.

Item, That the said governors call all the monks to them severally, one after another, at dinner times; and to examine them of all their opinions, and to exhort them to the truth. Shewing them, that if any of them will, he shall have a dispensation to leave that order, and to live otherwise; and to have a convenient stipend for a year or two, till he have provided himself of a living; so that he conform himself to the king's laws. And to endeavour himself to learn and to preach the word; which every priest is bound to do. And yet by their religion, as it is said, they have professed falsly the contrary, that none of them shall ever preach the word of God.

Item, To put all the monks to the cloister for a season: and that no man speak to them but by the license of one of the said governors.

Item, To take from them all manner of books, wherein any errors be contained, and to let them all have the Old Testament and the New Testament.

Item, To cause them to shew all their ceremonies: and to teach them, and to exhort them to leave and forsake all such ceremonies that be naught.

Item, If they find any of them so obstinate, that in no wise will be reformed, then to commit him to prison, till the council may take some other direction for them. And they that will be reformed, to sever them from the company of the obstinates, and to be gently handled; and to cause them to utter the secrets and mischiefs used among them.

Item, There should be, three or four times every week, during this visitation, a sermon made by some discrete, well learned man; and all the monks, officers and servants, to be caused to be there present; none exception, save only sickness: and the said preachers to have their chambers there, and meat and drink; that they might quietly study therefore during that time.

1535. *Item*, The lay brethren be more obstinate, and more froward, and more unreasonable than the monks. Therefore they should be likewise examined; and the obstinates punished or expelled: and the others kept for a season, for knowledge of diverse points of them to be had.

Bishop
Fisher exe-
cuted.

June the 21, according to the popish author of the “Martyrs of England,” or the 22, according to the Lord Herbert, died Bishop Fisher, having been laid up in the Tower the last year. This bishop was an earnest man on Queen Katharine’s side, against the divorce, and would freely dispute for the lawfulness of her marriage, and declare his mind freely in that matter. Once, namely, in the year 1528, Bishop Staphileus, Pope Clement’s ambassador to King Henry, returning home, in part of his journey, happened to be accompanied by Fisher and Dr. Marmaduke, one of the king’s chaplains. Between them fell out by the way an earnest dispute, wherein the Italian took the king’s part, and Fisher the queen’s. Wherein Staphileus thought at least he had so completely baffled Fisher, that he sent Cardinal Wolsey news of it: and wished he, and the king and queen, had been present for their satisfaction on both sides. An account of which, he said, Dr. Marmaduke should acquaint him with.

p. 201.

And Sir
Tho. More.

And the next month, July the 7th, according to the forementioned author, or the 6th, according to Lord Herbert, Sir Thomas More was executed for the same crime. It was reported by the Papists, that Fisher’s head, which was set upon London Bridge, looked fresher every day, and seemed alive. Which made them take it down, and hide it, or as others, threw it into the Thames. Whether it were or no, I know not: but if it were, the true reason thereof was rather, because it was by so many resorted unto, and, it may be, some veneration was paid unto it, as a saint’s relick. And to prevent such a thing in Sir Thomas More’s head, they boiled it in water, and set it up, that it might appear the more

ghastly, (saith the popish historian,) or rather, that 1535.
it might not putrify and be offensive, and which is
no more than is ordinarily done in those cases.

When Sir Thomas was condemned, he took liberty More
to speak his mind of the Act of Supremacy. plainly
Of which he was before more tender of saying any thing. speaks his
He said, "That he had for seven years bent his mind
mind and study upon this cause. But as yet he Hist. Mar-
found it no where writ in any approved doctors of tyr. Angl.
the church, that a layman, that is, a secular, could
be the head of the spiritual or ecclesiastical state." Here the chancellor interrupted More's speech. Mr. More, said he, will you be reckoned wiser and of a better conscience than all the bishops, the whole nobility, and the whole kingdom. To which More; "My Lord Chancellor, for one bishop that you have of your opinion, I have an hundred of mine; and that among those that have been saints. And for your one council, (which what it is, God knows,) I have on my side all the general councils for a thousand years past. And for one kingdom, I have France, and all the other kingdoms of the Christian world. Moreover he told them, that their act was not well made, because they swore professedly to do nothing against the church: which through the whole Christian jurisdiction is one, entire and undivided: and that they alone had not any authority, without the consent of other Christians, of making laws or assembling a council against the union and concord of Christendom. But I am not ignorant, why ye have adjudged me to death: namely, because I would never assent in the business of the king's new matrimony."

The truth is, many thought More was severely More a
dealt with, and might have been winked at, consider- great per-
ing the eminency of his person, and the good service secutor.
he had done his king before. But surely somewhat
of the secret hand of divine justice might be discovered herein. For he had been a very rigorous pursuer after the blood of such as professed the gospel, and was the cause of bringing many of them to

1585. the flames : using rigors and torments likewise upon their bodies, before he brought them to their cruel ends : and bespattering them after their deaths with false suggestions, as though his passion had not been satisfied with their blood. After that holy man, Mr. Bilney, was committed to, and consumed in the flames at Norwich, More reported, that he had a scroll in his hand, wherein was written his recantation : and that he read it at the stake, revoking his former opinions. Which Dr. Parker, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present at his burning, and knew him well at Cambridge, did confute. Testifying under his hand, that Bilney had no such scroll in his hand, nor read any recantation. And this testimonial, Fox, the author of the "Acts and Monuments," had from Parker himself, when he was archbishop.

Slanders
Bilney, the
martyr.

p. 202.

Apt to
slander the
professors
of the gos-
pel.

More indeed had that ill quality, irritated by his zeal to his own party, that he would (I will not say invent, but) make use of false tales and stories, to defame the memories of those good men, that professed and died for the pure religion, after he and his party had ridded them out of the world. As he gave out, and I think printed, that of Bilney aforesaid, so a year or two after, when he had caused Richard Bayfield to be burned in Smithfield, he raked in his ashes, to spy out what sparks he could find to reproach and vilify him : and at last publickly laid two crimes to him, the one was, that he went about to assure himself of two wives, one at Brabant, and another at London : the other was, that after Bayfield was taken, while he was not in utter despair of his pardon, he was contented to forswear his doctrine, and to disclose his brethren and associates. Very black charges. For the manifestation of the falshood of both, there was an apology set forth in this holy martyr's behalf and vindication. Upon which occasion Fox gave this character of More : " That he was so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionated unto the

Acts and
Mon.
p. 934.

other, that in them whom he favoured he could see nothing but all fair roses and sweet virtues: in the other, whom he hated, there was never any thing could please his fantasy, but all as black as pitch." 1535.

He would sometimes go himself in person, while he was chancellor, and the Lieutenant of the Tower with him, to apprehend such as he suspected to favour the gospel, and search their houses for New Testaments and other books. Thus he once, in the year 1530 or 1531, surprized John Petit, an eminent good citizen. Of whom I will here make some larger relation, to retrieve his most worthy memory, in effect hitherto buried and lost. "He was one of the first, (I follow the words of my MS.) that with Mr. Frith, Bilney and Tindal, caught a sweetness in God's word. He was twenty years burgess for the city of London, and free of the Grocers, eloquent and well-spoken; exactly seen in history, song, and the Latin tongue. King Henry VIII. would ask in the parliament time in his weighty affairs, if Petit were of his side: for once, when the king required to have all those sums of money to be given him by Act of Parliament, which afore he had borrowed of certain persons, John Petit stood against the bill, saying, I cannot in my conscience agree and consent that this bill should pass: for I know not my neighbour's estate. They perhaps borrowed it to lend the king. But I know mine own estate: and therefore I freely and frankly give the king that I lent him.

"This burgess was sore suspected of the Lord Chancellor More, and the prelacy of this realm, that he was a fautor of the religion that they called *new*, and also a bearer with them (of the said religion) in printing of their books. Therefore Mr. More cometh on a certain time to his house at Lion Key, then called Petit's Key, and knocking at the door, Mrs. Petit came toward the door, and seeing that it was the Lord Chancellor, she whipped in haste to her husband, being in his closet at his prayers, saying, 'Come, come, husband, my Lord Chancellor is at

Petit, a
worthy pa-
triot of
London.

Persecuted
and sent to
the Tower
by More.

p. 203.

1535. 'door, and would speak with you.' At the same word the lord chancellor was in the closet at her back. To whom Mr. Petit spake with great courtesy; thanking him that it would please his lordship to visit him in his own poor house. But because he would not drink, he attended upon him to the door, and ready to take his leave, asked him, if his lordship would command him any service. No, quoth the chancellor; ye say ye have none of these new books. Your lordship saw, said he, my books and my closet. Yet, quoth the chancellor, ye must go with Mr. Lieutenant. Take him to you, quoth the chancellor to the lieutenant. Then was he laid in a dungeon upon a pad of straw in close prison. His wife might not come to him, nor bring him any bed. After long suit and daily tears of his said wife, named Lucy Petit, she obtained licence to send him a bed, and that he might be brought to his answer; where they had gotten a little old priest, that should say, he had Tyndal's Testament in English, and did help him and such other, to publish their heretical books in English, as they termed them. But now at last, when Mr. Petit had caught his death by so naughty harbour of the lord chancellor, he was called openly, and the priest that should have accused him, asked Mr. Petit forgiveness; saying, Mr. Petit, I never saw you afore this time; how should I then be able to accuse you? And so he was suffered to go home. But he died immediately after upon the same ill harbour. He thought his pain came over his chest like a bar of iron."

Dyes of
the hard
usage.

Some re-
marks of
him.

Let me mention a few more particulars of this worthy patriot. He lay in the Tower at the same time that Bilney did, and lodged underneath him. "And so much favour he obtained from the underkeeper, that sometimes by removing a board he allowed them to dine and sup together, and to cheer one another in the Lord, with such simple fare, as papist charity would allow them. And before this, when John Frith was in the Tower, he came to Petit's Key in

the night, notwithstanding the strait watch and ward by commandment. At whose first coming, Mr. Petit was in doubt, whether it was Mr. Frith or a vision, no less doubting nor otherwise than the disciples were, when Rhoda the maid brought tidings, that Peter was out of prison. But Mr. Frith shewed him, that it was God that wrought him that liberty in the heart of his keeper, Philips: who upon the condition of his own word and promise, let him go at liberty in the night to consult with godly men. And this was the same good keeper that granted Petit and Bilney the liberty beforesaid. Mr. Petit would needs be buried in the churchyard: whereat the priests took advantage to frame a religious cheat. For they poured sope ashes upon his grave, which hindered the grass from growing; and then affirming, that God would not suffer grass to grow upon such an heretick's grave. And many of the Balaamites came to see and testify the same. In fine, Mr. Petit, albeit he had great riches by his first wife, being his mistress and a widow, and especially by his second wife, Lucy Watts, daughter and heir unto the king's grocer, Mr. Watts, yet he died not rich, for two causes. The one, for that the lord chancellor made him pay the debt of one, for whose appearance Mr. Petit stood bound in law. The party was sick of a tympany, therefore Mr. Petit was forced to bring him in a cart to London, an hundred miles by estimation, whereof he died. But the chancellor, of his popish charity, would needs let the principal go, and take it upon the surety. Another cause was this, Mr. Petit gave much to the poor, and especially to poor preachers, such as then were on this side the sea, and beyond sea. And in his debt book those desperate debts he entered thus, *Lent unto Christ*: and so commanded his executors to demand none of those debts. His will therefore amounted to not above eightscore pounds for his two daughters, unmarried, Audrey and Blanch, over and besides those desperate debts,

1555.

One Ph—.

p. 201.

1535. and his land in Shorditch and Walthamstow. One William Bolls, the last husband of Lucy Petit, being alive in the year 1579, enjoyed the land in Shorditch, and received sevenscore pounds of Sir Geffery Gates, a debtor of Petit's; and so much goods besides, as he therewith was able to buy the receivership of Chester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln. And little of it came to Mr. Petit's children. But to give a few more instances of More's zeal, (shall we call it?) or cruelty.

Teste ipsius uxore
Lucia Petit

His cruelties towards
Tewksbury;

In his house in Chelsea, anno 1531, the sentence of condemnation was read by the Bishop of London against Tewksbury, a letherseller, living in the parish of St. Michael the Quern, London; an excellent proficient in the gospel by reading the books of the scripture. And from More's house one of the sheriffs of London took him, and carried him to burning, without the king's writ for his warrant.

Martyrology, first Edit.

He had been brought into trouble April 1, 1529, before Tonstal, Bishop of London. Before whom he was convented for reading Tindal's New Testament: and that he had the Bible written. He told the bishop, that he had studied the scripture this seventeen years. May 8, he submitted himself, and was abjured. Two years after, he was brought into trouble again, and for revoking his former abjuration,

And Bainham;

was burnt. About the same time one Bainham, a gentleman of Glocestershire of good quality, and student of the law in one of the Temples, was brought before More at Chelsea. Who cast him into prison in his own house there, and whipt him at a tree in his garden, called, *The Tree of Troth*; and afterward sent him to the Tower to be racked: and so he was, More himself present at it, till in a manner he had tamed him; because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would shew where his books lay. After indeed by terror and suffering worn out, he recanted. But he revoked publickly his recantation soon after.

Upon which he was brought again before More to Chelsea, and there was chained to a post two nights, and at last burned. 1535.

In the next year 1532. He prosecuted to death And Frith. John Frith, a young man, once elected from Cambridge, for his excellent learning, to the cardinal's college in Oxford. The poor man fled from place to place, absconding himself. But More persecuted him both by sea and land, besetting the ways and havens, and promising great rewards to any that would bring him any news or tidings of him. And at length he satiated his misguided zeal upon the poor innocent, and burnt him at a stake. Yet he shewed p. 205. mercy to one for his wit, as I have read in an old MS. For examining a protestant, whose name was Silver, he told him after his jesting way, "That silver must be tried in the fire." "Ay," said Silver, "but Quick-Silver will not abide it." With which ready answer being delighted, he dismissed him.

CHAP. XXIX.

Crumwel now the king's great instrument. The Benedictin order visited: and all other religious houses. Visitation of the dioceses; and both universities.

AND these were some of the resolute steps King Henry made towards the obtaining again this long struggle for, and almost lost right and prerogative of kings, in their own dominions, of being supreme, against the encroachments of the Bishops of Rome. Secretary Crumwel had the great stroke in all this. And all these counsils and methods were struck out of his head. For which as he received the curses, and drew upon himself the hatred of many, so many more, well affected to a reformation of superstitions in the church, extolled him as highly. Of these was one William Overbury, an honest zealous man, who applauded him for his care of the reformation of Crumwel both loved and hated

1535. Christ's religion ; and upon his urging the bishops and clergy to renounce the pope, and acknowledge the king's supremacy, he wrote him this congratulatory letter :

“ IMMANUEL.

Overbury
to Crom-
wel. Cleop.
E. 6.

“ Faithful, trusty, and dear beloved minister unto the high power of Almighty God : of that which you have ministration under our Sovereign Lord the King, here in earth the only high and supreme head of this his Church of England, grace, peace and mercy be evermore with you. Laud and thanks be to God the Father Almighty for the true and unfeigned faith, that you have in our sweet Saviour Jesu. Paul, the true preacher of Christ, saith, ‘ *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Jesus Christus.*’ Whosoever believeth Jesus Christ to be the only Saviour of the whole world, pacifier of God's wrath, mediator between God and man, the bearer of sins, and the true Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world ; hath now set this foundation. Therefore it is to be trusted upon, that where Christ is the foundation, there must needs follow the edifying and building of good works, as testimonies of the true foundation. Also Christ saith, *Ego sum ostium.* He entreth in by this door, the which feeleth the truth, and preaching the same to others, followeth and keepeth it himself. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 16, ‘ *Væ enim mihi est, si non evangelizavero. Necessitas enim mihi incumbit. Si enim volens hoc ago, mercedem habeo. Sin autem invitus, dispensatio mihi credita est. Quæ est ergo merces mea,*’ &c. This doth some take upon them, diligently executing the office of the ministration of the word of God, plainly, sincerely following the gracious will and mind of our gracious Sovereign Lord the King, being only high head and governor next God. ‘ *Quomodo audient sine prædicante? Quomodo vero prædicabunt, nisi mittantur. Sed non omnes obediunt evangelio.*’

For there be many perverse men, which do dilaniate the flock of Christ: yea, and of them which seem to be pillars, or bearers up of the church: which do rather diminish the faith, than any thing augment it. 1535.

“ I have many things, which I would fain declare to your goodness. But I consider your great and manifold care and business, and mine own impediments, by the custom and trade of men ordained, that lett me not only this time, in this mind scribbling to you; but also almost at all times, from both study and exercise of the holy gospel. The true faith and doctrine of the which I pray God augment to his honour; who ever preserve and keep you. Amen.

Your obedient,

WILLIAM OVERBERY.”

The refractariness of those of the Benedictine order to the king's proceedings, made him think it convenient to look a little more narrowly into their behaviour, and to animadvert upon their irregularities, of which there were reports enough. And this being resolved upon, he thought good to make one work of it, and to have all convents and religious societies besides visited also. Some memorial of this, especially as relating to Canterbury, I transcribe out of a MS. Annal of a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury; as followeth: A visitation of Benedictine convents and others. Fox. MSS.

“ This year, 1535, the king sent many doctors, &c. and others throughout all England, to visit all the houses of Saint Benedict's order, and all the monasteries of every order, hospitals, colleges and chantries, &c. Amongst whom, Doctor Layghton, being a professor in the laws, and the chiefest, did visit this our house. Mr. Bartlet being his scribe, and of counsayl with him, the xx. day of October.

“ In this visitation, all men utterly renounced the name of the pope, his privileges and exempt places, &c.

“ The same time the new house of the prior of the church of Saint Saviour's was set on fire and burnt,

1555. Doctor Layhton the visitor, and Mr. Bartlet the scribe, with others being present, the xvi. day of October at mydnight.

“ The issue of this was, that the next year, all the monasteries and religious houses, through all England, that were not above the yearly revenue of £300 (all charges deducted,) were by act of parliament given to the king’s majesty, for the amplifying his crown, and to his successors for ever.”

Monas-
teries visit-
ed.

There was a general visitation of religious houses this year instituted, in which Crumwel, vicar-general, was chief; who appointed under him Dr. Leighton, Dr. Legh, Dr. Petre and Dr. London; and they had many others accompanying them.

p. 207.

The visitors appointed for the monasteries, had certain rules given them to observe in their visitation, and to enjoyn upon all the members of those houses strictly: drawn up as it seems to me by Dr. Layton, or Leighton, one chiefly appointed by Crumwel in this business. The rules were as follow, *viz.*

“ Primum, ut omnes et singuli fratres uniuscujusque, cœnobij intra regnum Angliæ in domo sua capitulari, ut vocant, personaliter præsentés, una congregentur.

“ Deinde, ut seorsim et separatim singuli examinerent super quibus visum fuerint,” &c. that is:

Rules for
the visitors
of the re-
ligious
houses, Cot.
Library.

First, that all and singular of the friars of every religious house within the kingdom of England, being personally present in their chapter house, be assembled together.

Then, that separately and by themselves, each be examined upon such things as shall be thought convenient.

That an inquisition be made; and every one be compelled to give an account of his fealty and obedience towards our king, Henry VIII. of that name.

That all and singular be bound by oath, to perform entire and perpetual fealty and obedience to the same our King, and Queen Anne his wife; and towards

the issue of the said Anne, as well begotten, as to be begotten. 1535.

That all and singular be obliged by oath, to notify, preach, persuade all the foresaid matters to the people; whensoever place and occasion shall serve.

That they hold for confirmed and ratified, that our foresaid King Henry is head of the Church of England, as it is decreed and ratified, as well in the convocation of the clergy, as in parliament.

That they confess the Bishop of Rome, who in his bulls used the name of Pope, and arrogates to himself the principality of Chief Bishop, to be esteemed of no greater dignity, than any other bishops in their respective dioceses.

That none of them in any sermon privately or publickly preached, call the same Bishop of Rome by the name of Pope, or Chief Bishop; but by the name of the Bishop of Rome, or of the Roman Church. Nor to pray for him, as Pope, but as Bishop of Rome, as is aforesaid.

That none of them all presume, in any sermon, either publick or private, to wrest any thing taken out of the holy scripture to another sense. But that every one preach Christ, and all his words and deeds, simply, openly, sincerely, and according to the rule of sacred scripture, and the truly catholick doctors.

That diligent inquisition be made, how many preachers be in every monastery, and who. Then that all the sermons of each be severely examined; whether they be catholick and orthodox, and worthy of a truly Christian preacher, or no: if they shall be found catholick and orthodox, then he shall be admitted a preacher: and his sermons approved. But otherwise they shall be burnt forthwith.

Let all and singular, as many as be preachers, be admonished, that in their prayers and supplications, made according to the custom, they first commend to God and the prayers of the people, the King, as Supreme Head of the English Church; then Queen Anne with her issue. And then afterwards the Arch-

1555. bishop of Canterbury, with the other orders of the clergy, as shall seem good.

p. 208. Whatsoever gold or silver, made into plate, and graved: and whatsoever other moveable goods of any kind, any monastery shall be found to possess and have, they be compelled to produce, and shew it; and deliver a true and faithful account and bill of all and singular the things.

That all and singular monasteries, and the friars living in them, or in any of them; shall oblige themselves and their successors, by the tie of conscience and an oath; and each by the seal of their convent, given in their chapter houses, confirm it; that they will faithfully observe all and singular the things aforesaid.

The king
declareth,
that the
monaste-
ries shall
continue.

Upon the visitation of those religious houses, some of the members desired of the visitors, that they might be allowed to depart thence, as weary perhaps of that idle course of life: and some of them better disposed seemed to be willing to go abroad, and preach the gospel. And some governors and whole companies did voluntarily surrender up their houses to the king, who allowed them pensions for their future subsistence. But it was thought, that it was the king's mind and intention to take them all with their lands and revenues into his own hand: and to turn out all the monks and friars to shift for themselves: and so it was given out. But the king meant no such thing: and shewed himself displeased with such as reported it; and ordered them to be taken up, and committed to custody. And pacified and quieted these religious persons with assurance to the contrary, in case they lived in due order, and shewed themselves true to him, and acknowledged his supremacy. And accordingly he sent out a declaration unto the said houses to the same effect. And after these fears still continuing, circular letters were sent to the abbots and priors by the king's great officer Crumwel, to assure them thereof; bidding them to repose themselves in quiet, and to serve God de-

voutly; to provide duly for the sustentation of their houses, to provide for the poor, to keep up hospitality, and not to spoil and wast, the revenues of the houses. Which letter being a further confirmation of that from the king to the same import, may be found in the Appendix.

1535.

No. LVI.

I find also a royal visitation of the dioceses in the realm, (which I think to be in this year also) to make round work. Being about to begin their visitation, Thomas Legh, and John Ap Rice, and the rest issued out their inhibition, forbidding and restraining all bishops to exercise episcopal authority, for the visitation time. And this might be the reason, that the Archbishop of Canterbury being minded to make his metropolitical visitation this year also, was fain to obtain the king's license so to do, as we read in the History of the Reformation.

Royal visitation of the dioceses.

These inhibitions the bishops had complained of before to Crumwel, being drawn up in somewhat an extraordinary manner: depriving them of their power, during the king's pleasure. And now again the visitors did imagine they would make fresh complaints. Whereupon they thought it convenient to prevent the bishops, and render in writing the reasons to Crumwel of their so doing. Which were, that so the king taking all the episcopal jurisdiction and power into his own hands for a time, and exercising the same, it might serve as a perpetual monument of his supremacy. And that they, receiving their power again from the king, might recognize him for the spring and foundation of it. That they might shew whence they claimed their authority, by suing to the king's majesty for the restoring of it again to them. But behold the reasons themselves at large in the Appendix, as the visitors themselves penned them, and sent them in their letter to Crumwel.

Vol. 1.
p. 185.
Inhibitions to the bishops.

p. 209.

No. LVII.

By the conclusion of the said letter, it appeared also that they visited the University of Cambridge, and were now drawing up injunctions for it. For they mention two articles, which they then sent up to be

The visitors make injunctions for Cambridge.

1555. added to the rest of the injunctions; and prayed him, that after he had perused and corrected the whole, he would cause them to be drawn out fair in parchment, and sealed, and sent down to them for the university. The sum of the first article was, that they should observe, and cause all other to observe, all and singular the contents in the oath of *succession*, which they had taken, and in the statute for the extirpation of the Roman bishop's authority, and for the establishment of the king's supremacy; which they had professed by a publick instrument with their own hands and seals annexed. In the conclusion of these injunctions, the king (for in his name they ran) reserved to himself, and Thomas Crumwel, his visitor general and his surrogate, a power of giving other injunctions, and doing whatever else should by their prudence and discretion be thought meet. But for the words themselves, I refer the reader to the

No. LVIII Appendix.

There was also this year a royal visitation of the University of Oxford by Dr. Layton, and others appointed by Crumwel, the king's chief secretary. And what he had done there in several of the colleges, for promoting good learning, appointing Latin and Greek lectures to be read in several colleges; and obliging all students in other lesser colleges to be present at those readings: also giving divers injunctions to be observed upon penalties: and also repairing to some of the colleges to redress disagreements and matters of complaints; his letter to the said secretary will shew, as it follows; taken from the original.

“ Please it your goodness to be advertised, that in Magdalen College we found established one lecture of divinity, two of philosophy, one moral, another natural, and one of the Latin tongue; well kept, and diligently frequented. To these we have adjoyned a lecture in the Greek; that is, the grammar in Greek, perpetually to be read there; and all the youth thereunto to have confluence for the principalls.

Oxford
visited.
An account of
that visitation.
Faust. c. 7.

“ In New College we have established two lectures publick: one in Greek, and another in Latin. And have made therefore for evermore an honest salary and stipend. 1535.

“ In All Soulen College, we have in like manner established two lectures; one of Greek and another in Latin, with a good stipend and salary, thereunto assigned for ever.

“ In Corpus Christi College, we found two lectures established by the founder, one in Greek, another in Latin; publick for all men, thereunto to have converse.

“ We have further established a lecture in Latin tongue, publick, in Marten College; and another in Queen's College: and have assigned and made a sufficient stipend for either of these for evermore.

“ Because we found all other the colleges, not able in londes and revenues to have within them lectures publick, as the other afore rehearsed have, we have enjoyned the foresaid poor colleges, that they and every of them shall frequent and have daily course unto the said lectures. *Pœnam imposuimus* to every scholar within the university, not hearing at the least one of these lectures. So that day that he shall be absent from one of the said lectures, to be punished in the loss of his commons for that day: the said pain every day, ‘Totiens quotiens absens fuerit, nisi concurrente causa aliqua legitima, appro- p. 210.
‘banda tamen per præpositum collegii sive aulæ.’

“ We have set Dunce in Bocardo: and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses: and is now made a common servant to every man; fast nailed up upon posts in all common houses of easement: *id quod oculis meis vidi*. And the second time we came to New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Dunce, the wind blowing them into every corner. And there we found one Mr. Greenfield, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, gathering up part of the same book leaves,

1535. as he said, therewith to make him sewers or blawn-shers, to keep the deer within his wood, thereby to have the better cry with his hounds.

Religious
students,

“ We have also in the place of the *canon* lecture, joyned a *civil* lecture, to be read in every college, hall and inn. We have also, in visiting the religious students, among all other injunctions, enjoined, that none of them for no manner cause shall come within any tavern, inn, alehouse, or any other house, whatsoever it be, within the town, and the suburbs of the same, upon pain once so taken, by day or by night, to be sent immediately home to his cloister, whereat he was professed. Without doubt we hear say this act to be greatly lamented of all the double honest women of the town, and especially of their lawn-dress: that may not now once enter within the gates, and much less within their chambers, whereunto they were right well accustomed. I doubt not, but for this thing only, the honest matrons will sue unto you for a redress.

“ Other things more, which are too tedious and long to conceive by writing, we have done. Which all I shall declare unto you at my coming. This Sunday by night we shall make an end. For all this day we repair to colleges for the redress of divisions and complaints, put unto us.

“ To morrow by seven a clock in the morning, I will be at Abington. And I trust to bring you the truth of every thing for that house, and thereof doubt ye not. On Wednesday by night at uttermost, I trust to be with you at Winchester, God willing: who send you as good health, as your heart desireth.

“ We find here all men applying, and glad to accomplish all things: from Oxford, this Sunday the 12th of Septemb. By your most assured poor priest and servant.

RICHARD LAYTON.”

Superscribed, “ To the Right Honourable Master Thomas Crumwel, Chief Secretary to the King's Highness.”

CHAP. XXX.

p. 211.

The valuation of benefices taken; for the first fruits and tenths, given to the king. Commissioners sent abroad for that purpose. Their letters. How the bishops now stood effected. Bishop Shaxton's case.

THE last year the parliament had, for the augmentation of the king's royal estate, given him the *first fruits* of all spiritual livings throughout the realm, and the *tenths*. For the better execution of this act, the king sent abroad his commissioners to take the true value of the benefices through the whole land: several commissioners for each county; and the respective bishops seemed to be put into these commissions in their dioceses. There was also a certain number of auditors joined with them. Thus I find commissioners for Yorkshire, and commissioners for Northumberland, and commissioners for the archdeaconry of Richmond. And among the commissioners for the bishoprick of Durham, Tonstal the bishop thereof was one. When the valuations were made and taken by the commissioners, they were all returned to Crumwel, now Master of the Rolls. In this commission the king gave a special order to the bishops to give no institution to any livings, till the king were agreed with for the payment of the first fruits; that so he might the better be secured of them. What the Bishop of Durham with his fellow-commissioners had done in this business, he thought fit to signify up to Crumwel in a letter dated from Aukland, July 20, therein he excused himself from having stayed so long before he sent up the account for the bishoprick. For the court was now very intent upon any imaginary remisness in the bishops. He said, he would follow the king's commandment, to give no institution, till the king were agreed withal. But he thought it would light very chargeably upon the poor clergy, to take a long journey up to London

1535.
A commis-
sion to
take the
value of
benefices.

1535. to give bonds. Therefore he advised Crumwel, that there might be some appointed in the country to take bonds, for the greater ease of the clergy. The letter may not be unworthy to be perused: which I have therefore preserved in the Appendix.

No. LIX.

Crumwel
shews the
use the
king might
make of
the first
fruits.
Cott. Libr.

Upon the commissioners bringing in the values of all the livings in England, and computing thence the incomes by first fruits, I have seen a notable paper of Crumwel's: wherein he set forth the conveniences accruing to the king hereby: (which happened soon after the surrender of the lesser monasteries,) as followeth:

There will by this account remain to the king's majesty to be annexed to his crown, over and besides all his monasteries lately surrendered . . . 40000*l*.

And besides that, his majesty may either reform the hospitals already founded, or erect new, to the yearly charge of . . . 10000*mark*.

His grace may furnish CC gentlemen, to attend upon his person. Every of them to have 100 mark yearly . . . 20000*mark*.

p. 212.

His majesty may appoint for certain garri-
sons . . . 20000*mark*.

And his highness may assign to the yearly reparation of highways in sundry parts, or the doing of other good deeds, for the commonwealth: whereby the valiant beggars may be set a work . . . 5000*mark*.

And yet his grace's tenths, besides the first fruits, will by estimation amount yearly to . . . 20000*mark*.

And it is to be remembered, that sithence the suppressions, there have come monasteries to the king's highness hands, and been given away by his majesty, near to the value of twenty thousand pounds, with those that be agreed at this present to be surrendered.

But how many of these good works were done by these ample revenues coming into the king's treasury, it is worth enquiry.

Method of
taking the
values of

Upon the act of parliament that granted the king the first fruits and tenths of all spiritual preferments,

commissioners (as was said) were appointed and sent forth to all parts, throughout all the dioceses, to take a just account of the true yearly values of them, whether preferments in the cathedral churches, or parsonages, vicarages, colleges, &c. And further, how these commissioners discharged their trust in this weighty affair for the king's benefit: and what reasonable favours and abatements were desired by the incumbents and possessors, to be shewn and made by the commissioners, may be partly seen, by a letter of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, one of the commissioners for that side, and by another from the archbishop, and commissioners, on the side of York: both writ to Secretary Crumwel, in the month of May.

1535.
benefices
by the
commis-
sioners.

In the former the bishop shewed, how earnest he had been in this affair, for the more advancing the king's revenue, arising hence; and enquiring about some allowances, on the account of alms, and education of youth, and such like charities, payable out of some benefices or preferments. His letter ran to this tenor:

“ Master Secretary, After my most harty commendations; forasmuch as I send up at this time by my servant this bearer, the certificate that hath been done by me and others, to whom the king's highness directed his grace's letters of commission, concerning the valuation of the spirituality in this country; I have thought good to send the same first unto you, and to desire your judgment now in the inspection; as I required your advice in mine entry and beginning thereof. For if any thing be otherwise than it should be, it may, and shall, be easily amended. I assure you there hath neither wanted good will, ne diligence; and dividing the charge committed unto us in two parts: whereof the one was, to know the true value; the other, to allocations and deductions. As I dare affirm that in the first part, no default shall be found, but that every promotion is extended to the utmost, so have we in the deductions and allocations

Bishop of
Winches-
ter to
Crumwel,
with the
certificate
taken of
them in his
diocese.

Cott. Libr.

1535. followed in our judgment, as our duty is, the words of our instructions; and regarding any such reasons as have been made upon the words of the act; being much more favourable, as they said, than we have shewed ourselves in that behalf. Whereof, by the advice of the rest of my colleagues, I have made an institution, which I send unto you to be weighed, as ye should think good.

p. 213. “ The title of *almes*, although in our judgment we understand it, and have made allocations thereafter, in the finding and nourishing of old and impotent and lame men: yet we have not so deemed it, in the finding of young children to school: and yet it is so called also as the other is, *almes*. We used herein a distinction of *finding*, which in poor and impotent men is without other shift necessary to live by. But in children no such necessity to find them to school. Finally, we satisfied them, and ourselves also with this resolution; that albeit our certificate in the extent of their londs, if we made the sum more than we found, it might grieve them: wherefore we would take heed, and deal uprightly: yet in the allowance we could neither do good, ne harm to them. For if we allowed further than we had commission, it would be comptrolled there with our rebuke. And if we allowed too little, the remedy lay open to be sued for, if they thought good.

“ We have past over all things quietly, without discontentment shewed by any party, and without any other suit, than as shall be thought agreeable to the statute made in that behalf. Ye shall see in the valuation of my bishoprick a good portion; but whereof I shall not receive now very little above the one half to mine own use. I am in some men’s judgment too strait in charging my self: but I will have mine own will therein: that I may be called * *self-willed* for some things. I am bold to trouble you with my long letters; in which I talk with you as I were present familiarly. My servant shall shew you the book; and farther do, as ye shall command us. And thus

* So, it seems, he was usually styled.

most hartily fare ye well. From Marvel, the 2d 1555.
day of May.

Your assured friend,
STE. WINTON."

To this were subjoyned, of the same Bishop of
Winton's writing,

"ARTICLES, wherein the commissioners have not
shewed such favours to the parties here in their
allowances, as, they pretended before them, was
due by the Act of Parliament in that behalf.

"First, Whereas diverse benefices, as appeareth
by the particular books, have some one, some two,
some three chapels, besides the parish church: in
which chapels they be bound to find priests: albeit
the commissioners in the valuations, have esteemed
all such profits, as arise and grow in any of the said
chapels; yet they have allowed no deductions of the
priests charge, who is necessary, and perpetual serv-
ing in that chapel.

Allowan-
ces to be
made.

"*Item*, It hath been alledged, that such chauntries
as be not perpetually assigned to any spiritual man,
should not be charged by this act of parliament: espec-
ially, where there groweth no profit to the incumbent by
any special revenue: and that the incumbent may be
removed at pleasure. And this case is alledged in
the chapel of the Holy Ghost in the Isle of Wight,
and the chauntry of Tichborn, in the deanry of
Alresford.

"*Item*, It hath been alledged, that considering
the act maketh mention of all almes to be allowed,
given by foundation; therefore finding of poor chil-
dren in the New College, beside Winchester, ought
also to be deducted; being their portion so little, that
it cannot be less.

p. 214.

"In which matters, albeit the commissioners have,
with the best reasons they could, defended their own
doings, in execution of the king's highness instructions
according to the said act; yet finally, they promised

1535. to make relation of their suit to be remedied by mercy, if it shall be thought convenient."

I add, for a further explanation of the course and method used by the commissioners, for the execution of this great trust, a letter of the commissioners for the diocese of York to Secretary Crumwel, concerning their taking the value of the benefices, with notice of the names of the said commissioners, as they are subscribed. Where may be observed, that with the commissioners were also sent *instructions* in these proceedings. And auditors were also appointed to examine and write out fair all the valuations taken in parchment; to be sent up to the secretary. The letter follows:

The commissioners
for the
diocese of
York to
Crumwel.

"Right Honourable, Like it you to understand, that where by the king's commission and instructions, charge is given to us, to make certificate *octovis trinitatis*, of the view and examination taken by us of the yearly clear value of all manner of spiritual promotions: we have done our diligence according to our most bounden duties, to the uttermost of all our powers: and had now at this time of our meeting, the 24 of May, been at full otherwise ready to certify by our day limited in our said instructions, if we could have had such auditors, as by the king's commission were joined with us. But some of the said auditors for sickness could do no service: some as yet came not to us: some be appointed also in other places. So that at this our meeting, albeit all the books came in, yet diverse of them were not written in parchment, for lack of auditors. Some, although by the best diligence that the commissioners could use, were written in parchment, yet they were not in due form after the auditor's fashion.

"Which thing hath now so stayed us, that we cannot certify at the day appointed: and much doubt, whether we shall be ready to certify in any part of this term. And forasmuch as Mr. Blitheman is coming to know your mind for sundry doubts, which be among us; to the intent that our book may come

forth the more perfectly, we have thought convenient, 1535.
 or ever we certify, to understand your resolutions for
 the said doubts at the return of the said Mr. Blithe-
 man. It may therefore like you to be so good to us,
 that seeing they towards us cannot be arrected herein,
 any negligence or default, to provide that we run in
 no damages in the Exchequer. And furthermore,
 that we may have a new commission to a further
 day; and that large enough: so that we may be not
 again constrained to sue for a new commission. And
 for the said doubts, it may like you to be so good to
 us, that Mr. Blitheman at his return may come by
 this city, and advertise us of your pleasure; which p. 215.
 we shall follow, God willing: who have you in his
 continual governance. From York, the 24 day of
 May, 1535.

Edouard Ebor.

Will^m Wright, Mayr. of York.

Geo. Carey.

T. Magnus.

Bridy. Hastings.

Roger Cholmely.

Geo. Lawson.

Rob. Bowes.

Robt Chaloner.

Cha. Grue."

About this time the king became highly offended
 with the Bishop of Winchester, which Fox the king's
 almoner acquainted him with. The occasion is ob-
 scure, but seemed to be this. The king was minded
 to have all his spirituality, bishops as well as the in-
 ferior clergy, to depend upon him for the exercise of
 their ecclesiastical function and jurisdiction: and to
 have it so believed and acknowledged by the word of
 God. And some books were published by the king's
 order in proof of it. To one of which an answer
 came forth. This answer was committed to Win-
 chester to confute, or correct it, where it argued
 against the king's mind and judgment. But it seems
 the bishop did allow the opinion set down in the book.
 This was the thing that gave great disgust to the
 king: namely, for standing so high upon the episco-
 pal jurisdiction, as that bishops received their au-
 thority from God, and could not part with it to the

The king
 offended
 with Win-
 chester.

1535. king. The inhibitions above-mentioned, I verily believe gave the ground of this dispute.

His course
to recon-
cile him-
self.

The bishop understanding the king's wrath against him, thought rather to plead for himself by a letter to the king, than by personal conference with him. In which letter he cunningly managed himself to regain the king's favour, after this manner. "First, he shewed extraordinary dejection at the king's displeasure against him: acknowledging the mighty favours he had received from him: and that he could rather chuse to dye, than to live in his majesty's indignation. And secondly, he vindicated himself, by shewing that he held according to the opinion of a number of learned men, and according to his majesty's own book against Luther, and a decree of the Council of Constance. But lastly, in conclusion he hinted his readiness to be instructed by the king, being, as he confessed, not learned in divinity. Adding, That he was desirous to do what might be done to his highness contentation, and appliable to learn the truth, what ought to be done, and that he should be glad to confer with any of the council in this matter." He that pleaseth may find this bishop's letter in the Appendix.

No. LX.

The bi-
shops now,
how affect-
ed to a re-
formation.

As for the bishops at this time, however zealous they pretended to be in their subjection to the king and his supremacy, and opposition to the pope's claim in these dominions; yet few of them, but cherished his religion, and held fast the corruptions practised in the Church of Rome, and gave little countenance to the reformation of it. Among these few, were Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latymer, and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury. Of which last I have something to add, namely, that as he was a man of good learning, and master of a college in Cambridge, so he was very cordial and diligent in endeavouring a reformation of the abuses and errors introduced into religion, by preaching, and instructing and government of his diocese, and took such pains therein, that he told Crumwel, the king's vicar

Bishop
Shaxton's
affection
towards it.

general, that upon occasion he would give way to none therein, but the former two: exciting him to aid them with his authority, who applied themselves to serve God and the king in their callings. Among whom he said himself was one, and would not give place to the best bishop in England for his talent, except Canterbury and Worcester. 1535.

And because the abbies and religious houses especially stuck to the pope, and kept up as much as they could to the old superstitions; Bishop Shaxton especially watched them, according to injunctions sent by Crumwel to all the bishops; though some more coldly observed them. Among the rest there was a monk of Reading, in his diocese, that read lectures in the abbey: whom for good cause he forbade to read any more. Notwithstanding the abbot bade him continue his reading: this occasioned a contest between the bishop and the abbot; who having some favour with Crumwel, related his case so advantageously in a letter to him, with complaint of the bishop's dealings with the monk and him, that Crumwel took the matter out of the bishop's hand into his own, by virtue of his power committed to him by the king, in all spiritual matters. And writ him an angry letter: using many expressions therein, that did in no small measure afflict the bishop, even to tears, thus to be checked in the execution of his office in his own diocese. So it provoked him to write a long expostulating letter in answer. Wherein were some sharp words, and somewhat too free to be used with a person of so great quality, as lord privy seal and vicar general: justifying himself in what he had done: and charging him with partiality towards the abbot, against him the bishop, and with encroachment upon his episcopal authority in his own diocese. That hereby he apprehended, he was displeased with him, and loved him not, whatever he pretended. And that in divers other things he had thwarted him in his good intentions; though he, the bishop, had made it his endeavour to obtain his good liking. And

Inhibits a monk of Reading, to read lectures there.

1535. that he sided with a popish abbot, rather than with him. And besides, that he had written divers sharp letters to him before, which made him weep. And now the bishop venteth his grief at large by this letter : now and then dropping a passionate expression ; yet revoking it again ; and generally writing with much respect and deference.

Shaxton's
letter cen-
sured by
Bishop
Burnet.

Hist. Re-
formation,
Vol. I. p.
340.

p. 217.

No. LXI.

Doctrines
vented by
the monk,
the reader
of Reading
abby.

But Bishop Burnet, (one of his successors,) in his excellent History of the Reformation, having read this letter of Bishop Shaxton, took Crumwel's part, and censures the said bishop for a *proud, ill-natured man* : and omitting the bishop's letter, prints Crumwell's answer to it, drawn up mildly indeed by Morison his secretary : which ensueth that of Shaxton's MS. letter in the Cotton Library. There that author calls Shaxton's letter, *provoking language*. " And that therein he added many insolent praises of himself. And that his whole letter was as extravagant a piece of vanity and insolence, as ever he saw." But perhaps it will not seem so to others, who consider all circumstances ; and can excuse some heats to good men, when they are hindred in the impartial execution of their function, as this good bishop was. And therefore I have left it to be read and considered in the Appendix, whereby both the bishop, and this his present case, may be better known, and judged of : especially, since in the conclusion of his letter he begs his pardon, desires the continuance of his favour, and submits himself and his cause wholly to him.

But more particularly, the true case was this. Three friars of the house had accused this monk, the said reader, whose name was London, that he had in his lectures vented some heretical opinions : namely these ; That the scripture is not sufficient of itself for a Christian. That though a man can preach the word of God sincerely and truly, yet he is not sufficient to take a cure, unless he is skilled in cases of conscience, and able to resolve them. That faith justifieth not, without works. And that men may

deserve grace and justification by their own works. 1535.
 Upon this information the said monk was summoned before the bishop, who shewed him his errors: and afterwards dealt very gently with him; only requiring him to make a revocation of them. And so took his subscription, and then dismissed him; but thought fit to restrain him from reading his lectures: and thought to have put one of his friends, a priest (but degraded for having a wife) of better learning and principles, in his room; which the abbot, it seemed, liked not of.

Crumwel, before this, had shewed his displeasure against this bishop, because he had mentioned to him, on some controversy between the city of Salisbury and him, a certain grant of King Edward IV. to the Bishop of Sarum, that the maior there was the bishop's maior, and the citizens the bishop's citizens. Which Crumwel reproved him for saying so; since, notwithstanding such grants, all the power he had, depended upon the present king's confirmation: which the bishop in answer acknowledged freely; and added, how little he lifted up himself upon such grants. This also will be read more at large in the bishop's said letter.

CHAP. XXXI.

The king's Primer; for the better instruction of the laity. Seditious books called in. Sir Tho. Eliot's letter to Crumwel on this occasion. Some account of this learned knight.

A SECOND edition of the Primer in English came out this year in quarto, with diverse additions; and was stiled "King Henry's Primer," to give the better countenance and authority to it. Put forth by Doctor Marshal, Archdeacon of Nottingham; but the Archbishop of Canterbury, in all probability, had a great hand in it, both in the revising of it, and in compiling some of the treatises it consisted of. The

The king's
Primer.

1585. drift of it was double; as well to make the common people understand their prayers and divine worship, as to cure some gross errors in religion, that were then by popish craft generally entertained by the vulgar, by putting superstitious books into their hands: which, in the admonition to the reader, the publisher called, *pestilent and infectious books, and learnings.* The good design therefore was, that the laity might be furnished with a better direction for prayers and devotions, than they usually had before. "In those books they had learned with much foolish superstition, and as great scrupulosity, to make rehearsal of their sins by heart. They abounded in every place with infinite errors and perilous prayers, slanderous both to God and all his holy saints." They were garnished with glorious titles, and with red letters; promising much grace, and many years, days and lents of pardon: which they could never indeed perform; to the great deceit of the people, and the utter destruction of their souls. And so the author descended to the superstitious prayers used to the Virgin Mary; and particularly considered that promise, that whosoever said a certain prayer before her image, called *The Image of our Lady of Pity*, should see her visage, and be warned both of the day and also of the hour of his death, before he departed out of this world. He shewed also the great danger the people ran into, of idolatry in these prayers to the Virgin Mary and saints: and took the boldness to write thus; "That it was not meet, comely, nor fitting, that in our prayers we should make a god or saviour of any saint in heaven, no not of our blessed Lady: neither was it meet to make them check with our Saviour Christ, much less then to make them check-mate. He wished they that were learned should here call to mind the honour of Latria, wherewith they were wont to say and preach, and in disputations to declare and teach, that it was both sin and shame to honour any creature. That the distinction of Latria, Dulia, and Hyper-
- p 218.

dulia, in contentious disputations swam ever in their lips. But when they came to practise the matter in their petitions and prayers, then seemed it as clean forgotten with them, as they had never spoke it, read it, nor heard of it in their lives. 1535.

In this Primer was amassed together divers tracts, with several admonitions and prefaces to the readers thereof: and as it seems set forth at several times, and now collected and printed together, as a useful book of necessary devotions for ordinary Christians. But it gave great offence to the papists, and as soon as the times favoured them, and the Lord Crumwel was dispatched, they procured some of the tracts to be prohibited, and brought in upon pain of heresy. It began,

I. With an Exposition upon the Ten Commandments. Wherein the second is, after the old popish way, swallowed up into the first without any distinction. Next was,

II. An Exposition of the Creed.

III. Then a general Confession for every Sinner, wherein he acknowledgeth, how he had broke all the Ten Commandments. And here it is to be marked, that there was a plain distinction (though there were none in the first tract) between the first and the second. For the penitent is brought in speaking thus under the second article of his confession: "I have divided thine honour and worship from thee, and given it to thy creatures, and dead things imagined of mine own fantasy: I mean in the misusing of images." Which makes me conclude this third tract, and that first, had different authors. p. 219.

IV. An Instruction how, and in what manner we ought to pray to Almighty God. And this ushered in,

V. A goodly breve Interpretation, or Declaration of the Lord's Prayer. And that accompanied with a plain and true relation of the sense of,

VI. The *Ave Maria*, or the Angel's Salutation of our Lady. Which began with this caution: "Here first of all take heed, that no man put his sure trust

1535.

and hope in the Mother of God, or her merits. For this sure confidence is due to God only, &c. The grace and favour that was given her of God, giveth us an occasion to praise God, and give him thanks. We ought none otherwise to praise and love her, than one which hath received such goodness, without her own deserving, of the pure liberality and favour of God : even as she herself doth knowledge in that song, *Magnificat*.” And after the recital of the AVE in English, to correct the superstition of those that make it a meritorious prayer, follow these words: “ Here thou seest, that in these words no petition, but pure praises and honours are contained, &c. Therefore we cannot call this salutation a petition or prayer properly, &c. Because it is not lawful for us to expound these words further, than they sound, and than the Godhead did make them.”

VII. A very pious, devout Prayer to God, beginning, “ O Maker of Heaven and Earth,” &c. being an application to God under the consideration of him, as our great Creator.

VIII. The Office of all States : Bishops, Rulers, Commons, Husbands, Wives, Fathers and Mothers, Children, Masters, Servants, Widows.

IX. A short Treatise of good Works.

X. A little Declaration of Principles, being an Exhortation to expect the Cross, and patiently to bear it.

XI. Mattins and Even Song in English : beginning, “ O Lord, open thou my lips : and then shall my mouth shew forth thy praise.”

XII. The seven penitential Psalms englished.

XIII. The Litany : with a preface before it, giving a reason why it was left out in the former edition. Which was, because it being an application to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, many worshipped them in a vain superstitious manner, and thought that God by Christ would none otherwise gladly hear and accept their petitions, but by his blessed mother

and saints. In the same preface is answered the ordinary plea for addressing to saints, *viz.* That if a man have a suit to any temporal prince, he must first make a means unto him by somebody that is in his favour. But the author answered, "It was not between God and us, as it is between an earthly prince and his subjects. Because God is in all places, and at all times doth both know and hear our petitions; which any earthly prince doth not, or cannot, without another means. And that there was no commandment of holy scripture, that we must of necessity pray to our blessed Lady and saints, or that otherwise we cannot be heard. Though it is true, we must needs have a peace-maker, or mediator; which is his only Son." And after the preparatory preface, follows the Litany in English, but after the old strain, with addresses to the Virgin Mary first, then to the angels, then to the twelve apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, to pray for us, with their several names.

1535.

p. 220.

XIV. An Exposition, after the Manner of a Contemplation, upon the LI. Psalm.

XV. A Prayer to our Lord Jesus. Beginning, "O bountiful Jesu, O sweet Jesu," &c.

XVI. The Passion of our Saviour Christ. Being the History of his Passion, related at length out of the Evangelists, digested together in a continued story. In ten distinct parts or sections.

XVII. A devout and fruitful Remembrance of Christ's Passion. This discourse is levelled against such as made no other use of the thoughts of Christ's death, than to wax wood and furious against the blind Jews, and Judas their guide. But this, saith the author, might better be called a remembrance of the Jews wickedness, than Christ's passion. And, secondly, against such as carried about them images, painted papers, carved crosses, to help them to behold the passion of Christ, because of the external benefits that would accrue to them thereby. Thinking themselves thereby to be safe from fire, water, and other

1535. perilous jeopardy. As though, said he, the cross should deliver them from such outward troubles, and not rather the contrary. He blamed also the preachers, which when they treated of the passion, "Leaped out of the fruitful and wholesome story, into these common places; how Jesus took his leave of his disciples, and with what dolorous sighs his mother Mary pitied him, and such other things. On these, said he, they babble at length, and descant their pleasures, rather to the wearying than edifying their audience. In this rank he numbred them, who instructed others what excellent commodities are in the mass. Insomuch that rude and ignorant people persuaded themselves, that it was sufficient salve for all sores, if they heard a mass: and that they should have good luck in whatsoever they went about, good or evil. They considered not, as he went on, that the mass was instituted of Christ to make us more holy through the devout remembrance of his passion, with a pure faith," &c.

XVIII. A fruitful and very Christen Instruction for Children: with Prayers at their rising in the Morning, and at their going to Bed at Night; and Graces to be used before and after Meat.

XIX. A Dialogue between the Father and the Son. Being a plain Exposition upon the Creed and the Ten Commandments. And here the Second Commandment is recited at large, and distinguished from the First. This was one of the books that was afterwards prohibited to be read.

XX. A Prayer for the mollifying and suppling of our hard Hearts, the afflicting of our blind Hearts, and the true converting of our impenitent Hearts.

XXI. An effectuous Prayer, very needful these last and perilous Days, to be said with Tears and deep Sighs from the Bottom of our Hearts, (being the Prayer of the Prophet Esay, chap. 63, and 64, of his Prophecy) for the restoring of Christ's poor Church, scattered abroad with Persecution, and as it

were forsaken. Beginning, "Lord, look out from heaven," &c. 1535.

XXII. The Song of Anna, Helkana's Wife. Beginning, "My heart is pleasantly set at rest with the Lord," &c.

XXIII. The Prayer of the Prophet Daniel for the Restoring of Christ's Church, under the Figure of Jerusalem and the Children of Israel, being in Captivity. Beginning, "Hast thee, Lord God, which art great," &c.

XXIV. Prayer peaseth God's Wrath. A short discourse on that subject. Exciting to prayer in those perilous days on that account.

XXV. The *Dirige*, in English. Which was the office used to be said for the souls of the dead. With an admonition or warning prefixed, for the true understanding and meaning of the *Dirige*. Wherein he hath these words: "Among other works of darkness and deep ignorance, wherein we have blindly wandred, following a sort of blind guides many days and years, I account this not one of the least, that we have ronge and songe, mumbled, murmured and piteously pewled forth a certain sort of psalms, with responds, versicles and lessons to the same, for the souls of our Christian brethren, and sistern, departed out of this world. Which psalms and lessons, I beseech God I dy, if they make any more for any such use and purpose, that is to say, that they ought or may be used rather for them that be departed, than for them that be in life and in good bodily health, then may *Te Deum* or *Gloria Excelsis*." And again, "There is nothing in the *Dirige*, taken out of the scripture, that makes any more mention of the souls departed, than doth the tale of *Robin Hood*."

XXVI. The Commendations in English. Which was an office, wherein all Christian souls were commended unto God. Consisting of several Psalms. Whereof the first is the 119th.

XXVII. The Psalms in English of the Passion of Christ. Beginning with the 22d Psalm.

1535.

XXVIII. The Prayer of Jonas delivered out of the Whale's Belly.

XXIX. A goodly Exposition upon the Thirtieth Psalm. Being made by Hierome of Ferrarie, and translated into English.

A procla-
mation
against po-
pish books.

This book did excellent service, no question, in this ignorant age; especially, while it was allowed freely to be read by all. And this was one, among the many good services the Lord Crumwel did for religion. And by this means also, the king this year issued out a proclamation for calling in *sedition books*. Among which were reckoned, and now chiefly intended, such books as favoured the Bishop of Rome. And Crumwel, where he saw occasion, directed his letters to particular persons to bring in their books of this nature upon their peril. And though Sir Thomas Elyot, the learned knight, and in the year 1532, the king's ambassador to Rome, was his old friend and very well known to him; yet he, suspecting him to be favourable to the old religion, and knowing him to be a great acquaintance of Sir Thomas More, writ to him, warning him to send in any popish books that he had. Whereat Elyot wrote to the said Crumwel a letter, wherein he declared to him his judgment of the need of a reformation of the clergy; and concerning papists and popish books, to clear himself of any surmise the king or the secretary might have of him. This letter may be found in the

Sir Thomas
Elyot.

p. 222.

No. LXII. Appendix.

Some ac-
count of
him.

From this knight I cannot pass, without taking a little more notice of him, being one of the learnedest and wisest men of this time. He was one, who as before he served his king and country in embassies and publick affairs, so devoted these latter years of his life in writing discourses for the publick good, and for promoting true wisdom and virtue among his countreymen. He had from his younger years a great desire after knowledge, and an earnest affectation of being beneficial to his countrey. When some gallants had mocked at him for writing a book of

Physick, crying, that Sir Tho. Eliot was become a physician; in the next edition of that book, in the preface, he gave this answer, "Truly, if they will call him a physician, which is studious about the weal of his countrey, I vouchsafe, they so name me. For during my life, I will in that affection alway continue." And in the proeme of another of his books* he writ, that "he was naturally even from his childhood disposed to a desire of knowledge: to which he joynd a constant intent, to profit thereby his natural countrey: whereunto, according to the sentence of Tully, we be, said he, especially bounden." He applied the most part of his life in perusing diligently all antient works, Greek and Latin, that he could come by, that treated of any piece of philosophy, necessary to the institution of a man's life in virtue. And having well digested his reading, he set forth such parts of his studies, as he thought might be profitable to such as should read or hear them. So that he was an excellent historian and philosopher.

1535.

* Know-
ledge that
makes a
wise man.

Among the books he wrote, one was intituled, "The Governor." Which was a treatise instructing men, great men especially, in good morals, and reproving their vices. It consisted of divers chapters, some of them concerning Affability, Benevolence, Beneficence, and of the diversity of Flatterers, and such like. In which chapters especially, were some sharp and quick sentences; which many of the sparks could not well bear. They complained of his *strange terms*, as they called them. These Elyot compared to a galled horse abiding no plaisters, that were always knapping and kicking at such examples and sentences as they felt sharp, or did bite them. They said, it was no little presumption in him, that he would in noting other men's vices, correct *Magnificat*. By which phrase I suppose they meant, that however bold he made with the vices of the meaner sort of men, it was an insufferable affront to meddle with those of the nobler rank: that was to correct *Magnificat*. Others there were that conjectured, he wrote

His books.
"The Go-
vernor."

1535. to rebuke some particular person; designing thereby to bring him or his works under the indignation of some man in authority. "Thus unkindly, said he, is my benefit received, my good will consumed, and all my labours devoured." But to this book King Henry did the honour to read it, and much liked it: making this observation upon it, "That Sir Tho. Elyot intended to augment our English tongue, whereby men should as well express more abundantly things conceived in their hearts, (wherefore language was ordained) having words apt for the purpose; as also interpret out of Greek, Latin, or any other tongues into English, as sufficiently as out of any of the said tongues into another. The king observed also, that throughout the book, there was no new term made by him of a Latin or French word: that no sentence throughout the said book was thereby made dark or hard to be understood.

The king's
censure
thereof.

p. 223.

Another book of his writing was intituled, "Of the Knowledge which maketh a wise Man," in five Platonic Dialogues, between Plato and Aristippus. He wrote diverse others, but I will only mention his book of physick, called the "Castel of Health." In what year the first edition was, I know not; but the second was in 1541. Neither for this book could he escape the detraction both of the gentry, and of those of the faculty. The former sort mocked at him, saying, "A worthy matter; Sir Tho. Elyot is become a physician, and writes in physick, which beseems not a knight." The physicians were angry that he should meddle in their science, and write of physick in English, to make the knowledge thereof common. To the gentry he made this answer, "That many kings and emperors, and other great princes, (whose names he there sets down, as Juba, Mithridates, Artimisia, &c.) for the universal necessity and incomparable utility, which they perceived to be in that science, did not only advance and honour it with special privileges, but also were therein studious themselves." And that it was no shame for a

His "Cas-
tel of
Health."

person of quality to write a book of the science of physick, any more than it was for King Henry VIII. to publish a book of the science of grammar, which he had lately done. And, "That his highness had not disdained to be the chief author and setter forth of an Introduction into Grammar for the Children of his Subjects. Whereby, said he, having good masters, they shall easily and in short apprehend the understanding and form of speaking true and elegant Latin." For which he breaks out in praises of the king: "O royal heart, full of very nobility! O noble breast," &c. To the physicians he answered, "That his book of physick was intended for their benefit, that the uncertain tokens of urines and other excrements should not deceive them, but that by the true information of the sick man, by him instructed, they might be the more sure to prepare medicines convenient for the diseases." And as for those that blamed him for writing in English, he on the other hand blamed them for affecting to keep their art unknown. Insomuch, that there were some of them, that would have some particular language devised, with a strange cipher or form of letters; wherein they would have their science written. Which language or letters no man should have known, that had not professed nor practised physick. But to others of the college that made reflection upon his skill, and charged his book with errors about some herbs and medicines, them he lets understand his study in this piece of learning: that before he was twenty years old, one of the most learned physicians in England, perceiving him by nature inclined to knowledge, read to him the works of Galen, of temperaments, natural faculties, the introduction of Joannicius, and some of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius, Paulus Celius, Alexander Tralianus, Plinius both the one and the other, with Dioscorides. He read also Avicen, Averrois, and many more. And though he said, he had never been at Montpelier, Padua or Salern, yet he had found

1535. something in physick, whereby he found no little profit for his own health.

The wisdom of this knight. In pref. to his book of knowledge.

The wisdom of this knight appeared in those wise and weighty sentences that often fell from him. For example: in excuse for himself in dealing plainly with vicious men, he said, "Man is not yet so confirmed in grace, that he cannot sin: and I suppose no prince thinks himself to be exempt from mortality. And for as much as he shall have many occasions to fall, he ought to have the more friends, or the more instructions to warn him." Concerning our laws he had this expression; "Some do prefer the study of the laws of this realm, calling it the only study of the publick weal; but a great number of persons, which have consumed in suit more than the value of that they have sued for, in their anger do call it 'A common detriment.' Although undoubtedly the very self law truly practised passeth the laws of all other countries." Of reading the scriptures, which in his time began to be used, he would say, "Some do chiefly extol the study of the scriptures, as it is reason; but while they do wrest it to agree with their wills, ambition or vain glory, of the most noble and devout learning they do endeavour them to make it servile, and full of contention." Once more, speaking of the English gluttony, and feeding on sundry meats at one meal, he hath these words, "The spirit of gluttony triumpheth among us in his glorious chariot, called Welfare, driving us afore him, as his prisoners, into his dungeon of Surfeit: where we are tormented with catarrs, feavers, gouts, pluries, fretting of the guts, and many other sicknesses; and finally, cruelly put to death by them, oftentimes in youth, or in the most pleasant time of our life, when we would most gladly live. For the remedy whereof, how many times have there been devised ordinances and acts of council; although perchance bodily health was not the chief occasion thereof, but rather provision against vain and sumptuous expences of the mean people. For the nobility

"Castel of Health."
p. 44.

was exempted, and had liberty to abide still in the dungeon, if they would, and to live less while than other men. But when, where and how long were the said good devices put in due execution, for all that thereof should succeed double profit, that is to say, health of body, and increase of substance, by eschewing of superfluous expences in sundry dishes? Alas! how long will men fantasy laws and good ordinances, and never determine them? Fantasy proceedeth of wit, determination of wisdom. Wit is in the devising and speaking, but wisdom is the performance, which resteth only in execution." And thus we take our leave of the learned and wise Sir Tho. Elyot in that age. 1535.

CHAP. XXXII.

p. 225.

The king's embassies to Scotland, France and Germany: to draw other princes from dependance on the pope.

BUT to look abroad, the king having assumed the supremacy, as was said before, laboured to draw other his neighbour princes from dependance on the pope, and to vindicate their own original right and power. And thereby to strengthen himself with their friendship, in case of any attempts against his kingdom by the pope, which was very severely threatned. Therefore this year he sent to all places and princes, to give an account of this bold action. And particularly, he sent to James, King of Scots, his ambassadors: who were William Barlow his chaplain, bishop elect of St. Asaph, and Tho. Holcroft, the same, I suppose, that was afterwards a knight, and knight marshal. There was a very notable letter or declaration made to him by the king's command: setting forth the encroachments and usurpations of popes upon sovereign kings and princes; nay, and thrusting God out of his place too, as well as princes, by his dispensations, false miracles and relicks. And that all Ambassadors sent to Scotland

1535. these things considered, it might please him to take notice of the king his gracious affection toward him, to allure him to the favourable entertainment of God's word. The copy of the said declaration may

No. LXIII be found in the Appendix. This, that king was desired to read over, and to consider well the arguments thereof. But he was so wedded to the pope, or so prejudiced on the other side, that instead of reading it himself, all he did was to deliver it to his clergy. And so nothing came of it. As the Lord Herbert from Buchanan writes.

Life of
K. Henry,
p. 423.

Message to
the French
king.

And as the king had set on foot this agency in Scotland, so he ordered Sir John Wallop, his ambassador with the French king, to resort unto him, to expostulate with him for giving his advice to the Germans, to own the supremacy of the Roman bishop; and to shew him the book writ by the dean of his chapel, Dr. Sampson, and several of his bishops' sermons, against the supremacy; and to let him know how dishonourable it was to yield himself a subject of the said foreign bishop, and to move others so to do. To certify him also, that he took it strange, that he should exhort the German princes to condescend to a thing contrary to the judgment both of themselves and of his grace: and that he must think the amity much touched, in that he should move any state or countrey to do a thing, so much against his highness, and his own promise. Finally, that he should do his utmost, to dissuade the French king from obedience to the pope, and to incline him to the king's opinion in that behalf.

Fox and
Hethe sent
to Ger-
many.

p. 226.

But the king now applied himself most of all to Germany: thinking it very conducive in this juncture of his affairs to strike up a league with those princes; who had also renounced the pope, as he had done. They were now assembled at Smalcald. Thither he sent Dr. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, accompanied with Dr. Hethe, (to whom was joyned Dr. Barnes, that came into Germany before,) who after their message done from the king to them, ex-

horting them to unity in doctrine, wherein he offered his best assistance by conference with their divines, and warning them, that they were not to expect a free council of the pope's calling; desired, that they would appoint some, with whom they might hold a more private communication of these matters. And accordingly there were some appointed to confer with them. 1535.

In the latter end of December, were divers petitions made to the king, from the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, in the name of the confederates, in order to a league. They may be seen at large in the Appendix, under 13 articles. The Lord Herbert contracts them into nine propositions: The German princes, their petitions to the king.
 As 1 That the king would approve the Augustane Confession. No. LXIV. Life of K. Henry, p. 441. 2. That he should defend it in a free council. 3. That neither part should admit summons for a council without the others consent. 4. That they should protest against the pope, if he should proceed otherwise. 5. That the king should joyn unto their doctrine and league, and accept the title of Patron and Defender of it. 6. That the opinion of the pope's primacy should be for ever rejected. 7. That in case of invasion of either party, neither should yield aid to the invaders. 8. That the king should pay an 100,000 crowns towards the defence of the league; and that if the war be long 200,000. The remainder to be restored when the war was ended. 9. That when the king had declared his mind, they should send an embassy of learned men to him.

The Bishop of Winchester was now the king's ambassador in France. To him, being a privy counsellor, (I suppose,) the secretary wrote for his opinion of these articles. To which, like a subtle underminer of the intended league with the German protestant princes and states, he wrote an answer, utterly disapproving them, but upon plausible arguments. As, "That hereby the king would be bound to the church of Germany, and might not The judgment of the Bishop of

1535.
Winches-
ter con-
cerning
them.

do according as God's word should direct, without their allowance. That as the king was the head of the Church of England by the authority of scripture, so by the same authority, the emperor was head of the Church of Germany: and that therefore the German princes, who were subject to the emperor, could not consent to any agreement with the king, without his consent. And if they should do it without him, it would derogate the king's cause of supremacy. That their promise to the king could not be sure, nor to be relied on, they being in subjection to the emperor. That the word *association*, which the princes used, sounded not well, and to the disparagement of the king, who should rather be called the principal and head of the league, and the rest adherents or dependents. That whatsoever the king stipulated to them, they were not able to make a reciproque. That whereas they spake of sending their ambassadors hither about the controversies of religion, this looked contemptibly towards us, as though they were to teach and instruct us; not to sue to us, nor to learn of us, but to direct our church in its ceremonies." But the paper is worth the reader's perusal, as Winchester sent it by way of letter to Crumwel. He shall find it in the Appendix.

p. 227.
No. LXV.

The king's
answer to
the Ger-
man ar-
ticles.

In fine; by the answer the king returned to the German Princes, it appeared Winchester's counsel aforesaid weighed but little with him. For about the month of January, he sent his resolution to their petitions. Which was expressed in very fair and amicable words, *viz.* "That he acknowledged the goodness of God in giving them such stedfastness. That their wondrous virtues ravished and drew his mind to love them. Insomuch that he would never pass any occasion of doing what might conduce to their godly proceedings. That though there were some things in their articles, that he would not easily grant to any prince, though never so great: yet for his affection towards them, thinking they meant

nothing but the reformation of the church, he condescended to. That he desired only the third and ninth articles to be more amply declared, *viz.* That without mutual consents, neither part should agree to the Roman bishop's indiction of a council: and that if either part should be invaded, the other part should not assist the invaders. That he would contribute according to their desire for the defence of the league. That whereas the princes mentioned sending their ambassadors, the king gave way thereunto, and prayed that they would send them fully instructed, and with sufficient power and authority, and that they should have reasonable and friendly answers. That he was willing to accept the honour they would do him, to entitle him *The Defender* of their religion, for the glory of the gospel, and being desirous to do them pleasure. And because he much desired his bishops and learned men should agree with theirs, he required that some of their excellent and learned men might be sent hither, with their orators, to confer and treat together, for the mitigating of some points in their Confession and Apology. Lastly, he desired of them, that in case his kingdom were invaded, they would furnish him with 500 horsemen, or ten ships of war, to serve him for four months. And that they should retain at the king's cost a certain number of horse and foot: the horse not passing 2000, and the foot not passing 5000. Or, instead of the foot, twelve ships in good order finished. And that the king might hire and retain them as long as he should please. And lastly, that they would in all councils and places defend Dr. Martin (Luther,) Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, Melancthon, in the cause of the king's marriage: I suppose, in a free deliberation and declaration of their minds upon it." This answer is at length wrote out in the Appendix.

No.
LXVI.

Dr. Fox, the king's ambassador, tarried all this winter at Wittenburgh, transacting the king's business, conferring with the learned men, and among other things persuading them to allow the king's di-

The ambassadors at Wittenburgh.
Languet's Chron.

1535. voice. The next year the princes, according to the king's desire, sent their orators over: and what they did, we shall see under that year.

Some further account of the king's ambassadors.

p. 228.

But that we may have a more perfect account of this remarkable embassy, let us represent some passages of it from the archives and acts of the Germans, as well as from our own. The industrious Seckendorf writes, That in the month of December a more solemn legation came from England, as Dr. Barnes had given them notice, who was there before, concerning the ambassadors, and the company with them. What opinion was then had of them may be learned from the judgment of Melancthon, expressed in a letter to Camerarius, wherein he somewhat valued Heth, the archdeacon, (as he stiled him,) as having a savour of religion and learning, but scarce any of them else. * “Nicolas Heth, the archdeacon, alone excells in humanity and learning among our guests. As for the rest of them, they have no relish of our philosophy and sweetness.” Therefore, saith he, I shun as much as I can, converse with them. However, they were received with all honour, and much deference given them. They related to the elector what the king had given them in commandment, viz. Of concord in religion, and of making a mutual defence against the pope.

Censures of them.

It was further noted of these ambassadors, as an absurdity they were guilty of, that when certain articles, dated December 25, were to be subscribed, the three ambassadors subscribed before the elector and landgrave, they writing their names under them. Which form would, saith my author, hardly hold at this day. It was also observed in this subscription, how little our learned men then regarded orthography, Heth writing *Nicholaus* for Nicolaus. Fox also, the other ambassador, was animadverted upon, who in

* Unus Nic. Hethus Archidiaconus humanitate et literis excellit inter hospites nostros: cæteri ἄγριοι ἡμετέρας φιλοσοφίας καὶ γλυκύτητος.

May 1536, writing to the elector, subscribed thus, *Electoralis Celsitudinis vestræ bonus amicus*: that is, Your Electoral Highness's good friend, (without that sense of distance and good manners that became him.) 1535.

But as to their business; Fox, during his stay, went often to Pontanus's house, and there did boldly assert, that the king would altogether allow of the opinions of those of Wittemberg: nor would he himself so willingly assent, but that he was certain of the king's mind. But he did vehemently insist, that a legation should be dispatched into England, consisting as well of divines, as others of the chief nobility; and desired George of Anhalt, above all, might be one, being a noble man, and chief governor of the town of Magdeburg. Fox declares the king's mind as favouring the Lutheran opinions.

In the conference held between the ambassadors and the Wittemberg divines, they drew up this doctrine of the Lord's Supper, taken from the Augustan Confession; (which the ambassadors received, and took along with them, when they departed into England,) "We constantly believe and teach, that in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the body and blood of Christ is truly, substantially and really under the kinds of bread and wine." And in the form of the league, propounded by the ambassadors to be entered into, it was thus set down concerning the pope: "Neither shall the most serene king, nor the illustrious princes or states ever hereafter acknowledge or defend, that any primacy or monarchy of the Roman Bishop doth now obtain, or ever hath obtained, by divine right: neither shall they ever consent to that opinion, that it is profitable or expedient to the Christian commonwealth, that the Roman Bishop is above all other bishops; or that he exercise for the future any jurisdiction in the kingdoms, dominions and territories of the said king and princes." Conference with the Wittemberg divines. The articles of the Lord's Supper, And of the pope. p. 229.

To beget the more favourable opinion of the king in the minds of these German protestants, Fox, in an oration he made to the confederates, asserted, "That Fox shews how the king abolished popish abuses.

1535. an abrogation was made by the king of the impious popish abuses, and that pardons or indulgences were abolished. And he did confidently determine, that no peace could be made, the pope's kingdom standing; which he called, *The Babylonian Tyranny*. And he said moreover, the pope was the true anti-christ, who sought after nothing but honour and profit, and nourished the seeds of discord among princes.

Which notwithstanding the Wittemburgh divines are not satisfied with.

Beside the repetition of the Augustin Confession before mentioned, concerning the Lord's Supper, the divines of Wittemburgh laboured other articles with the ambassadors, in single dissertations drawn up by Melancthon, as it seemed. Together with these were two other dissertations added, and sent the king, and brought when the ambassadors came home; one, of the marriage of priests, and the other of the mass. In the end of which, they had these words, "That they wondred much at the English decree, when no amendment of abuses was propounded." For the ambassadors had shewn the decree of K. Henry published against some abuses; in which the lighter of them were only touched, and the chief and capital ones omitted and let slip. Wherefore these divines did with a masculine courage declare against them. And in a copy yet remaining, which Melancthon had perused, there be several of his obelisks marked in the margins; and in some place he writ *ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθόν ἐστιν*, that is, *nothing sound*. There was also one most laborious discourse more, concerning monastick vows. Which with the rest are still preserved in the German archives: and as yet never published.

The king supposed to mind his own cause, under the pretence of religion.

But whatsoever was pretended of the king's care of religion by this embassy, the German historian makes the great reason of it, and that which indeed the king chiefly intended by it, to be the respect he had to his own cause of matrimony: which he chiefly minded, and for the sake of which, sought therein not only the approbation of these divines, but the society of the Duke of Saxony and the confederates.

That by their help he might be able the better to resist the emperor, being about to revenge the wrong done to his aunt. And to make this the more probable, although Fox by letters to the king had related what was done at Wittemburgh, yet he received commands, by which the business of religion was deferred and prolonged. 1535.

The ambassadors returned home in January, excepting Fox, as it seems, who stayed behind. And February 8, 1536, (that is, 1535 according to the English church's computation,) the king wrote letters, dated at Greenwich, to the elector, with great humanity, and many thanks for the civil treating of his ambassadors, leaving the further negotiation of matters to Fox. The chief of which was concerning the king's marriage. But the judgment of the Wittemburgh divines, (though they held the unlawfulness of his marriage,) went against the king's divorce; which judgment the Bishop of Sarum hath printed out of Mr. Richard Smith's MSS. It was drawn up in writing, and the ambassadors returning brought it along with them. A German copy whereof, drawn out by Caspar Cruciger's hand, and sent from Wittemburg to the elector, is preserved in the archives of Smalcald. In which copy were certain words, which were left out in that which the ambassadors brought to the king; to put him in hope, as it seems, to have hereafter the assent of the Wittembergians. Which words were these, "Although we agree with the ambassadors, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife is to be observed; yet it remains in controversy among us, which the ambassadors assert, that there is no place for a dispensation, (but that there must be a divorce of such an unlawful marriage.) But we think there is place. For the law cannot more strictly oblige us, than it did the Jews. But if the law admitted a dispensation, the bond of matrimony is stronger than the other law concerning marrying the wife's brother." This may more clearly be understood by a letter of Martin

The ambassadors return with the judgment of the German divines concerning the divorce.

p. 230.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. I.
Cold. p. 94.

1535.
Luther's
judgment
therein

Luther to Dr. Barnes, one of the ambassadors ; which begins, *En ! habe tibi, mi Antoni, &c.* Wherein he vehemently opposed the dissolving of the king's matrimony consummated with the widow of his brother; and he would, " That the fame and right, as well of the wife, as of the offspring from that marriage, should be spared. And his chief argument was, that Moses's law doth not oblige Christians, unless as far as it takes in the divine and natural law. But matrimony with the brother's wife doth not fight with the law of nature. Melancthon also was of the same judgment, and wrote largely thereof.

The princes
are in a de-
mour about
the king.

After the ambassadors were gone home, many messengers of the princes and cities confederate were against a treaty with the King of England. And the elector, in July 1536, signified to the landgrave his solicitude: persuading to make delay, or that some spy should be sent into England, or that the matter should be left to Æpinus, the superintendent of Hamburgh, who was very great with Crumwel, that he should enquire diligently what was done in England. And that because letters from Barnes were brought to Melancthon, in which he signified a change of things, and dissuaded him from a journey into England, who was almost determined to be sent. Others there were that accused the Bishop of Hereford, Fox, the late ambassador, of a lye, (as though he made the matter of King Henry's inclination to the evangelical doctrine more than indeed it was.) At length the princes met, and wrote letters to the king, dated Sept. 1, composed by Melancthon; in which they prayed, that the king would explain his mind concerning the articles about which his ambassadors and the divines of Wittemburgh met the last year, as also concerning the council; of whose indication a report now went. But these letters came slowly to the king. These matters are most what collected from that German author before mentioned, who seems to be a man of great integrity, as well as learning, and to have had great opportunities of

knowing the matters transacted in these times, by his 1535.
access to records.

The king before this dispatch of Fox last mentioned, had in May or June sent Dr. Barnes and one Derick into Germany, and Mount and Haynes into France, upon this occasion. The German protestants were inclined to put their matters into the hands of Francis of France, and Henry of England. And both were willing, for their own ends, to embrace a friendship with them. Du Bellay, the French ambassador, had so dealt with the Germans at Smalcald, that he had persuaded them, as was believed here by some intelligence from Sir John Wallop, the ambassador in France, to send Melancthon thither to confer with that king about matters of religion, and to receive that king's instructions to reduce the Germans to the pope, Melancthon himself now inclining to own his primacy. Our king was very earnestly desirous to stop that learned man's going to France; and instead of travelling to that nation, to divert his course hither, if he could by any means possible. For King Henry had an high opinion of his learning, as well as of his other accomplishments: and moreover did hope, that by his means, (if he could but come to speech with him,) he might the easier bring him off from this purpose of persuading the protestants to submit to the pope. Wherefore, for the compassing this design, the king ordered Crumwel to dispatch away by post Dr. Barnes (he who was afterwards burnt for his religion) into Germany, to meet with Melancthon, if he was on his journey, or ready to go into France, and to dissuade him from it, with certain arguments, that he was furnished with to use to him; and to endeavour to persuade him to direct his journey rather into England. If he should chance to miss of Melancthon, then he was instructed to go forward towards the princes of Germany, with certain messages to them: partly to assure them of the king's stedfast resolutions, not to vary from his actions

p. 231.
Dr. Barnes
and Derick
sent into
Germany.

1535. against the Bishop of Rome, and partly to take them off from depending upon the French king.

Account of
Barnes's
embassy.
Hist. Lu-
ther. per
Seckend.

This passage will be illustrated by what hath been collected from German acts and records by the said Lutheran historian; who writes, that the said Dr. Robert Barnes (better known in Germany by the name of Antonius Amarius) came to Wittemberg in the month of July, and brought letters from the king, dated at Windsor, to Prince John Frederick, elector; wherein he was stiled, "Doctorem Barnes, Capellanum nostrum, et S. Theologiæ professorem." But at Wittemberg the plague so raged, that he found the greatest part of the professors and scholars removed to Jene in Thuringe. Barnes then got letters written and signed by the hands of Luther, Jonas, Cruciger and Melancthon; wherein they commended him as already known to the prince, and signified that Melancthon was by him solicited to go into England to the king, who offered him *Egregiam cautionem, imo et obsides*: "Sufficient caution, yea and hostages" for his safety. This call into England, Melancthon mentioned in a letter to Camerarius. Of this journey, to which the king had invited him, Luther conceived good hopes. For thus he writ, "Who knows what God will effect? his wisdom is greater than ours, and his will better." He added, "That care be taken of Philip (Melancthon) that he might not be afflicted by too much sorrow, otherwise sad, he supposed, for the repulse which a little before the elector gave him, in forbidding his journey into France. But Melancthon took this opportunity to insinuate himself into the king's good opinion, sending him in August, letters and his commentary upon the Romans, by his secretary, Alexander Alesius, a Scot, the book being dedicated to him. The king kindly accepted Melancthon's book and letter, and sent him two hundred crowns: and both the king himself, and Crumwel by his command, wrote letters to him: the king's letter, dated October 1, as it was collected by

The king
sends for
Melanc-
thon.

p. 232.

Valentinus Bevasus in his *Compilatio*, ran in this 1535.
tenor.

“ Henricus Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, The king's letter to him.
Fidei Defensor, et Dominus Hiberniæ, ac supremum
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in terris sub Christo Caput, Phi-
lippo Melancthonî Sanctæ Theologiæ Professori exi-
mio, amico nostro plurimum dilecto.

“ Quod Christianæ religionis, ipsiusque veritatis
propugnandæ studiosissimum te percepimus, sic eo
nomine sincerissimo istius tui animi instituto afficimur,
ut nihil æquè in votis habeamus, ac aliquam sese of-
ferre occasionem sanctissimos istos tui pectoris cona-
tus quacunq; nostra opera juvandi et promovendi.
Ad hujus verò nostræ in te dilectionis non vulgaris
animum quàm maxima nuper accessit ex literis abs-
te per Alexandrum Alesium ad nos datis. Quæ etsi
tui candoris et amicissimi erga nos studij indices es-
sent satis locupletes, id tamen non obscure egregij
destinati muneris testimonio pulcherrimo testari vo-
luisti. Munus certè ex suis excellentia dignum,
quod boni omnes complectantur, et quod nostro no-
mini dicatum est, nobis omnium quàm maximè cha-
rum et acceptum. Ob igitur istam benè erga nos
affectæ voluntatis significationem, ingentes et quantas
possumus ex animo gratias tibi habemus, persuasum-
que esse volumus: nos rectissimè istis tuis et cum
Deo conjunctis studiis, nullo unquam tempore aut
loco, defuturos esse. Cætera ex fidelissimi ac intimi
consiliarij primarij; secretarij nostri Thomæ Cron-
velli literis, uberius cognosces. Quibus rogamus ut
cunctam fidem habere velis: Et benè ac diu valeas.
Ex regia nostra Vintoniensi, d. 1. Octobris, 1535.”

To this royal letter, Melancthon wrote an answer, His answer. Lib. I. Ep. 27.
dated December 1, which whoso pleaseth may read
in his *Epistles*.

But to take up all Barnes's embassy together. He The elector's letter to the king.
had his audience of the elector at Jene. September
18, the elector gave him his answer; and Septem-
ber 28, sent letters to the king; wherein he praised
Barnes's diligence, and acknowledged thankfully the

1535. king's good will towards him : and that there was a great access made in his love to his majesty, when he and the rest with him understood how greatly he endeavoured the emendation of the doctrines of religion. The same Barnes had been before with George, Duke of Saxony, and expostulated with him about a book of Cochläus's writing, put forth against the king ; and requested that he might be brought to disputation. And this for Barnes's embassy, before the coming of Fox and Heth. But to look a little back.

Haynes
and Mount
sent into
France,
to persuade
Melan-
thon to
come over.
p. 253.

Haynes and Mount were to be dispatched in post, to Sir John Wallop in France secretly, as his friends to visit him. And by this means they were, if Melancthon were come thither, to resort to him, and to persuade him to depart from France, as soon as might be, and to allure him over. All this whole matter particularly was the effect of some instructions that the council being in progress with the king, wrote from Langley to the secretary Crumwel, giving him orders for the managery of this dispatch. The council's letter shall be found in the Appendix.

No.
LXVII.

Their busi-
ness here.

But Sir John Wallop, in his next dispatch of letters, dated August 17, signified that Melancthon was not like to repair to France. However, the king sent Mount without any delay, to take a journey where Melancthon was ; and to get to him before Monsieur De Langie should, who it seems was sent by the French King to sollicite Melancthon to come : that he might persuade his stay, and divert him into England. And the king had assurance almost, that it would take effect accordingly. Heynes, being now with Mount in France, was ordered to go to Paris, there to understand the opinions of the learned, and their affection, how they stood inclined both to the king's proceedings, and the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority.

Communi-
cation be-
tween the
French
king and

The king was the more desirous to obtain the favourable sense of the learned in France, because King Francis had lately some conference with King Henry's ambassador, the matter whereof was not ac-

ceptable to him ; as though that king had not liked of the king's doings. Which discourse began upon this occasion. The ambassador, according to the king's command, had urged the payment of his pensions, which the French king had been backward in doing. Upon the ambassador's demand whereof, that king promised it should be dispatched ; yet the ambassador well observed, how he presently fell into a discourse of his great friendship towards the King of England : and that he had at all times answered for him, and namely, to Pope Clement at Marseilles ; and shewed to him the king's matrimony to be just and lawful. As though he meant that in requital of these kindnesses, King Henry should forgive him the debt. He spake then also to the ambassador concerning the late execution of Fisher and More, and some others ; which he looked upon as things extremely done by the king. He pitied More, and mentioned the good manner of his death, and what he said to his daughter as he was going to his judgment ; and how he exhorted the king's subjects to be true and obedient to the king. Which it seems was false : but a formal relation of this was framed, and sent into France, and there fell into the great master's hand : who promised the ambassador a copy thereof. Francis also, in his speech at this time with the ambassador, uttered some words, signifying rather his dislike of the late laws made, than enacting them in his kingdom, as King Henry moved him to do. He said, that it was not meet one prince should desire another to change his laws : adding, that his laws were *too old* to be changed ; giving a jerk at King Henry's laws, because of the *newness* of them. He disliked the severity of them, and advised the king, that he would rather use banishment than death. And that he for his part did intend to cease those extreme executions, that were lately practised in his realm, and to call home his banished subjects, that were fled for speaking against the pope.

The King of England was greatly nettled, when he

1535.
English
ambassa-
dor.

1533.
Instructions to
the ambus-
sador here-
upon.
p. 154.

understood by his ambassador, this discourse; and gave him instructions to take some opportunity to enter into communication of these matters again, and what to answer to each head of the French king's talk: and particularly as to the execution of More and Fisher. As, that it was not so extreme, considering their treason and conspiracies, practised within his realm, and without, to move and stir up dissension, intending both the destruction of the king, and subversion of the realm. And that it was so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not deny it. But I refer the reader to Crumwel's letter to the ambassador concerning this whole matter, which I have repositied in the Appendix.

No.
LXVIII.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Pole dealt withal to acknowledge the supremacy, and the lawfulness of the king's divorce. Letters between Starkey, a learned divine, and Pole, thereupon. Katharine, Princess Dowager, dies. Some remarks of her. Her last will.

The king
discourses
with Star-
key con-
cerning
Pole.

THE king was jealous of Reginald Pole, his kinsman, now abroad, not standing right to neither of his causes, as well that of his matrimony, as that of his supremacy. But knowing the high opinion generally conceived of him, he was very desirous to gain him over. For this purpose the secretary had sent to him Sampson's book against the pope's supremacy, and for the king's being head of the church, and desired him, in the king's name, to write in favour of the same. There was one Thomas Starkey, a learned and ingenious man, called in by Crumwel lately in some service about the king, (in quality of his chaplain, if I mistake not,) who was an old friend and dear acquaintance of Pole's, and had been with him in Italy, and there left him: and professed to love Pole better than his brother. This person the king called one day before him in this present year, and knowing him

well acquainted with Pole, fell into discourse about him; as, of his studies, and of his sentence and opinion in the king's weighty causes. To which enquiries, Starky answered accordingly. He told the king, "That he was sure, that Pole's mind, heart and desire was to do his majesty true and faithful service. But as touching his opinion in his weighty causes, the one of his matrimony, and the other of his authority, because Pole used a prudent silence in such matters, he could affirm nothing to the king. But he said, he surely thought, that as for his learning and judgment, it was by time and diligent study somewhat altered and increased: and that touching the discerning betwixt God's laws and man's, he would stretch and extend all his power and knowledge, which, by the goodness of God, and his grace's liberality, he had obtained, and would gladly confer to the maintaining of such things, as his grace's wisdom, by court of parliament, therein had decreed, to the honour of his highness, and the wealth of his realm."

1535.

Cott. Libr.
Cleop. E.
6. p. 361.

p. 235.

But the king, not satisfied with this uncertain account of Pole, desired to hear Pole's sentence from himself. And therefore commanded Starky to write this to him: "That it was the king's pleasure, that he should, like a learned man, ponder and weigh the nature of the things, as they be in themselves, and setting apart all successes and dangerous effects, which of them may ensue, leaving all such things to the king's own wisdom and policy, declare his sentence truly and plainly without colour, or cloud of dissimulation: willing him, not to make of these things any great volume, but briefly to gather the most effectual reasons, which in his stomach be of most weight; setting them forth after his plain fashion of writing."

Commands
him to
write to
Pole, for
his judgment.

Starky accordingly soon signified all this to Pole by letter, and withal bad him consider with himself, and prudently weigh, how princely a request this was of the prince, and then he was sure he would employ himself with all diligence to satisfy his noble desire.

Which he
does.

1535.
Crumwel's
message.

He told him, that secretary Crumwel also gently exhorted him to the same, wishing him in any case; whatsoever his sentence should be, to use his wonted plainness in the causes: and withal that the said secretary certified him, that in case his learning and judgment did stretch to the satisfying of the king's mind and desire, that then his return hither to his own country would be to the king's pleasure, and to his comfort, and profit of his friends. And if his learning and knowledge would not serve to this purpose, yet that he, the secretary, would advise him of a loving mind, to prepare himself towards his return; doubting nothing, but that the king would use him in other causes and affairs. For that he was sorry, that his virtues should be drowned, and, as in a stream, vanish away among strangers. Thus Crumwel.

Starky's
argument
with Pole.

To which messages of the king and secretary, Starky in his own name added two words. One was, "That he would be intreated to ponder well the Levitical law, how it is rooted in the law of nature, and how by general councils it hath been many times declared and authorized thereby. And upon the other side, the slenderness of the abused authority of the pope: which, by patience of princes, simplicity of the people, ambitious avarice of his predecessors, and process of time, was grown to this intolerable iniquity. And he doubted not, he would see in these causes the judged truth, and plain equity. He added, that whereas when he parted from him, and was not sure that he should return to his own country in England, to hear the common rumours, (in his travelling home through Italy and other parts) that the prince had not only withdrawn himself from the authority of the pope, but also slipt from the grounds of scripture, from the honour of the sacraments, and from all other the pope's laws; yea, and rites and ceremonies of Christ's church: this he told him, he knew the prince and nation were slandered with, and that they were cunningly moved to be slidden to such damnable impiety. And that if at his return he had found these things

true, he would never by any means have entred into the service of such a prince. But he certified him this of the king's mind and of his laws; that like a most noble and catholick prince, he did not only stand in the grounds of scripture, and defence of the sacraments, but by law had commanded the antient customs, rites and ceremonies of the church, after the old manner here, to be observed. Yea, and this, boldly he dared to say, his highness would do, till it should appear to his grace's wisdom, and most noble council, them to abrogate, and others to substitute by common consent; more convenient to this time, to the nature and manner of this our country and place. So that as yet touching the church there was almost nothing altered, but that which was of all other most necessary." 1535.
p. 236.

This letter of Starky Mr. Pole answered, being then at Venice, and promised, that he would write his mind upon the subjects desired. In a letter of his to Starky, dated June the 3d, he more at large opened his affection and will to serve the king in the cause required. It was somewhat long before this letter came, which Starky at first attributed to his not liking of the cause. But Pole pretended, that he stayed for more instructions from the secretary's letters, which were bringing by an ambassador sent to Venice, who was somewhat long on the way. But he said, "That in his writing on this cause, he would weigh scripture, laying apart all authority of men." To which Starky answered, "That he doubted not, but that he would withal put aside all such prejudice, as by custom and time in simple minds be reputed of great weight. Whereof he said, they had lamentable experience in England, by the blindness of many which had lately suffered: having nothing of moment to say against the authority of law, but only long custom and usage of many years, and antient opinions, wherein their fathers had dyed. That they lacked the true judgment of politick things: which be of this nature, that of necessity, in

Pole's answer to Starky.
Cott. Libr.
ubi supra.

And Starky's to him again.

1535. process of time, and in many years, ever by little and little grow to unjust extremity: none otherwise than the body of man, by the course of nature, ever in time falleth in decay and natural debility. This example he was sure would weigh nothing with him, whom he had known ever, without any exterior and vain respect, to look with a constant and stable mind to truth and honesty. That of his judgment he was certain, that by his diligent pondering of stories and scripture on this behalf, he would soon see, how that Christ's doctrine determined no one kind of policy; but might in all states be established and grounded. So that this superiority and unity of head was not to be required of necessity, or hung only upon mere policy. For as much as Christ said, 'Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo:' and in another place, 'Who made me a divider between 'you?' By the root whereof, as I take it, said he, Christ would declare all such things to be left to the governance of men, and worldly policy."

Starky to
Pole again,
of the
supremacy.

In another letter of Starky to Pole (still in expectation of a letter of his judgment in the king's matter) he had these words, "That as touching the matter of the pope's authority, he told him, that his friends put no doubt, but therein he should, to the full satisfaction of the king's mind, see the judged truth. For never can I think, said he, when I consider your judgment and learning, that you can be of this sentence, that such an head, or such superiority, should be of the law of God, and to the salvation of men of high necessity, the which St. Jerome plainly affirmeth to be constitute *in remedium schismatis*, and not to be of such necessity. And if I have any judgment in any other kind of letters, or divinity, this I dare say, that this superiority, of long time given to the pope, which was only by the patience of princes, 'Et tacito quodam 'Christiani populi consensu,' by process of time is grown in, as a thing convenient to the conservation of Christian unity: but in no case of such necessity,

p. 237.

that without the same, Christian minds may not attain to their salvation, nor keep the spiritual unity. Yea, and if you weigh the matter, you will, I think, further find that superiority (as it hath been of many years used) to be nothing at all convenient to the conservation of the politick unity. The which thing, as you know better than I, to whom stories are better known, hath been the greatest break, that in memory we have, to all Christian civility. For what Christian princes have we, who one against another have not drawn their swords, for the maintenance of this authority. And daily I beseech him, that governeth all, that in our days we see not the same. But after my poor fancy, better it is, though it be with some danger, to cut up such a root of sedition in a Christian civility, than let it remain to the continual destruction of our posterity. He told Pole moreover, that his highness would be sorry to see him not to reach so manifest a truth, as he had perceived, as he said, of the king at sundry times, when it pleased him to talk of Pole, to the declaration of the noble affection which he bore to him.

“ And touching the matter of the first marriage, he doubted not, but when he laid together, without any affection, the weight of such marriage between brother and sister, and the slenderness of such power, as the pope had in such cases to dispense, he should shortly by his wisdom see the inconveniency of that marriage. So that in both parties great hope he had to see him satisfy the king’s pleasure and mind: and then shortly after, with great comfort both to himself and friends, to return into his native country.

“ And where he was sure it was blown abroad in Italy, how here were monks of the Charter House put to death, men noted of great sanctity, he gave him to understand in few words the nature of the same, to the intent that he might stop such misreports, as might be made to the slander of the nation. First, saith he, you shall understand in the last parliament an act to be made, that all the king’s subjects

1535.

The king's marriage.

The monks of the Charter House, and Reynolds of Sion.

1555. should, under pain of treason, revoke the pope's superiority. To the which act, as the rest of our nation with one consent did agree, so did these monks, three priors and Reynolds of Sion. The which now of late, contrary to their oath, and also to the act, returned to their old obedience, affirming the same, by their blind superstitious knowledge, to be to the salvation of men, of necessity, and that this superiority of the pope was a sure truth, and manifest by the law of God, and a thing, which was of Christ institute, as necessary to the conservation of the spiritual unity of the mystical body of Christ.

p. 238. In this blindness their superstitious minds were stabled; lacking judgment to distinguish between the unity *spiritual*, and the unity *political*; which they thought should run to ruin for lack of this head, whom they made immediate judge under Christ: on whose judgment, as of the vicar of Christ, all Christen men ought of necessity to hang. In this opinion sturdily stood Raynolds, whom I have heard of you many times praised. Who was so rooted therein, that he could admit no reason to the contrary. Divers were sent to them in prison, by the king's commandment, to instruct them with the truth. But in that opinion, both he and the rest were so blinded and sturdy, that neither could they see the truth in the cause, nor yet give convenient obedience due to (from) such persons, as of themselves cannot see the truth. Wherefore, according to the course of the law, as rebels to the same, and disobedient to the princely authority, and as persons, which, as much as lay in them, have rooted a sedition in this communalty, they most justly have suffered this worldly death. Whose sin and blindness I beseech our Lord pardon.

“ This is the truth of this matter; whereof I can certainly assure you. For, by the licence and commandment of Master Secretary, I was admitted to hear Raynolds's reasons, and to confer such light as God had given me in the same cause with him. In

whom, I promise you, I neither found strong reason to maintain his purpose, nor yet great learning to the defence of the same. With him I conferred gladly. For sorry I was, for many causes, that a man of such fame, as he was here noted both for virtue and learning, should die in such a blind and superstitious opinion. But nothing could avail, but that he would, in that opinion, as a disobedient person to the king's laws, suffer his death, with the other of the same minds; wherefore they themselves were the cause, insomuch as it seemeth to me they sought their own death: of the which no man can be justly accused, but they themselves. This thing, Sir, as occasion, time and place doth require, you may common there, as you shall think it expedient, and to such as you may perceive by misreport, are otherwise informed. For this is the truth, that I have briefly touched by these letters unto you." Under the next year were more letters passing from Starky and others to Pole, and from him to them: which I shall then give some account of.

Although divers laws were made the last year for cutting off the pope's power, the nation could not easily deliver itself from the prejudices the people had in his favour. And especially the most ignorant sort had a great veneration for his *indulgences*: being such convenient things for the upholding them in their sins. So that although in the year 1534, there was an act made for taking away all the pope's exactions and pensions, and that no payment should from thenceforth be paid to the apostolick chamber; and that all bulls and dispensations from Rome should cease: yet I find about this time, as I guess, (and guess I must sometimes) *indulgences* in North Wales. For there was one Robert Oking, clerk, commissary to the Bishop of Bangor, licenced under his hand and seal the proctor of S. Lazar; that the said proctor should declare and publish (in exalting the Bishop of Rome's name and authority,) the indulgence, pardon, and privileges of S. Lazar, (a Welsh saint, it seems,

1535.

Those of
North
Wales,
pilled by
pretence
of indul-
gences.

Cotton
Libr.
Cleop.
E. 6.
p. 395.

p. 239.

1535. heretofore granted by the bishops of Rome. Whereby the inhabitants of North Wales (where these indulgences were chiefly granted) by colour of the said feigned Pardoner, were exacted and polled of their money, contrary to the king's acts and ordinances and provisions therein duly provided. One Gibbons, register to the Bishop of Bangor, perceiving the said abuses, and for the indemnity of the bishop, having with him the king's bailiff of the town of Caerver, on Palm Sunday took away from the said feigned Pardoner, as well all his papistical muniments, as the letters and proxy of the said Oking; authorizing the said feigned privileges and pardon, in as ample manner and form as they were before, contrary to the king's commandment and provision. But hereupon Oking suspended the register on the Wednesday after, and so caused him to be declared on Easter-day following; and directed letters to one Robins, clerk, (concerned, I suppose, with Gibbons,) menacing him to molest and trouble him by vertue of his pretended authority. Whereupon Gibbons appealed by a petition, as being a mere temporal matter, to Richard Bulkeley, the chamberlain of North Wales; who, as he said, was the king's chancellor in North Wales; "To cause Oking to surcease, and no further to proceed in vexing of Gibbons by his pretended authority, and by colour of the decretal laws: and for so much as Oking was a stranger, to put him under sufficient sureties to answer to the premisses, according to the king's laws, for usurping of the same."

Old prophecies of
K. Henry.
Cleop. E. 6.
p. 369.

For all these bold proceedings of King Henry against the pope, as have been already related, as some railed on him, so others as highly extolled and nauseously flattered him. And there was one Gibson did it, by making the king to be a fulfiller of famous prophecies. He got together a parcel of fond prophecies, somewhere met with in those times, that shewed of a king, that should win the holy cross. Which many would have had to belong to the Emperor Charles; but this man assigned them to have

been foretold of King Henry VIII. Moreover, that this king should conquer and subdue many realms, and that by such kind of miracles as are read in scripture, the people of Israël did over their enemies. As, that God should raise the swords of the king's enemies one against another: and that he should do as Gideon, that is, put to flight a mighty host, as the sand of the sea shore, with three hundred persons. This also was to be made good in King Henry. That the papists should seek their own confusion, and suddenly should find it. And e're it once be thought like to come, men should be drowned in their own blood, as Pharaoh was in the Red Sea. And that God will take one of the king's men, strong enough to fight in his quarrel, for ten others that fight against him. And then he proceeded in repeating his prophecies. "S. Thomas calleth him that shall win the holy cross, the King of Virgins. John the hermit called him the King of Fords. Another called him the King of Broad Passage: and another the King of Works, and another the Lion of the Air; and the like." All which this man laboured to apply to King Henry: and said, that these prophecies meant not literally, that the king should go to Jerusalem, to fetch the cross, which our Saviour Christ suffered upon, but that his Majesty should win victory over the devil's minister, the Bishop of Rome; and should be unto all realms a lanthorn of light, whereby they might truly and faithfully see the sincereness of the gospel, which is the glory of God. Which glory had been darkened by the devil his ministers, the papists, with beggarly baggage, (I use my author's words,) whereby the prophecies of Amos was fulfilled, that an hunger should come on the earth, for lack of God's word: which was set out by the true minister of God, King Henry VIII.

This year, and the next within five months after, put an end to two queens, *viz.* Queen Katharine Dowager, and Queen Anne, that succeeded her. To give some short notes concerning the former, with

1585.

p. 240.

The sickness and death of Queen Katharine.

1535. respect only to the last months of her life. In October her residence was at Bugden, being then not well in health, and seemed desirous to move to some other place. So the king ordered her departure thence to Fotheringah. Which when Thomas Vaux, one of her officers, told her of from Crumwel, she had no mind, whatever was the cause, to go thither, (whether she thought it lookt like putting her under restraint in that castle;) telling him that she would not go thither, unless the king sent her thither a prisoner, with ropes bound; notwithstanding all the provisions that were made and prepared for her. Yet from the place where she was she fain would remove. Which the said Vaux in a letter to Crumwel informed him of; and that she was desirous to have some place appointed for her nearer London.

She would
be stiled
Queen still

She was still stiled Queen by her servants: and so she commanded them to call her. Nor would she admit any about her to address to her in any inferior title. This the king hearing of, gave him great offence. Insomuch that he sent a charge to Vaux by his own letters, to inform him, "Whether there were any about her, that so stiled her; and who they were, that obstinately and wilfully, contrary to the determination taken in that behalf, did not desist, nor forbear calling the said lady by the name of Queen: that further order might be taken therein. To which in a letter to Crumwel, the said Vaux signified, That at that season he could not well and approvedly name any particular person that so obstinately called the lady dowager by the name of Queen. But generally he dared boldly to say, and prove, that all women, priests and ministers of the princesses chamber, as sowers, hushers, and such other about, that did her any manner of service, did so call her. And that so she had both willed and commanded all that were her own servants, and served her: or else she would receive nothing of them. That the household-officers that were there, delivered all things called for without such denomination. But that both

men and women there, were much persuaded by the priests there, as he thought, upon their consciences, how they ought to call her Queen still; considering, that all that did appertain to the chamber especially, were sworn to King Henry and Queen Katharine. Yea, and further, that they were the more animated so to do, because they had learned and heard say in the house there, since his (Vaux) coming, that there was a letter sent from the princess her proctor at Rome, how that the pope had given sentence upon her party. And the effect or copy of the said letter had been read and shewed to divers there. But that he could come to no sight thereof; because he was partly mistrusted among them. That he saw her grace was merry, and bore good and joyful countenance: and much more resort of people come daily thither, than had done in any other place heretofore. But that if she were to be removed, it was requisite she should be removed shortly: otherwise the country would be so foul, that no carriages of household provision should pass, or come." Hence it seems she removed to Kimbolton; where not long after she died.

Her officers here, besides Vaux, were Edward Chamberlain and Edmund Bedingfield. Enquiries were not wanting concerning her; and what visitors she had coming to her. Upon Crumwel's letter to them to inform him thereof, they shewed him the names of such as lately gave her visits, *viz.* The emperor's ambassador came Jan. 2, who immediately after dinner came into her chamber, and so into her presence; there remaining scarce a quarter of an hour. At which time both of them (Chamberlain and Bedingfield) were commanded to be present. That upon his coming, he saluted her in the Spanish tongue; which they, as they said, understood not. But, as they added in their answer, Mr. Vaughan, another there, could declare to him the effect of their communication at that time. At five in the afternoon she sent her doctor of physick for him. And

1535.

p. 241.

Her officers,
Her visitors.
Cott. Libr.

1535. then and there entered no man but the said ambassador, beside the doctor and the steward to the ambassador. Then he was with her about half an hour, and departed to his chamber. And again, the next day, about seven a clock at night, about an hour. At those two last visits none were present, but the personages aforementioned, and her old trusty women; who either understood not the Spanish tongue; or if they did, or if they could, the matter being of importance, they (the officers) could get no manner of knowledge of it from them.

Lady Willoughby visits her.

The Lady Willoughby also came thither on New-year's Day, about six a clock at night: with whom these officers met, and demanded a sight of her license to repair thither. She said, she would deliver next morning letters sufficient for their discharge. But at present she desired them, being in such a case, (by reason of a fall, as she pretended, from her horse,) to repair to the fire; and so was immediately conveyed to the princess. And since that time they never saw her, nor any letter of license to repair thither was shewed them. She appeared in her countenance at her coming to be greatly dismayed, saying, she thought never to have seen the princess alive, by reason of such tidings as she had heard by the way.

Her death.

As to her state of health, these two gentlemen further informed the said Lord Crumwel, that they understood by her doctor, that she had somewhat of comfort by the coming of those folks, and fell to somewhat more rest in the night than heretofore; but that he feared it would be a long continuing sickness, e're she recovered, as far as he could judge, if God so disposed. This their letter was dated from Kimbolton, the 5th day of January; and three days after she dyed.

p. 242.

By the postscript it appears, how strait they were kept of money, Bedingfield thus writing: "Sir, I beseech you send me some relief of money by Mr. Gostwick, (who it seems brought the letter,) for I have none left."

This sickness then carried her off: which when the king heard of, he ordered the lord privy seal, that she might be buried decently, in the port of a person of her quality; and appointed her corps to be interred in the abby of Peterborough. Concerning this, he dispatched his letters to the aforesaid gentlemen; and that they should acquaint him with the preparations made for her funeral. The sum of their answer was, "That the boweling and cering was done in the best manner; the leading and chesting was preparing, not lacking any thing; and that it should be finished with all speed." And the king having sent Mr. Comptroller thither, to order all things belonging to the interrment, they shewed themselves very joyous at his coming.

Crumwel also gave them in command to preserve for the king's use, what treasure, goods, gold and jewels the deceased left. And for that purpose to look carefully to the gates. And that they should inform him, what the sum thereof might amount to; in order to the bearing the expences of her funeral from thence. To this the answer they gave was, "That according to their power, they had commanded the safe custody of the gates: so that nothing had, or should be suffered to issue. And further, that they had communed with all such persons as in her life time had the custody of any jewels, plate, or other things of charge; whom they had found to their conscience, just and plain, in the declaration of all such parcels as they had in their keeping. And that they had declared much more, than ever they (Chamberlain and Bedingfield) saw or knew before. And that upon consideration thereof, every thing remained in their custody, until his further pleasure and commandment should be to them known."

And whereas Crumwel had mentioned some personages of honour to be sent to attend the funeral, the said officers wrote, "That as to the entertainment of them, with others, as should repair thither by commandment, it should be, to the best they

1535.
Order
about her
burial.

Her trea-
sure to be
preserved
for the
king's use.

Persons to
be sent to
attend the
funeral.

1535. could devise, accomplished in as ample manner as provision could be had, for the king's honour."

And whereas Crumwel had signified to them, what the king designed for the deceased princess's servants, by his motion; they further added, "How they had declared unto all the servants, how good and benevolent a master he had been to them, in moving the king's highness, and obtaining his majesty's favour towards them all. And that both these, (the writers hereof,) and all the rest were greatly comforted with his gracious promise; wherein we (say they) wholly rejoyce and trust: and should pray for the prosperous preservation of his most noble majesty."

Prelates
and priests
to execute
their office.

Crumwel also gave them instructions for the preparation of the house. To which they answered, "That it should be done with all diligence. And likewise, that the prelates and priests should be warned to repair, for the execution of all manner of ceremonies appertaining to the funerals, and all others, according to his mastership's commandment to the uttermost of our powers, as knoweth Almighty God, (*as they concluded,*) who preserve your mastership with much honour,

p. 243.

By yours, ready at commandment,

EDWARD CHAMBERLEYN.

EDMUND BEDYNGFIELD."

The Princess
Katharine
Dowager's
will.

The princess made a will, but without naming any executor; leaving the disposition thereof to the king: praying and desiring him in the beginning of it, to suffer her to have her goods, as well gold and silver, as other things, and whatsoever was due to her in money: to the end, that she might therewith pay her debts, and recompence her servants. Which she intreated as affectionately as she might, for the necessity wherein she was ready to dye, and to yield her soul to God. And then she proceeded in her legacies. The first whereof was for a person to go to our Lady of Walsingham in pilgrimage. And

in going by the way, to yield twenty nobles. And then follow the rest of her legacies to her servants : which were but mean ; *viz.* twenty pounds, not many above. The two last legacies were, ornaments for the church, to be made of her gowns. And the furs of the same to her daughter. The whole will I have preserved in the Appendix, as I take it from a volume in the Cotton Library. 1555.

The king then was to advise, what course to take to come to the legal possession of the estate of the deceased princess. Some thought that he might seize on it, as his own. And that, because she had said, it seems, *That all was the king's*, and that she had nothing to give away. But Richard Ryche, the king's solicitor (that was afterwards Lord Ryche, and Lord High Chancellor of England,) upon the king's demand, shewed his learning in the law. Which was, that she now being *a sole woman*, had a right to her goods. And that by the law of England, the next of kin was to administer, and to pay the debts. And the other course, that of seizure, he judged to be repugnant to his majesty's laws. But in fine, he moved another way to the king, to compass the same : namely, to send to the bishop of the diocese, where the princess deceased, who was the Bishop of Lincoln, to grant the administration of her goods, as dying intestate, to such as his highness should name. And then to have the goods, from them that had administred, to himself, for the payment of her debts, and the charges of her funerals. This he signified at large to the king in his letter from Kimbolton, where he was now, to look after this affair. Which letter will be found in the Appendix. Which I have the rather repositd there, in memory of that great man, as he appeared afterwards in the state : and from whom the earls of Warwick are sprung. And wherein also a *specimen* of his parts and abilities may be seen.

The king
consults
about seiz-
ing her
goods.

No. LXX.

Upon Queen Anne's death, it was doubted by the Lady Bryan, governess of the king's children, whether

1535. the young lady, Princess Elizabeth, should have the same honourable retinue and service now as before. For her instruction herein, she thought fit to send to the Lord Crumwel: giving him also some account of the young princess's ingenuity and towardness. See No. LXXI. her letter, in the Appendix, giving these things more at large.

p. 244.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The German princes' embassy to the king. A convocation. The king, council and clergy protest against it. The council at Mantua. Papal bulls. Northern clergy. A visitation of the province of York needful.

1536.

THE princes of Germany, according as they had promised, prepared their agents to pass over hither, in order to the striking up a league with King Henry. And these were their instructions:

The instructions given by the princes to their ambassadors. Cleopatra E. 6. p. 291.

“Capita eorum, quæ primo congressu serenissimo et potentissimo Regi Angliæ, exponenda sunt.”

They were in Latin, but these are the contents of them: “The ambassadors were with the greatest reverence to carry the commendation and salutation of the princes to the king. To expound to him how grateful the message brought to them by Mount was, (having lately been at Brunswick,) chiefly because the propension of his majesty's mind towards the sincerer doctrine of the gospel was thence well understood. That the princes doubted not, but that God would be present to his majesty in his pious endeavours. And that his majesty might persuade himself, that the princes, by God's grace, would not depart from the acknowledged truth, nor would suffer the tyranny and impiety of the Roman bishop, within their dukedoms and dominions.

“That they should add the reasons, why at this time they could not send that ample embassy to the king.

“That the King of Denmark, who had received

the gospel, and taken care to abolish the popish tyranny and impiety out of his kingdoms, had lately at Brunswig, joined himself in an honorable and Christian league with the protestant princes. That he would also send his ambassadors with theirs, if so be he might be certified it would not be unacceptable to the king. And that this was a cause also of the delay of a more ample embassy. 1556.

“ That they should unfold to the king the causes of this embassy, and the reason of the confederation: viz. That it consisted only in defence of the gospel.

“ That the king, establishing the sound doctrine of the gospel, and abolishing impious abuses, would promote, among other kings and potentates, the cause of the gospel.

“ That the decree of Brunswig should be explained to the king, of preserving the true religion to all posterity in the dukedoms, dominions and territories of the princes and confederates.

“ That the princes hoped, after the king's majesty and the confederates should treat concerning religion, that his majesty would join himself with them and the confederates, in the cause of religion.

“ That his majesty would not think much to signify his counsel concerning a synod; and whether he judged any thing wanting in the confession and doctrine of the confederates. To all these the orators were instructed, to add convenient petitions. And some other matters the princes gave them in commandment, to take a convenient opportunity to unfold unto his majesty. p. 245.

“ And lastly, That they should again present the benevolent observance of the princes and confederates to the king.”

Queen Anne being this year beheaded, I find little more done yet a while, between the king and the Germans: the further ambassade by the protestants appointed for England being stayed.

June 9, was a new convocation: when Thomas Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, came into Convocation,

1536. the church of Saint Paul's. The Bishop of London sang the mass of the Holy Ghost. Thence they went to the chapel of Saint Mary, to hear the sermon, which was preached in Latin by Hugh Latymer. The text, "Filij hujus sæculi prudentiores sunt filijs lucis." That done, the most reverend with his brethren, and the clergy, went into the Chapter House; where the Bishop of London exhibited the *Certificatory* upon the execution of the mandate of the most reverend, for calling together the bishops. Afterwards the most reverend expounded the causes of this convocation. And then advised all the prelates, (that is, those of the lower house,) that they should confer among themselves at the accustomed place, and chuse one person for their *referendary*, or *prolocutor*; who might speak in their name, and to present him the next session. Accordingly, June 16, Edm. Boner, Archdeacon of Leicester, and Will. Petre, LL.D. together with the clergy of the lower house, presented to the said most reverend, together with his brethren, the venerable Mr. Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, and official of the court of Canterbury; being elected by them. And the said Edmond Boner, in the name of the whole clergy, prayed the election so made might be approved and confirmed by the said most reverend. Which the said most reverend did confirm and approve.

Crumwel
the king's
vicegerent
present.
Extracts of
Convocat.
MS.D. Ep.
Roff.

This convocation was the more remarkable, in regard that the Lord Crumwel, the king's vicegerent in ecclesiasticals, took place in it. When Dr. Petre abovesaid alledged, "That since this synod was called by the authority of the prince, (who was *supreme head* of the church of England,) and that the same prince ought to hold the supreme rule in the said convocation; and that the king being absent, the honourable Mr. Tho. Crumwel, vicar general for ecclesiastical causes, *ejus vices gerens*, ought to occupy his place. And therefore prayed the same place to be assigned to him, as proctor to the said

Master Crumwel. And then presented the commissionall letters sealed with the king's seal. And the commission being read, the most reverend father assigned him (the said Dr. Petre,) his place, *juxta se*, by him. And the next session Crumwel comes and sits himself in convocation. 1536.

The pope had summoned a general council to be this year, and to sit at Mantua. Though when in the year 1534, the pope signified his mind to call a council, and the king had promised the pope to send his ambassador thither, yet now upon better deliberation, the council being actually called, and the king cited to appear, he published a long and sharp protestation against that council; in which he shewed, the pope had no power to call one. It was intituled, "A Protestation in the name of the king and the whole council, and clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the pope's council at his call." Which may be read in Fox's Acts and Monuments. The convocation now sitting, declared also against this council, in a decree signed by Crumwel, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and thirteen bishops more, and forty nine abbots, priors and others of the clergy. The protestation was dispersed abroad in foreign nations, as in France, Germany and other countries. And soon after, Crumwel gave order to Richard Moryson, a learned man, whom he employed in such matters, that he should cause the protestation in some places to be altered, and some things to be left out, upon some pretended politick ends, as that it might be more agreeable with the protestation of the Germans, and take in their arguments against the said council; which may be read in Sleidan's Commentaries: and so to be printed again, that more copies might be dispersed. But this Moryson did not approve of, as reflecting upon the constancy of the nation, saying, "That the sentence of a prince and a realm should either not be printed, or once printed, not changed. He perceived, no doubt, this was a fetch of Winchester, or some other secret friend of

The king and clergy protest against the council at Mantua.

p. 246.

Fox's Acts, p. 989. Edit. 1610.

1536. Rome. Yet he had two or three leaves to add, opening a fraud intended by that council, and shewing that these papists' opposition of the word of God, was a sufficient argument, that they intended no good by that council. And whereas in the former copy it was said, that the papacy was given by the consent of the kings of England, so now it was taken away by their consent; the manner of expressing this was disliked, and Moryson mollified it. For the further illustrating this affair, Moryson's letter to the Lord Crumwel may be worth reading in the Appendix.

No.
LXXII.
A protes-
tation of
the convo-
cation
against
errors and
abuses.

There was one thing more done by the convocation of the lower house, if so be I lay it right, when I lay it to this convocation, which indeed I do but by some guesses, the paper I use bearing no date. The ignorance of the priests, and the gross and abominable superstitions that were used, caused abundance of people in the nation, to give an ear to those that instructed them better, and laid open to them these corruptions and abuses. And many preachers there were, as well as others, out of hatred to the priests and their superstitions, uttered many indiscrete and disrespectful words of sacred things. Some said, "the sacrament was not to be esteemed at all; *others said*, that priests had no more authority to minister sacraments than laymen: that God never gave grace to any great or rich men: that all things ought to be common: that children might be christned in a tub of water, or in a ditch, as well as in any font: that the water in the font was conjured: that the hallowed oyl was no better than the Bishop of Rome's grease: that the stole about the priests neck was the Bishop of Rome's rope, and many such expressions." Many whereof might be but misreports and lies made by the priests and their creatures, to make the preachers and professors of the gospel odious. But these expressions and sayings, true or false, they of the convocation made their use of. And a protestation was framed in the name of the lower house of convocation in the province of Canter-

bury, wherein they drew out to a very great length, errors and abuses, to the number of sixty eight: which they declared in their consciences to be causes of dissension within the realm. And herein they foisted in, among the good and wholesome doctrines, owned by the protestants, a great many hasty and intemperate speeches, that might perhaps be said by some unwary men, or invented by themselves. And that they might make an easier address for their protestation to the king, they ushered it in with a preface of their profound loyalty to him, and of their owning his supremacy, and of renouncing the pretended authority of the Roman Bishop. The protestation itself I have repositied in the Appendix.

1536.
p. 247.

No.
LXXIII.

In the short parliament that sat this summer, beginning in June, and ending in July 18, a statute was made against all papal dispensations, clearly annulling and vacating them: and that such of the bishops and clergy as held any pluralities, trialities, commendams, exemptions, &c. by virtue of such bulls, or dispensations, as should, before Michaelmas next come twelve month, bring them before certain persons of the king's council, or the masters of Chancery, to be appointed by the king: and making humble suit to have the effects contained in the bulls granted to them, they were to have them again immediately from the king under the great seal. Accordingly I find Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, (though somewhat long first) sent up five bulls unto Crumwel: which were all delivered into his hands: and the bishop fearing the king would take advantage of his delay herein, to out him of his bishoprick, he intreated Crumwel, "To move the king to be good and gracious lord to him, and to consider, if he should now in his age leave his bishoprick, which he trusted his grace meant not to make him do, it should not only disappoint him of his living, but many other his servants, who had their livings only by him: who, if he should lose his promotion, should be clearly destitute of succour. Trusting the king would be as

Papal bulls
annulled.

Bp. of Dur-
ham sends
up his
bulls.

Cleopatra,
E. 6.

1536.

good to him as to other bishops in the realm, being in the like case: as he wrote in his letter to the said Crumwel."

The northern clergy stick to their old superstitions.

For in the doing of this, it seems, the bishops were so slow, that Crumwel by his visitors were fain to admonish them of it, and of their danger in neglecting it. But this calling upon the clergy, to exhibit their dispensations from the pope, displeased much the province of York. Insomuch that in their convocation, they plainly desired, that the statute lately made for that purpose might, in the next parliament, be revoked. And when ten articles had been sent to their convocation, for their opinions upon each of them, and concurrence therein, they returned their answer in that manner, as shewed them immoveable in their old superstitions. And in the conclusion they had the hardiness to desire, "That the laws of the church might be read in the universities, as before had been, (but it seems was discouraged and grew into disuse.) That such clerks as were in prison and exile for opposing the supremacy might be restored: that books for the pope's supremacy might be safely read and kept, and such like. This was boldly done after the acts of parliament to the contrary. For their answers to those articles at large, I refer the reader to the Appendix.

No.
LXXIV.

p. 248.
A royal visitation for York province.

By this it may appear, that it was not without need, that Dr. Layton some months before, either in the winter of the last year, or the beginning of this, had moved the king's vicar general for a royal visitation of the diocese of York, and the whole province thereof, as that of Canterbury was visited the year before. He was now returned to London from the visitation of the monasteries the last year; and from his house or lodgings in Pater Noster Row, he wrote of this affair to Crumwel: shewing him what great want of reformation there was in those parts, and especially in the exempt jurisdictions; and that nothing would beat the king's authority sooner into the heads of that people, besotted with the frantic fancies and

sermons of the religious sort, than when they should see the king seriously intending their reformation. That he had got the articles for the visitation ready wrote out by Bartlet his secretary, and a commissional ready drawn for him to sign. And that he was ready to wait upon him to receive his or the king's charge and precepts for this purpose, and promised what great service he would do. And indeed the Archbishop of York did himself forbear visiting, because he expected the king's visitation, and left all that needed to be reformed to his visitors. But to represent all this the plainer, I will exemplify Layton's letter to Crumwel: which was as follows:

“ Please it your goodness to understand, that forasmuch as York diocese was not visited since my lord cardinal's time, and many things there be within the said province now much needful of reformation, and worthy redress, and especially among the exemptions, the archbishop hearing of the king's visitation towards, tarrieth only therefore, not intending in any wise to visit or meddle, but all reserving wholly to the king's reformation, and his visitors. If it might please you therefore now to send me into the said province, and Blitheman your servant to be register, we might well finish all that province by Michaelmas, or soon after. Ye might commit to Dr. Lee at his return, Huntington and Lincoln shires with Chester diocese, which he might also finish before the said feast. If ye defer the setting forth of your visitation, till ye may have thereunto convenient leisure, and as will, when that day shall come, I come in great doubt. For me seemeth your business increaseth daily more and more. Or if you tarry till Lammas next ensuing, till my Lord of Canterbury have fully finished his visitation; then shall the year be far spent. And I doubt not but my Lord of Canterbury and his officers would be right well content, that ye did not visit. For the Dean of the Arches, would have persuaded me to have moved you not to visit these two or three years. In that methought, *Quod erat ora-*

1536.

Dr. Layton, to Crumwel, to hasten the visitation.
Cleop.E.4.

1536. *tor, sed parum vehemens, et sine aculeo. Sed ut sim brevis,* if I were able to be of your counsel, so God help me, I would advise you to set forth the king's authority by all means ye could possible. And I am well and fast assured, and dare boldly say, that there can be no better way devised for the rude people in the north, to beat his authority into their heads, than that they may plainly see, and evidently perceive, how his grace being supreme head, intendeth nothing else than reformation and correction of religion, without doubt more superstitious than virtuous, long time accustomed to frantick fantasies and sermons, much more that regarding, than other God or their prince, right far alienate from true religion.

p. 249.

“ If it be your pleasure therefore with expedition to tender the premisses, the book of articles is clean written, and in the custody of Bartlet your clerk ; and a commission also ready drawn for the same. So that if it be your pleasure, ye may shortly dispatch me towards the said province. When as ye shall find me in the exercising of this, so shall I desire you to accept me at my return, and no otherwise. Ye shall never know what I can do, neither what my serviceable mind is toward you, till ye have had some experiment thereof. What charge or precepts soever it shall please you to give me concerning the premisses, shall not be in any wise transgressed. Or if it be your mind that I shall repair to the king's grace for any precept or charge to be had or taken of his highness, I am ready thereunto, to wait upon you at your next going to the court, or to go immediately if ye command me. Thus committing you to the tuition of Christ ; to whom I shall pray for your long life and prosperous continuance. From Pater Noster Row, by the speedy hand of your assured poor priest,
RICHARD LAYTON.”

But this visitation, I suppose, however intended or begun this year, received a stop by reason of the rebellion that brake out this summer in the north parts.

This Layton, and some others, were appointed by Crumwel to be the visitors of the religious houses; where very much irreligion was found among those that professed religion there, according to the accounts brought in by them. Insomuch that a final dissolution of those places, all the orders there being so corrupted, was thought on: for to let in some light into the lives and practices of these, both men and women: thus one that lived in those times, tells the world in a book written in Italian, that it might be the better known even in Rome; thus translated: 1536.
The irreligious lives of the religious.

“ That you may understand what was the just occasion of the king’s suppression of them: when his highness had found out the falseness of these jugglers, (the monks,) who led the people to this idolatry of worshipping saints, believing of miracles, and going on pilgrimage here and there, as unto this hour you see it used here in Italy, being persuaded, &c. that these abominable friars were the very false prophets (Matthew 7) and ravening wolves, whom Christ prophesied in the gospel, should come under the apparel of lambs, to devour the flock of true Christians; his majesty for the better discovery of these hypocrites, sent forth commissioners into all provinces of the realm, to examine the manner of living that those ribaulds used. And here came the matter fully to light. For when the commissioners had taken upon them the charge of this examination, and began by one and one to examine those friars, monks and nuns, upon their oaths, sworn upon the evangelists, there were discovered hypocrisies, murthers, idolatries, (false) miracles, sodomies, adulteries, fornications, pride, envy, &c. And not seven, but more than 700,000 deadly sins. Alack! my heart maketh all my members to tremble, with another manner of fear than is the quartan, when I remember the abominations that there were tryed out. O Lord God! (speaking under correction) what canst thou answer to the five cities, confounded with cælestial fire, when they shall alledge before thee the iniquities of those

Pelerine
by Will.
Thomas.

1536. *religious*, whom thou hast so long supported. Note well these few words, said I, and I shall tell you. In the dark and sharp prisons, there were found dead so many of their brethren, that it is a wonder. Some crucified with more torments than ever were heard of. And some famished unto death, only for breaking their superstitious silence, or some like trifles. And especially in some children, there was used a cruelty, not to be spoken with human tongue.

“ There was of the Heremits some one, that under the colour of confession, had used carnally with more than 2 or 300 gentlewomen, women of reputation: whose names, enrolled by commandment, they shewed unto the commissioners. Insomuch that some of the self same commissioners found of their own wives, titled among the rest. With what conscience, I report me unto you; there was working of wonders. The friars and nuns, were as whore and thief in the open stews. And there were saints, that made the barren women bring forth children. Unto whom there wanted no resort from all partes of the realm. Alas! alas! what should I say, when Ptolomy his discourse, Pliny his memory, and Augustin his pen, joined in one man, should not suffice to make him an apt author of so detestable an history, as this abomination requireth?

“ Well, to my purpose; in conclusion, upon the return of these commissioners, when the king was fully informed of the cause, incontinently he called his parliament. But or ever the counsellors of the same could assemble together, here came that abbot, and that prior: now came that abbess, and then came that friar from all partes of the realm, unto the king, offering their monasteries into his hands; beseeching him to pardon them their sins, *de pœna* only, and not *de culpa*. Insomuch that his majesty accepted of them: and pardoned them all, except a few only of the most notable ribaulds: whom, for the others example, he caused to suffer death, in divers wise, as their horrible causes diversly merited. And thereupon fol-

lowed the said parliament: in the which all these matters were not only published, but also confessed by the false religious persons, brought openly in judgment; it was concluded both by the barons, and also by the commons of the said parliament, that these monasteries should be extirped, and the goods and revenues thereof disposed, as the king and his council should think it expedient." These were their crimes, and these their own acknowledgments: and these therefore the just proceedings against them.

But Mr. Thomas, for these and such like his free discoveries of them thus in print, however he was honoured and esteemed in the next reign by King Edward himself, he was not forgotten in the succeeding, when popery prevailed again, being put to death as a traitor; how truly, I cannot say. Of this man we shall say more, under the reign of King Edward.

To which add, what another very grave and worthy writer, not long after the former, shewed, concerning the first foundations of these monasteries, and what the visitors detected of them. "Truth it is," saith he, "that the foundations of abbies and chauntries, 'Pro redemptione animarum fundatorum suorum, et progenitorum ipsorum,' &c. as in the said foundations appeareth more at large, were so unsure and weak, or rather wicked, that they could no longer bear such huge superstructions and buildings as were laid upon them. For the idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy and wickedness of monks, nuns and priests themselves, were grown so great and so heavy now, that no foundations, though sure and good, were able any longer to bear and abide them. Let the horrible history of their dark, dreadful and most devilish doings, notified to King Henry VIII. and after to the parliament house, by the report of the visitors, returning from their visitations of abbies; and the monks and nuns themselves in their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, be a proof thereof. Which being registred in a black book, might more justly be called Doomsday, than any record this day remaining in

p. 251.
The wickedness of those religious foundations, the cause of their ruin. Noel's Re-proof, fol. 14.

1536. England; revealing such matters as they thought should have remained hid until the great day of revelation of all secrets, if ever they looked for it. No truly, the monstrous lives of monks, friars, and nuns, have destroyed their monasteries and churches, and not we.—These be the true causes of such horrible destructions and desolations as have in *our time come upon monasteries and other houses and churches.*

CHAP. XXXV.

A visitation of the religious houses. Visitors appointed by the Lord Crumwel. Their instructions and commissions. Many surrender their houses. The visitors' divers letters, giving accounts of the monasteries; viz. of Reading. Glastenbury; Maiden Bradley; Bruton; Ferley; relicks in those places. Leicester. Wolstrobe, a pious monastery. Nunneries of Catesby; Stixwold. Monasteries in Litchfield diocese; in Kent, Folkston, &c. Pensions allowed the monks, &c. Suiters for some religious houses. Sir Richard Gresham, lord maior, for the spittals. Ramsey Abby. Fountains and Rivax. Papers preparatory to a suppression. Value taken of all monasteries and benefices ecclesiastical.

p. 252.
The visitors' letters of the vile state of the monasteries, extant.

NOR are these horrible deeds, the relations only of some private persons, and depend upon their credit; but one may see abundance of the sinful state of those monasteries, and them that inhabited there, by the testimonials those visitors sent up, which are very many; and are still remaining under their hands, in our repositories of MSS. and archives: where we may see, in what condition they found those houses; what superstitions were there used by the relicks, and the numbers of them kept within their walls, and the cheats put upon the people by the means of them; and of the voluntary surrenders the superiors of those places made. I will specify some from the originals.

Gray Friers of Reading, their surrender. Cleopatra, E. 4.

London, one of the visitors, sent up this letter following to the Lord Crumwel; shewing the surrender of the abby of Reading, with an inventory of their relicks, and of the discharge of the friars. "In my

most harty manner, I have me commended unto your good lordship, with my assured prayer and service. I have sent up to your lordship the surrender of the Gray Friars of Reading, with their plate, such as it is. I have inwardly defaced the church and dorter. The residue of the house I have left whole, till I know your further pleasure; and clearly dispatched all the friars out of the doors, in their secular apparel: and have given to every one of them money in their purses, and have clearly paid their debts. This is a town of much more people; and they fall to stealing so fast in every corner of the house, that I have been fain to tarry a whole week here, to set every thing in due order. And have and shall receive to the king's grace, as I trust, above XL*l*. in the mansion wholly reserved.

“ I have sent up the principal relicks of idolatry within this realm. An angel with one wing is brought to Caversham. Relicks of idolatry sent up.

“ The spear-head that pierced our Saviour's side upon the cross. It was conveyed home to Notly; but I sent my servant purposely for it.

“ I have also three coats of the image, with such things as I found upon them; with the dagger which they say slew King Henry VI. and the knife that killed King Edward; with many other like holy things.

“ I have defaced the chapel inward, and have sent home the chanons to the master to Notley.

“ I have required of my lord abbot (of Reading) the relicks of his house, which he shewed unto me with good will. I have taken an inventory of them; and have locked them up behind their high altar, and have the key in my keeping; and they all ready at your lordship's commandment. They have a good lecture in scripture daily read in their chapitre house, both in English and Latin; to the which is good resort, and the abbot is at it himself. In any other thing I can do your lordship's service, I am, and always shall be, ready, God willing; who, with en-

1556. crease of much honour, long preserve your good lordship. At Reding, the xvij of September.

Your bounden orator and servant,
JOHN LONDON."

P. 253. The inventory of the relicks of the house of Reading:

Imprimus, Two pieces of the holy cross.

S. James's hand.

S. Phillip's stole.

A bone of Mary Magdalene, with other mo.

S. Anastasius his hand, with other mo.

A piece of S. Pancrate's arme.

A bone of S. Quintin's arme.

A bone of S. David's arme.

A bone of Mary Salome's arme.

A bone of S. Edward the Martyr, his arme.

A bone of S. Hierom, with other mo.

Bones of S. Steven, with other mo.

A bone of S. Blase, with other mo.

A bone of S. Osmund, with other mo.

A piece of S. Ursula's Stole.

A jawbone of S. Ethelmoyn.

Bones of S. Leodegery and of S. Herenei (Irenij perhaps).

Bones of S. Margaret.

Bones of S. Arnal.

A bone of S. Agas, with other mo.

A bone of S. Andrew, and two pieces of his cross.

A bone of S. Frideswyde.

A bone of S. Anne. With many other.

Glasten-
burg and
convents in
Bristow
visited, re-
licks there.
Cotton
Libr.

Another visitor sent up to Crumwel his account of Glastenburg, and the covents in Bristow; and withal sent up to him the relicks found in them. Take Dr. Layton the visitor's own letters; which will give more satisfaction to the reader, than the bare contents extracted from it. "Pleasyth your mastership to understand, that yesterday night late we came from Glastenburg to Bristow, to S. Austins; whereas we

began this morning : intending this day to dispatch both this house here (viz. S. Austin), being but xiiij. chonons ; and also the Gawntes ; whereas be iv. or v. 1536

“ By this bringer, my servant, I send you relicks. First, two flowers, wraped in white and black sarce-net, that on Christen Mass Even, *Horá ipsá, qua Christus natus fuerat*, will spring, and burgen, and bare blossomes. *Quod expertum est*, saith the prior of Mayden Bradley. Yee shall also receive a bag of relicks, wherein ye shall see stranger things, as shall appear by the Scripture (*i. e.* the writings upon them) : as, God’s coat, or Ladie’s smock ; part of God’s supper, ‘ In cæna Domini : pars petræ, super ‘ *qua natus erat Jesus in Bethlehem.*’ Besides, there is in Bethlehem plenty of stones, and sometimes quarries, and maketh their mangers of stone. The Scripture of every thing shall declare you all. And all there, of Mayden Bradley ; where is a holy father prior, and hath but six sons, and but one daughter married yet, of the goods of the monastery ; trusting shortly to marry the rest of his sons, being tall men, waiting upon him. And he thanketh God, he never meddled with married women ; but all with maidens, the fairest could be gotten ; and always married them right well. The pope, considering his fragility, gave him his licence to keep a whore, and hath good writing *sub plumbo* to discharge his conscience, and to choose Mr. Underhill to be his ghostly father, and he to give him *plenam remissionem*, &c. P. 254.

The holy
prior of
Maiden
Bradley.

“ I send you also our Ladie’s girdle of Bruton, red silk ; which is a solemn relick, sent to women travailing, which shall not miscarry *in partu*. Bruton.

“ I send you also Mary Magdalene’s girdle, and that is wrapped and covered whith white ; sent also with great reverence to women travelling : which girdle Matilda the Empress, founder of Ferley, gave unto them, as saith the holy father of Ferley.

“ I have crosses of silver and gold ; some which I send you not now, because I have mo that shall be delivered me this night by the prior of Maiden Bradley Ferley Mo-
nastery.

1536.

himself. To-morrow, early in the morning, I shall bring you the rest: when I have reviewed all, perchance I shall find something here. In case ye depart this day, may it please you to send me word by this, being my servant, which way I shall repair after you.

Charter
House,

“ They within the Charter House have protested, and done all things, according as I shall declare at large to-morrow early.

“ At Bruton and Glastonbury there is nothing notable. The brethren be so steit kept that they cannot offend; but fain they would if they might, as they confess, and so the fault is not in them. From S. Austin’s without Bristow, this S. Bartilmew’s Day, at four of the clock in the morning, by the speedy hand of your most assured poor priest,

RYCHARD LAYTON.”

The mo-
nastery of
Leicester
surren-
dered.

Another visitor, named Francis Cave, took the surrender of the monastery of Leycester; the account whereof, and of the state and value of the houses, he sent to Crumwel in these words: “ We took the surrender of the abbot and convent, and the writings thereof be in my custody. By your lordship’s goodness towards me, I am now in the possession of the house, and all the demean which was unlet at the time of our repair thither. Wee also found the house indebted to divers creditors 411*l.* 10*s.* over and besides certain sums of money the house was indebted to the king’s highness; for the discharge whereof we have made sale of the stock and store, with the household stuff and ornaments of the church, which amount unto 228*l.* The plate is unsold, and is valued at, by weight, 190*l.*; the lead, by estimation, valued at 1000*l.*; the bells at 88*l.*

“ For the discharging of the abbot, convent, and servants of the said monastery, there hath been paid 149*l.* And forasmuch as the abbot hath not received of his in ready money but xx*l.* or xx *ma.* more, his church and house is remaining as yet undefaced. In the church many things to be made sale of.

“ Let me know your pleasure, as well for the further sale to be made, as for the defacing of the church and other superfluous buildings which be about the monastery. A hundred mark yearly will not sustain the charges in repairing this house, if all buildings be let stand. Written at the late monastery at Leicester, the xxix of August, 1536.

By your lordship's most bounden,
FRAUNCIS CAVE.”

But among these herds of sinners in the convents, covering their wickedness under their religious professions, the visitors met with one house that had another character sent up to the Lord Crumwel, and an earnest petition on that account for their continuance. It was the house of Wolstrope; in the behalf of which, one Gifford, a visitor, writ after this manner: “ The governor thereof is a very good husband for the house, and well beloved of all the inhabitants thereunto adjoyning; a right honest man, having right religious persons, being priests, of right good conversation and living religiously, having such qualities of virtue as we have not found the like in no place. For there is not one religious person there, but that he can and doth use either embrotheryng, writing books with very fair hand, making their own garments, carving, painting, or graffing. The house without any slaunder or ill fame, and standing in a wet ground, very solitary; keeping such hospitality that, except singular good provision, it could not be maintained with half so much land more, as they may spend. Such a number of the poor inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not seen the like, having no more lands than they have. God be even my judge, as I do write unto you the troth, and none otherwise to my knowledge; which very pity alone causeth me to write. p. 255.

A pious
good con-
vent peti-
tioned for
to conti-
nue.

“ The premisses considered, I beseech you to be a mean unto the king's majesty for the standing

1536. of the said Wolstropp. From Garadon, the xix day of June.

Your bounden bedeman at commandment,
GEORGE GYFFARD."

A good
character
of the pri-
oress and
nuns of
Catesby.

The like commendation was given by this visitor, as well as the rest, of the nunnery of Catesby: "Which house we found (as they writ in their letter to the Lord Crumwel) in very perfect order. The prioress, a sure, wise, discreet, and very religious woman, with nine nuns under her obedience, as religious and devout, and with as good obedience as we have in times past seen, or belike shall see. The said house stands in such a quarter, much to the relief of the king's people, and his grace's poor subjects there likewise more relieved; as by the report of divers worshipful neer thereunto adjoyning, as of all others, it is to us openly declared. Wherefore if it should please the king's highness to have any remorse, that any such religious house shall stand, we think his grace cannot appoint an house more meet to shew his most gracious charity and pity, than on the said house of Catesby.

"Furthermore ye shall understand, that as to her bounden duty towards the king's highness in these his affairs, also for discreet entertainment of us, his commissioners, and our company, we have not found, nor belike shall find, any such of more discretion, &c. From Catesby the xii day of this present month of May. From the king's commissioners, at your commandment,

EDMOND KNIGHTLY, GEORGE GYFFARD,
JOHN LANE, ROBERT BURGOYN."

p. 256.

How these intercessions succeeded for the continuance of these houses, I cannot tell; but sometimes the king was prevailed with, as I find it happened for the nunnery of Styxwold, though upon pretty hard terms, and such payments, as, if exacted rigorously,

the nunnery could not subsist. For thus was Mr. Heneage, one of the visitors, addressed to by the said nunnery : 1536.

“ Right Worshipful Sir,—As your poor and daily bede-women, we humbly commend us unto you ; advertising you, that by the goodness of my lord privy seal, and by his only means and suit to the king’s majesty, our house doth stand, paying to his highness 900 mark for a fine, besides our first fruits, which is 150*l.*; and also a pension of 34*l.* by the year for ever. Good Mr. Heneage, we most humbly pray and desire you, in the way of charity, and for God’s sake, to be mean to my lord privy seal, that he will of his goodness be suitor to the king’s majesty, for to remit and forgive the said pension of 34*l.* by year ; or else we shall never be able to live, and pay the king the afore-said money. The nunnery of Styxwold continued.

“ We be eighteen nuns and a sister in our house, besides officers and servants, to the number of fifty persons in all ; and our stock and cattel being delivered up this year past, which was our chief hope and living. And if, by my lord privy seal’s goodness, and yours, we may obtain redemption of the said yearly pension, we shall take pains, and live poorly, and serve God, and pray daily for the king’s majesty, my lord privy seal, and you, during our lives. And if at your contemplation we cannot obtain grace of the said pension, we shall upon necessity, for that we shall not be able to pay and perform all such payments as we be bound, give up the house into the king’s highness hand ; which were great pity, if it pleased God and the king otherwise. And thus we pray God send you much worship. From Styxwold, the viij day of January. By your poor bedes-women,

THE WHOLE CONVENT OF STYXWOLD.”

From these visitors of the religious houses came divers letters more from time to time to the Lord Crumwel, with bills and certificates of the state of those foundations as they found them, with the values

1536. of them their debts, and among the rest of their superstitious cheats, imposed upon the people by the many reliicks, preserved in their respective houses: together with their abominable uncleanness and pollutions; and the names of those monks and friars that were guilty thereof. And these certificates sent as aforesaid, after what manner they were drawn up, may appear by another of them for the diocese of Litchfield, as I took it from the original, *viz.*

“COMPERTA

“*Ecclesia Cathedral. de Litchfield.*”

- p. 257. Then follows a full account of all the uncleannesses, sodomy, and superstitions of the members in the cathedral church. Next in the monastery of Repindon, alias Repton. For sodomy, are four, with their names. And then under the title, *superstitio*, is thus written; “Huc fit peregrinatio ad S^{tum} Guthlacum, et ad ejus campanam: quam solent capitibus imponere ad restinguendum dolorem capitis.” Then follows: “Nicolas petit dissolvi a religione.

“Redditus annuus CLXXX li.

“Domus debet C Marcas

“Fundator Dns. Rex.”

- Giradon. In another monastery, named Giradon. Under the title Sodomitæ, five with their names, and particular filthiness: whereof one named Robert Weston, is said to have to do, *cum decem pueris*. Whereof one of these desired to be freed from their religion.

- Grace Dieu. In the nunnery of Grace Dieu, many nuns had been brought to bed. For their *superstition*, they worshipped the girdle, and part of the coat of S. Francis. Which they believed did help women in labour.

- S. Mary, in Darby. S. Mary in Darby, a nunnery. The nuns here have a piece of S. Thomas's shirt. Which is worshipped by women big with child.

The abby of Dalle. John Staunton, the abbot, ^{1536.} was incontinent with one single woman, and another ^{Dalle.} married. And John Braunston with five married women. Here they worshipped part of the girdle and milk of the blessed Virgin; and the wheel of S. Katharine in silver.

Thurgarton, a priory. Here were twelve sodomites. Whereof Richard Newark with four boys: ^{Thurgar-} John York with divers boys: Thomas Dethick, prior, ^{ton.} with divers women: William Kimberly with two single women, and as many married. Five incontinent with single and married women. Eight of this house desired to be free from religion.

Rifford. Here were six sodomites: three incontinent. Six desired to be free of religion. A great deal more follows in these Comperta in the other monasteries and nunneries there mentioned. But this *specimen* is enough, and too much. ^{Rifford.}

We may observe hence, how weary many of these monks were of this idle and wicked life, and how desirous to be released of their religion, and from the iniquity and temptations there. I have met with a letter of one of this sort, named Beerly, a monk of Pershore, written to the Lord Crumwel, so full of self-condemnation and remorse of conscience, and discovery of sin and ignorance there, that it may deserve to be read, now we are upon this subject. It was as followeth:

“Most reverend Lord in God, second person in this realm of England, endowed with all grace and goodness; Y submit myself unto your grace and goodness. Desiring you myckely to be good and gracious Lord unto me, a sinful and poor creature. My lowely and myck scribling unto your noble grace at this time is, grudging in my conscience, that the religion which we do observe and keep is no rule of S. Benet, nor yet no commandment of God, nor of no saint, but lyzth and foolish ceremonies, made some in old time, and some in our time, (by) lyzth and undiscrete faders; which have done their duties, and fulfilled their own

A penitent
letter of a
monk to
Crumwel.
Cleopatra,
E. 4.

1536.
p. 258.

sermons, and let the precepts and commandments of God go. And so have I done this six years, which doth now grieve my conscience sore, that I have been a dissembler so long time. The which religion, says S. James, is in vain, and bringeth forth no good fruits. Better out than in the religion; except it were the true religion of Christ.

“ Also, we do nothing search for the doctrine of Christ, but only follow our sensuality and pleasure. And this religion, as I suppose, is all in vain glory, and nothing worthy to be accept, neither before God nor man.

“ Also, most gracious Lord, there is a secret thing in my conscience which doth move me to go out of the religion, and if it were never so perfect; which no man may know, but my ghostly fader. The which, I suppose, if a man mothe judge, (is) in other young persons, as me selfe. For Christ saith, ‘ Nolite judicare, et non judicabimini.’ Therefore I will judge mine own conscience first. The which fault he shall know of me hereafter more largely: and many other foul vices done among religious men. And *religious men*, I suppose, they ought not to be called, but dissemblers with God. Now, most gracious Lord, and most worthy visitor, that ever came among us, help me out of this religion: and make me your servant, handmaid and bedeman: and save my soul, which should be lost, if ye help it not. The which ye may save with a word speaking; and make me which am now naught, to come unto grace and goodness.

“ Now I will instruct your grace somewhat of religious men; and how the king’s grace commandment is kept, in putting forth of books of the Bishop of Rome’s usurped power. Monks drink and bull after collation, till x or xii of the clock, and come to matins, as drunk as mys. And some at cards, some at dice and at tables, some come to matins beginning; some at the midst; and some when it is almost done. And would not come there so, only for bodily

punishment: nothing, for God's sake: with many other vices: the use which I have no leisure now to express. 1536.

"Also abbots, monks, priests, done little or nothing, put out of books the Bishop of Rome's name. For I myself do know in divers books, where his name, and his usurped power upon us, is. No more unto your noble grace at this time; but Jesu preserve you to pleasure. Amen.

"Your commissary desired me to write my mind unto your noble grace, by my oath I took of him in our Chapter House.

By me your bedeman,

DAN RI. BEERLEY,

Now monk in the monastery of Pershore.

"To my noble and gracious Lord
Visitor, in the king's court, be this
bill delivered, in hast."

But by the total dissolution of these monasteries one evil was like to follow, namely, the misery and starving perhaps of abundance of poor families: who had been greatly relieved with food and other necessities from these houses which commonly maintained hospitality. Insomuch that it was once moved by Latymer, the good Bishop of Worcester, (and probably by others too) that two or three of these foundations might be spared in each diocese, for the sake of hospitality. Changing their property from being harbours for lazy monks and friars, to be places for such pious men as might go about preaching and teaching God's word to the people: and to do such like good offices of religion; and to follow their studies. Which gave the foresaid bishop occasion to move the Lord Crumwel once in the behalf of the priory of Malvern; the prior, that seemed to be a good man, endeavouring for those good purposes the continuation thereof, now that the monasteries were ready to be supprest, in the year 1538, moving the bishop therein, whose priory was within his

p. 259.

Latymer
moves for
continuing
Malvern
priory.
And why.

1536.

diocese. And for his better success with the king and Crumwel, he offered 500 marks to the king, and 200 marks more, as an acknowledgment of his thanks to the said Lord Crumwel. But that the reader may more fully apprehend this matter, I shall here give it in Bishop Latymer's own letter, where, after a few lines of another affair, thus he addrest himself:

This letter
to the Lord
Crumwel.

"But now, Sir, another thing, that by your favour I might be a motioner unto you, at the request of an honest man, the prior of Great Malvern, in my diocese, though not of my diocese; referring the success of the whole matter to your only approved wisdom, and benign goodness in every cause. For I do know that I do play the fool. But with my foolishness I somewhat act no unwise man, and mitigate the heaviness which I am bold to do with you. For that I know by experience your goodness, that you will bear with fools in their foolishness. This man both heareth and feareth, as he saith, the suppression of his house. Which though he will be conformable in all points to the king's highness pleasure, and yours once known, as both I advertised him, as also his bounden duty is to be; yet nevertheless, if he thought the enterprize should not be mistaken, nor turn to any displeasure, he would be an humble suitor to your lordship, and by the same to the king's good grace, for the upstanding of his foresaid house, of the continuance of the same to many good purposes: not in monkery, he meaneth: not so, God forbid: but any other ways, as should be thought and seem good to the king's majesty. As to maintain, touching preaching, study with praying, and (to the which he is much given) good house-keeping. For to the virtue of hospitality he hath been greatly inclined from his beginning: and is very much commended in these parties for the same.

"So that if CCCCC mark to the king's majesty, with CC mark to yourself, for your good will, might occasion the promotion of his intent, at least wise for the time of his life, he doubteth not to make his

friends for the same; if so little could bring so much to pass. The man is old, a good housekeeper, feedeth many; and that daily. For the country is poor, and full of penury. And alas! my good lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy? 1536. p. 260.

“ Thus, lo! this honest man’s importunity hath brought me beyond my duty, saving for the confidence and trust, that I have always in your benignity. As he hath knowledge from you, so he will prepare for you; ever obedient to your advertisement. Sir William Kyngston can make report of the man. God prosper you, to the uttering all hollow harts of England. Blessed be God, that worketh all. Whose instrument you be, &c. 13 December.

H. L. WIGOR.”

This matter the author of the History of the Reformation briefly touched: where the priory is miscalled Malverine. Hist. Reformation, Book I. p. 237.

When the monasteries were thus visited, they were for the most part surrendered to the king by the abbots, abbesses, priors and prioresses thereof respectively: conscious of their crimes, and willing to have some subsistence, the rather for their voluntary submissions. The commissioners appointed to visit, duly sent in to the lord privy seal accounts of what they did, and how they took their surrenders, with the endowments and revenues thereof, taking into their hands all their convent seals, evidences and muniments; to be sent up. For the shewing this, I will add another letter from some of these visitors in Kent. Surrenders

“ Right Worshipful Sir, It may please you to understand, that we receiving your letters this present Tuesday, at night about seven of the clock, by the hand of John Antony, your servant; advertiseing you, that before the receipt thereof, we have been at the monasteries of Langdon, Dover and Folkston. And have taken a clear surrender of every the said The house of Folkston, Langdon, and Dover, surrendered.

1536. monasteries, under their convent seal, being all recognized in their chapter houses, according to your will and commandment. Whereupon divers tenants, belonging to the said monasteries, have openly attuned unto the king's grace.

"Wee have also received into your custody the convent seals of the said monasteries: and have in like manner received all the evidences belonging to the monastery of Langdon and Folkston. And have likewise received part of the evidences belonging to Dover; such as we thought most expedient. And the residew we have put into a sure chest, under the lock whereof we have the key in our custody.

"Wee have also left the chanons and monks still in their houses, without any clear discharge of them; but have put them at their liberty and choise, whether they will abide their, untill the king's grace's pleasure be further known therein. Or else to go from thence to their friends. Whereof the most part desire to have capacity: and some to be assigned over to other places of religion. Which monks and chanons, at the time of the receipt of the said letters, as we trust and think, are remaining still in their houses.

p. 261. "Advertiseing your mastership further of the state of the said monasteries. First, the house of Langdon is in sore decay, and no manner of grain or other victuals for the relief of the house: the abbot thereof, as is reported, a very unthrifty ill husband, and of evil rule; and his convent very ignorant, and poor.

"The house of Dover is a goodly house, and well repaired in all places, as far as we could perceive. And that the prior, as it was reported unto us, found the house, at his first coming thither, endebted 900*l*. and hath reduced and brought that to an 100*l*. as it is said. Of whose own case, divers of the honest inhabitants of Dover shew themselves very sorry.

"The house of Folkston is a little house well repaired. And the prior a very honest person, and a very good husband, and no less beloved among the

neighbours, &c. And thus the Holy Ghost, &c. 1536.
Written at Canterbury, the xvi. day of November.

Your own, THOMAS BEDYL.

Your servant, HENRY POLSTED.

Your servant, JOHN ANTONY."

But these religious people, thus outed of their houses, were not wholly left to shift for themselves, but had sparing pensions allowed them for their lives: and some had small vicarages or curacies, presentable by their houses, conferred on them. And this will be explained to us by a letter of some of the visitors to the Lord Crumwel, upon a surrender made of St. Andrew's, in Northampton.

Pensions
allowed to
the monks
and friars
discharged.

"It may please your lordship to be advertised, that this second day of March, we have taken a release, and a deed of the feoffment of the monastery of St. Androse in Northampton, to the king's use; and an humble submission of the priory and convent, as we suppose, to the king's honour and contentation; referring our diligence and doing therein to your judgment. Wee have also compounded with the whole convent for their pensions, except the prior and subprior, which desire to abide your order in the assignment of theirs.

A feoff-
ment of St.
Andrew's
to the king
from that
house.

"Here enclosed, your lordship may perceive our order taken with the rest of the convent: having a respect therein to the age, quality and discretion of the persons. And by your lordship's better advice, we think it expedient, the pensions to be paid by the hands of the particular receiver of the suppressed lands in this county of Northampton; and their pensions payable at our Lady Day next insuing. And for that cause we have dispatched them with less money in hand. Wee have also assigned a vicarage of £7. now at this time vacant, to one of the convent, for his pension, which most humbly desireth to have remission of the first fruits thereof; which we judge necessary to be granted by the king's highness, lest the poor man should begg in the mean time; the

Their pen-
sions allot-
ed by the
visitors.

1536. thing being of so small value, that every of them, having this pension, shall be in better case than he.

“ In the hall, chambers ceiled, with the best part of the edifices, are covered with lead. Whether the king’s pleasure is we shall discover the same or not, we desire to be certified by this bringer.

p. 262. “ For the survey of the lands, we shall do therein what we may. Wee find many leases granted unto you by the old prior, much unthrifty, with much tangulling (tangling) and business; with we shall defer unto your lordship at our coming. Thus our Lord send you long life, with encrease of honour. From Northampton. By your lordship’s most assured to command.

WILLIAM PARRE.

Your servant, RYCHARD LAYTON, priest.

Your poor and most bounden old servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWEL.

Your humble and obedient servant,

THOMAS MYLDMAY.”

Then follows,

“ An order taken the 2 day of March, the xxix year of the reign of our Sovereigne Lord King HENRY the Eygth, by his hyghness commissioners, with the religious of th’ late monastery of St. Andrew the Apostle, in Northampton; for their annual pensions: geven unto them only of the king’s charity, during the term of their natural lives. To begin at the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady next ensuing. As on his grace’s behalf is to them promised by the said commissioners.

“ First, Francis Leyceter, late prior, and Tho. Bettes, subprior of the said late monastery, been by the said commissioners respited till my lord privy seal’s pleasure therein be known.

£

Thomas Smith, of the age of LII years, for his yearly pension, 4

£ 1536.

Thomas Gowlstone, of the age of L years, for	
his yearly pension,	4
Robert Martin, of the age of XLI years, &c. .	4
James Hopkins, of the age of LII years, &c. .	4
Richard Bunbery, of the age of XL years, &c. .	4

“ John Rose, of the age of XXXV years, is assigned by the said commissioners to the vicarage of St. Giles, in Northampton, being of the yearly value of VII $\frac{1}{2}$. and of the gift of the said monastery, in recompence of his yearly pension.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
John Harold, of the age of xxxii years, .	lxvi	8
John Barber, of the age of xxxi years, .	lxvi	8
William Ward, of the age of xxix years, .	liii	4
Thomas Atbury, of the age of xxvii years, .	liii	4
William Southcote, of the age of xxxi years, .	liii	4

Signed,

WILLIAM PARRE. RICHARD LAYTON.
ROBERT SOUTHWEL. THO. MYLDMAY.”

And when vast and immense treasures were now flowing in to the crown from these houses, richly endowed, many of them, there wanted not suitors to obtain some shares of the wealth for themselves. And the Lord Crumwel, to whom many made their addresses for his favourable recommendation of them to the king, they made acquainted both with their merits and their needs. Divers of this sort of letters are still extant in our archives; one or two whereof I will set down from their autographs. Suiters for these religious houses, and the revenues of them. p. 263.

One shall be of Sir Tho. Eliot, Kt. a very learned man, as his books still extant do testify, (and a great acquaintance of Sir Tho. More,) who had been the king's ambassador to Rome. He thought his former services had deserved some compensation from the king, especially his domestick concerns being somewhat strait. But it was an objection made to him by Crumwel, that he was lookt upon to be somewhat

1536. on the pope's side. And having prefaced thus much, we come to the letter of this great and wise man, which, as a lasting remembrance of him, follows :

Sir Thomas
Eliot to the
Lord
Crumwel,
for some
supprest
lands.

“ My most special good Lord : Whereas by your continual exercise in weighty affairs, also frequent access of suitors unto your good lordship, I could not find opportunity to give to your lordship due and convenient thanks for your honourable and gentle report to the king's majesty, on Wednesday last past, in my favour : I am now constrained to supply with my pen my said duty ; offering unto your lordship all hearty love and service, that a poor man may owe and bear unto his good lord and approved friend. Which, although hability lacking in me, I cannot express by any benefit, your wisdom notwithstanding, which I have always honoured and trusted, will, I doubt not, accept my good intent ; being, I thank God, ever sincere and without flattery, and evil dissimulation ; I wishing unto your lordship the honourable desires of your heart, with the continual favour of God, and of your prince.

“ My lord, forasmuch as I suppose, that the king's most gentle communications with me, and also his most comfortable reports unto the lords of me, proceeded of your afore remembered recommendations ; I am animate to importune your good lordship with most hearty desires to continue, my good lord, in augmenting the king's good estimation of me. Whereof I promise you before God, your lordship never shall have cause to repent. And where I perceive that ye suspect, that I savour not truly holy scripture, I would God, that the king and you might see the most secret thoughts of my heart. For ye shall then perceive, that, the order of charity saved, I have in as much detestation, as any man living, all vain superstitions, superfluous ceremonies, slanderous janglings, counterfeit miracles, arrogant usurpations of men, called spiritual, and masking religions, and all other abusions of Christ's holy doctrine and laws. And as much I joy at the king's godly proceedings to the due

reformation of the said enormities, as any his grace's poor subjects living. 1536.

“ And therefore, I beseech your good lordship now to lay apart the remembrance of the amity betwixt me and Sir Tho. More, which was but *usq; ad aras*, as is the proverb. Considering, that I was never so much addicted unto him, as I was unto truth, and fidelity towards my sovereign lord, as God is my judge. And therefore my special trust and only expectation is, to be holpen by the means of your lordship. And natural shamefastness more reigneth in me, than is necessary; so that I would not press to the king's majesty without your lordship's assistance: unto whom I have sundry times declared mine indigence, and whereof it hath happened. I therefore most humbly desire you, my special good lord, so to bring me into the king's most noble remembrance, that of his most bounteous liberality, it may like his highness to reward me with some convenient portion of the suppressed lands: whereby I may be able to continue my life according to that honest degree, whereunto his grace hath called me. And that your lordship forget not, that neither of his grace, nor of any other person, I have fee, office, pension or farm; nor have any manner of lucre or advantage, besides the revenue of my poor lands, which are but small; and no more than I may therewith maintain my poor house.

p. 264.

“ And if by your lordship's mean I may atchieve good effect of my suit, your lordship shall not find me ingrate. And whatsoever portion of land that I shall attain by the king's grace, I promise to give to your lordship the first year's fruit, with my assured and faithful heart and service. This letter I have written, because that I heard that your lordship went to the court. And as for my first suit, I shall, at your lordship's better leisure, recontinue it: trusting in your lordship's favour therein. Written at my house by Smithfield this Monday.

Your most bounden,

T. ELYOT, Kt.”

1536.

Audley,
lord chan-
cellor, sues
for St.
Osyths.

Tho. Audley, Lord Chancellor, made his address likewise to the Lord Crumwel, to obtain (as it seems) the abbey of St. Osiths in Essex for him, considering the burthen and charge of his office the king had put him in; who had given him the house and parks only during pleasure. His letter ran in this form: "After my right harty commendations to your good lordship, I sent to you a true copy of the value of the goods of St. Osyes, and of the particularities thereof, delivered to me by Myldmay, the auditor, one of the commissioners. Whereby your lordship may perceive the contents of all the same goods, with the estimate of lead and bells. I was not at the dissolution of the house, nor have a penny-worth of the goods: but I think the commissioners have served the king's majesty both honestly and truly. The commissioners were Sir John Seynteler, Sir Will. Pyrton, Mildmay and Jobson: which be two of the court of augmentation; and a master of the chancery with them, to take the surrendry.

"Indeed I sent for the abbot before the dissolution, and induced him to yield the house to the king's majesty, with his good will: and that he should exhort his convent to conform to the same; who by my advice and exhortation conformed themselves, as humble subjects, without murmur or grudge. Wherein I trust, I have not, for my part, served the king's highness amiss.

"And now I beseech your good mastership to further my suit. His majesty granted all my suit in effect, during his grace's pleasure. And my bill is for term of life. There be offices and fees, that must be given; and I trust to serve his grace honestly in them. I have no fee nor office of his highness, but the chancellorship. And although that be high and honourable, yet it is cumbrous and chargeable. Praying your lordship to know his majesty's pleasure of this little suit. To the intent I may know the end thereof, whereby your good lordship shall administer to me a right great pleasure and quietness, &c.

“ I hartily desire your lordship’s good will, to put me to an end and quietness in this matter. And for the travail your lordship takes in my suits at this time, I will, according to my last letter, give you xx*l.* towards your pains, and my poor harty good will, during my life, &c. Thus fare your good lordship as well, and with as long life as I would my self. Scribled at Eston, at the Earl of Essex his house, the xii. day of August. Thanks be to our lord, the countrey is in good order and quietness about me, and there where I have been, and begin to fall to good quietness without contention. 1536.

Your lordship’s assured to his power,
 THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.”

Whether Audeley obtained St. Osyths, or some benefits of it only, I cannot tell: which afterwards was the seat of the Lord of Darcy, of Chich. But two other rich monasteries became his, namely, the priory of Christ’s Church, or the Holy Trinity, within Algate, London; and that of Saffron Waldon; whereon he built that most stately edifice, called by his own name, *viz.* Audeley End.

But the most commendable suit I find made for one or more of these foundations, was that of a Lord Mayor of London, *viz.* Sir Richard Gresham; whose desire of them proceeded from a truly good principle, and shewed him to have been a worthy magistrate, and that consulted for the publick good; namely, that the great City of London might be provided with some convenient place or places for the harbouring of poor, needy, diseased people, or vagrants, to be employed and set on work; and particularly for the grant of certain antient hospitals in or near London, to be set apart for that purpose. The letter of the said maior was not directed to the king’s abovesaid great officer and vicegerent, but the king himself; which deserving to be preserved and recorded, I here present from the original. The lord mayor sueth to the king for the hospitals.

“ Most redoubted, puissant and noble prince, my

1536.
His letter
for ob-
taining the
same to the
king. Cleo-
patra, E. 4.

p. 266.

most dread, beloved, and natural sovereign lord, I your poor, humble and most obedient servant, considering, and ever more and more perceiving by your virtuous beginnings and charitable proceedings in all your causes, your person and majesty royal to be the elected and chosen vessel of God; by whom not alone the very and true word of God is, and shall be set forth, and according to the truth and verity of the same; but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordained, to redress and reform all crimes, offences and enormities, being repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detriment of the commonwealth, and hurt of the poor people, being your natural subjects; and further to foresee, and vigilantly to provide for the charitable reformation of the same. Which thing hath, and yet doth encourage me; and also my bounden duty obligeth me in special, being most unworthy your Lieutenant, and Maior of your City Royal of London, to inform and advertise your most gracious highness of one thing in special, for the aid and comfort of the poor, sick, blind, aged and impotent persons, being not able to help themselves, nor having no place certain, where they may be refreshed or lodged at, till they be holpen and cured of their diseases and sicknesses.

“ So it is, most gracious lord, that near, and within the City of London, be three hospitals, or spittals, commonly called St. Mary Spittal, St. Bartilmew’s Spittal, and St. Thomas Spittal; and the New Abby of Tower Hill; founded of good devotion by auncient faders; and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the relief, comfort and helping of the poor and impotent people, not being able to help themselves; and not to the maintenance of chanons, priests and monks, to live in pleasure; nothing regarding the miserable people, lying in every street, offending every clean person, passing by the way, with their filthy and nasty savours.

“ Wherefore may it please your marcifful goodness, enclined to pity and compassion, for the relief of

Christ's very images, created to his own similitude ; to order by your high authority, as supreme head of this Church of England, or otherwise by your sage discretion, that your Maior of the City of London, and his brethren, the aldermen for the time being, shall and may for henceforth, have the order, disposition, rule and governance, both of all the lands, tenements and revenues appertaining and belonging to the said hospitals, and every of them ; and of the ministers, which be, or shall be, within every of them. And then your grace shall plainly perceive, that where now a small number of chanons, priests and monks be found for their own profit only, and not for the common utility of the realm, a great number of poor, needy, sickly and indigent persons shall be refreshed, maintained and comforted, and also healed and cured of their infirmities, frankly and freely, by physicians, surgeons and potecaries : which shall have stipend and salary only for that purpose. So that all impotent persons, not hable to labour, shall be relieved ; and all sturdy beggars, not willing to labour, shall be punished.

“ For the which doing, your grace shall not alone-ly merit highly towards God, but shew your self to be more charitable to the poor, than your noble progenitor King Edgar, founder of so many monasteries ; or King Henry III. renewer of Westminster, or King Edward III. founder of the New Abby, or King Henry V. founder of Shene ; but also shall have the name of Conservator, Protector and Defender of the poor people ; with their continual prayer for your health, wealth and prosperity long to endure.

Your humble and most obedient servant,
RYCHARD GRESHAM.”

The above-mentioned King Edgar, the great monastery founder, reminded me of Ramsey Abby, of his foundation ; where was remaining at the dissolution of it, among the muniments, the original charter of King Edgar, in such antique characters as could

p. 267.

1536. scarce be read by Bedyl, the visitor: which being such a piece of antiquity, he concluded would be very acceptable to acquaint the Lord Crumwel with; and the letter of the visitor concerning it I would not let go, without joyning it with the rest, for the sake of our antiquarians now living, to whom such remains will find acceptance.

Charter of
King Ed-
gar for
Ramsey
Abby.

“ Please it you to understand, that in the reading of the muniments and charters of the House of Ramsey, I found a charter of King Edgar, written in a very antique Roman hand, hardly to be read at the first sight, and light enough after that a man hath found out six or seven words, after comparing letter to letter. I am sure you would delight to see the same, for the strangeness and antiquity thereof. In the end thereof is subscribed this:

Signum ÆDGARI incliti et serenissimi Anglorum Imperatoris. +

“ Whereby it may be well noted, that after his conquest the said king wrote himself to be Emperor of England. *Item*, it is to be noted of the subscription of the said charter, that in England were six dukes at that time; for they subscribe this:

Ego Alfwold Dux. Ego Oslac Dux.
Ego Athelstan Dux. Ego Brithmoth Dux.
Ego Alfre Dux. Ego Etheweard Dux.

“ And at that time the king had two sons, Edward and Ethelred, which be subscribed not as dukes, but under this manner:

Signum Edwardi ejusdem Regis filij.
Signum Ethelredi fratris ejus.

“ I have seen also there a charter of King Edward, written after the Conquest, which beginneth thus: ‘ In onomate summi kyriou.’ And soon after the same he writeth this:

‘ Ego Edwardus totius Albionis Dei moderante Gubernatione, Archiepis, Epis, Abbatibus, Centenaris, cunctisq; sanctæ, fidelis ecclesiæ clericis et laicis, insuper et omnibus post me futuris, regibus, salutem, perpetuamq; pacis felicitatem.’ Whereby

ye may note, that King Edward nameth himself
of all Albion, both, and by the name of
England. 1556.

“Also in the said charter is written this: ‘Im-
‘primis ecclesiam beate Dei genetricis quæ Ramisie
‘nuncupatur, ita liberam et quietam, tam ab omni
‘exactione episcopali, quam a seculari esse volo. Ut
‘neq; nos, neq; successores nostri, neq; quilibet epus,
‘neq; quicunq; de judiciaria potestate in ipsam sanc-
‘tam Basilicam, vel in manentes in ipsa, vel in ho-
‘mines, qui cum suis terris, quibuslibet substantiis,
‘ad ipsam tradendam vel devovend. Se voluerint,
‘nisi per voluntatem abbatis et suorum omnium mo-
‘nachorum, ullam unquam habeant potestatem.’

“Of this may be noted, that if King Edward, by his
kingly power, could except this monastery of Ramsey
from all bishops’ powers, the king’s grace may as well
all other abbies, or as many as he will, from the bi-
shops’ powers. p. 268.

“And to this charter subscribed four dukes, Leo-
vricus, Haroldus, Leofwinus, and Eadwinus.

“Further, in the said charter, when I overlooked
it again, I noted these words following: ‘Ipse abbas
‘soli regi serviens, atq; ei soli os ad os respondens,
‘commissum sibi gregem, spirituali et temporali
‘pastu, abundantius foveret. Soli regi ergo, nulli
‘alii subjectus.’

“For which goodness of kings to this house above
all other, in my opinion, they be most bounded to do
their love, faith, and obedience, to the king’s grace,
above other religious houses which be not so exempted
only to the king, immediately; and, as far as I can yet
perceive, the abbot and his brethren here be as well
contented to renounce all the Bishop of Rome his
usurped jurisdiction, and to accept the king’s grace
for the Supreme Head of the Church of England,
as any man may be. And the abbot caused to be
shewed, after my coming hither, his charter of King
Edgar in the parish church, in the pulpit, to the mul-
titude of the parish: whereby was declared, that the

1536. king's grace is Emperor of this his realm, as King Edgar was; which was token of a good mind.

"What I shall further do or find here, or in other places, worthy writing, I shall ascertain you from time to time. To whom I hartily commend me to be had in your remembrance, in this my long absence. From the abbey of Ramsey, the xiii. day of January.

By your own,

THOMAS BEDYL."

This letter he sent to the Lord Crumwel, by his nephew Richard Crumwel, also a visitor in those parts.

A few days after, in another letter writ by the same visitor, the regularity, sobriety, and obedience of the monks of this house, is shewed to Crumwel, and of their desire to be discharged: a matter the more to be remarked, so much wickedness and impiety, and such zeal for the papal power over that of the king, rendring them of the convents so obnoxious. Bedyl's words of these regulars are these:

Commen-
dation of
the abbey
of Ramsey.

"In my hearty wise I commend me unto you; doing you to understand that I am now at Ramsey, where, in mine opinion, the abbey and convent be as true and as faithful obedientiaries unto the king's highness, as any *religious* folks in this realm, and live as uprightly as any other after the best sort of living, that hath been among *religious* folks these many years; that is to say, no more given to ceremonies than is necessary. I pray God I may find other houses in no worse condition, and then I would be right glad that I took the journey, &c. Here in the monastery of Ramsey be two brethren, which have given their bills inclosed unto me, very effectuous, desiring to have liberty to go from their cloister by the king's grace his authority; or else to have license to repair to my Lord of Canterbury, to sue their capacities. (These capacities were faculties to go out of their cloisters.) I have stayed them as well as I can, with such counsels and exhortations as I could give them: but I fear, if they can have no liberty granted,

they will take it of their own authority. I beseech you to write a word or two how I shall behave myself towards them, and all other which will make like suit in no small numbers, as I think : whereof some occasions hath been given by that Dr. Lee, now at Christmas, gave liberty to half the house of Sawtre to depart, as I am informed ; which Sawtre is within five miles of Ramsey. The religious men think that I have like authority with Dr. Lee, and that moveth them to make this suit. Nevertheless I will no longer do therein, or presume such high matters, without your authority and counsel ; beseeching you to write your mind in this behalf, and to such other things which you would have me do in this journey."

1556.

Shall I add one letter more from some of these visitors, which will further open matters in this notable visitation of the religiously professed sort. As we have seen how compliant some of them were, so we may find some of them more refractory, refusing to be visited, and questioning their authority. This the following letter from Legh to Crumwel will explain and shew, in the visitation of Fountains and Rivax :

Some refuse the visitors, and question their authority.

" Pleasith your Mastership to be advertised, that, according to your commandment, with most diligence I have delivered your letter : also, at times most convenient, referred unto the king's commissioner at Rivax, with such credence as your *pleasure* and *equity* would : which, upon the Abbot of Funtane's part, was but lightly regarded, and plainly expressed of the same ; that such letters as I delivered and credence related, was from Mr. Crumwel only, and not from the king's highness. Whereupon, by the counsils of Dr. Spenser and Royear, a proctor, after evident proof by witnesses, and the Abbot of Riwx confession published, the said abbot, among other parts, did lay this expression : ' Quod rigore literarum nullo commissionariis, nec ullorum alicui competit, aut competere potest contra præfatum abbatem de Rivalle ; pro eo videlicet : et ex eo, quod dict. Literæ regię fuerint, et sunt dolosè surreptitię, quod tacita veri-

The Abbot of Fountain's rejection of Crumwel's letters.

1536. ‘tate, et expressa falsitate, per dolum et fraudem, ac hujusmodi serenis. principis nostri circumventionem impetratæ.’ Who, in his obstinacy and perverse mind, adhering to the rules of religion, as he said, departed from Rivax, and would not, according to your letters, there remain, for the accomplishment of the king’s commandment; notwithstanding that I oftentimes desired him, and commanded him in the king’s name to tarry, and make process according to justice, without further delay. Not only in him at this time is so radicate, but also in many of that religion; as in the Abbot of Rywax, writing this letter here enclosed to the slaunder of the king’s highness; and, after the king’s letter, did imprison and otherwise punish divers of his brethren, which were against him and his dissolute living.

Abbot of
Rivax.

p. 270. “Also did take from one of the same, being a very aged man, all his money, which he should have made his jubilee withall.

“That as persons nothing regarding God, and very little our great master the King, under pretence of the rules of their religion, live as persons solute, ‘ab omni lege, seu obedientia, et Deo et Regi debita:’ being aboutwards, as it seemeth, to rule the king by their rules; which is a perverse order, that so noble a head should be ruled by so putrid and most rotten members. ‘Sed Cato inquit, obsta principiis.’ All the countrey make exclamation of this Abbot of Rywax, upon his abominable living and extortions by him committed, also many wrongs to divers miserable persons; which evidently do appear, by bill corroborate, to be true, with their oaths corporal in the presence of the commissioners and the said abbot taken; and upon the same sixteen witnesses examined, affirming their exclamations to be true.

“Therefore, ‘tempore jam instante,’ the king’s majesty considered, whom they have knowledged to be ‘Supremum Caput totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;’ the honour of my Lord of Rutland, in this business, remembered your worship, and also our poor honesty

not forgotten; they would either quickly be lookt upon, and shortly; or else their dissolute living, their rebellious demeanor, shall every day increase more and more, to the displeasure of God, disquietness of the king's prerogative, and reproach scandalous of their religion, with trouble of such countrey as they are inhabited in. 1536.

“The Abbot of Fountane had knowledge at his being at Rywax; the Earl of Cumberland to have parties in a commission to enquire upon his demeanors. Which caused in their business to play two parts. ‘*Nam tunc sua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*’

“These premises considered, I trust ye will think him not worth to be visitor of his religion any longer by the king's authority. And in this case of the Abbot of Rywax, the other commissioners proceeded according to the law, and your credence by me to them related; and condignly have removed from the rule of his abbacy, and administration of the same. With my slow writing I beseech you to take no displeasure. And at the cause thereof, I shall at my coming to London, make true relation unto you. Written in hast, the first day of September. From Belver,

By your servant,
THOMAS LEGH.”

“I pray you note these presumptuous minds, most alienate from religion; having nothing of their own, ne may have their accounts made. Which only to be called an abbacie, will contend contrary to their obedience with the king's highness, the founders, and all other; to the great slaunder of the religion, disquietness and extreme cost and charge of the house.”

Now that I may bring the things of this nature together, I shall here shew the consultations that were entred into, some time before, concerning the retrenching, or wholly taking away of the revenues of the clergy, and the religious; considering how strongly

1536.
p. 271.

inclined the most part of them were towards the authority of the pope in these realms, and their backwardness to acknowledge the king supreme head. By which course might accrue vast wealth to the king, and many others about him, that hoped hereby to enrich themselves: and withal chiefly, and in the first place, be a means of laying aside many gross superstitions, practised in the worship of God, and bringing to pass a reformation of religion so much desired.

Deliberation about suppression of abbies.

And here follow some writings, preparatory to a suppression, containing matters to be deliberated upon by those whom it concerned. And this was one, drawn up by one without a name, but by the hand I verily believe it to be done by Dr. Richard Cox, a very memorable man, afterward tutor to Prince Edward, Dean of Westminster, and lastly Bishop of Ely. He grounds his following discourse upon the probability of the fall of Turcism, and the hopes of the further propagation of the Christian religion; and the necessity of unity and concord of Christendom. And the way to that, a reformation of the abuses introduced into it. The paper follows, as I transcribe it out of the original.

A writing drawn up by way of advice about it. Cleopatra, E. 4.

“ It is very like, that Mahomet’s sect shall shortly be destroyed, and the people converted to Christ’s faith. And that cannot be, but that peace be first had and established in Christen realms; and that good reformation be had of such things as have been brought in against the purity and trouth of Christen religion. For what should it profit to have them converted thurgh the abusions among Christen men? They should be brought after their conversion to greater damnation, than they should have been before. For that would be like to the words of our Master, Christ, which he spake to the Pharisees, Matthew xxiii. when he said, that they went about by lond and sea to make a proselyte: and that when they had done so, they made him the son of hell double more than themselves.

“ And among other things, the abundance of the possessions, and the riches of the clergy, would be reformed. For as long as they live so far from the example of Christ and the apostles, as they have done in times past, it will be hard to bring the people fully to follow their doctrine. And howbeit, I mean not therefore, that I would that the clergy should live only by almes of the people, and in extreme poverty, but that they should have sufficient without abundance: whereby they might quietly and meekly exercise their spiritual ministration to the people, according to their duty. And forasmuch as the worldly honour and riches of the clergy have been greatly born up in time past by the power of Rome, which now, thanked be our Lord, is avoided out of this realm, and so with his mercy shall continue for ever; it is to trust, that the clergy will now, of their own free will, relinquish and forsake the great burden that they have had in time past by great abundance, to the great let and hindrance of their spiritual ministration, as is touched before. And that party will also froforth by diligent prayer, own to have all other abusions and untrue doctrines universally reformed thurgh the realm. And if the king's grace, with the said abundance, will cause some notable acts to be done for the commonwealth, and for the ministration of justice; as, to set vagrant vagabonds to labour, and to relieve such as be poor and impotent, and may not labour: to new-build towns and villages decayed: to turn the unprofitable numbers of parks to tillage: to make highways thurgh the realm, where need requireth: and to do such other good deeds, hee shall undoubtedly highly please our Lord thereby, and also get to himself a right gracious name thurgh all Christen realms. And if they will not with their consent, God will do it. The king by his parliament may in this case with good conscience compel them to it.

1536.
The abundance of the clergy to be reformed.

p. 272.

Works of charity to be done therewith.

“ And if the emperor would do likewise, it is very like, that they two should in short time convert all the

1536. countries that be toward the Turk, with much less daunger and cost, than how men would esteem it could be done.

And for
supplies of
the crown.

“ Furthermore, as it seemeth the king’s grace hath already, that is sufficient for the crown in time of peace; but if war should happen, (which our Lord prohibit,) it would not suffice without aid of the people. And therefore if the king should take into his crown the said abundance, it should be also to him more than needed in the time of peace. And forasmuch as that abundance might happen sometime to lack sure keeping, it should follow thereupon, that in time of need the people should be loth to bear charges, because the treasure of this realm was negligently spent; and what danger might follow thereupon, no man can tell. And though it be not like that such mispending should happen in the king’s time, yet it might be that such chance should happen after his decease. And rulers of commonalties are not only bound to do that in them is, to prevent daungers that might come to the people, that they have rule of in their own time, but are bounden also to do that in them durably is, to prevent all daungers that might come to the people after their death, even to the end of the world.

“ Wherefore it seemeth to sound more to the pleasure of God, to the honour of the king, and to the surety of peace and tranquility of the realm in time to come, that the said abundance be disposed in such charitable uses as I have before rehearsed, than that the king should take it all into his crown. And the builders of the said towns and parks to have such sufficient recompence of the said abundance, that they shall be very well contented to build without grudging. And if the king’s grace do thus, then if it should happen any man hereafter to say, as peradventure some will, that it is pity, that such a house, or such, is suppress; it may be answered, and of likelihood may be answered, that the building again of such a town, or such, or laying to tillage of such

a park, is more to the honour of God, and to the more profit and more surety of the realm, than the standing of an house of religion suppressed was, when it was in his highest prosperity. 1536.

“ And this should seem to be the exalting and lifting up of the son of a noble mother, that is spoken of in a little writing, that beginneth thus, ‘ Consurget ‘ furor contra simplicem,’ &c. Which writing, though it be not of authority, yet I suppose verily, that it is true. And in the latter end of the said writing, it is said thus, ‘ Filius inclytæ matris feliciter sublimabitur, ‘ et in manibus ejus potestas et gloria. In utraque ‘ insula fiet pax diebus ipsius, et orrea (horrea) ‘ gleba implebunter.’ And those words may, it seems, be conveniently applyed to Queen Elizabeth, mother to the king; and to the king himself; and also to londs and islands. Conjecture of a certain writing, propheticall. p. 273.

“ And first, that the said Queen Elizabeth, (*viz.* King Henry VII. his queen,) was a noble mother and a noble woman, it may appear thus. She was the right heir to the bloud royal of the Saxons, that were many years kings of this realm. And she was also right heir to William Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, that by his conquest was king of this realm. And over these, she was also right heir to the crown of France. And she was also daughter to a king, suster to a king, wife to a king, and mother to a king; and also to two queens. And she was also noble in virtue, and blessedly she departed out of this life: and that in the love of all the people, and to the great heaviness and lamenting of them all.

“ And may it not then be truly said, that she was a *noble mother*? And, thanking be to our Lord, peace is now in England and Ireland. And so it is very like to be, during the king’s life. And so it is very like, the plenty of corn shall be in both the said countries. Wherefore, me seemeth, the very words may conveniently be applied and expounded in such manner, as I have before rehearsed. And there is nothing that will more apparently make the said

1536. application to appear true, than if the king's grace will build townes, and avoid parks, for encrease of the people. For it is said, Proverbs xiv. 'In the multitude of people is the glory of a king.' And also our Lord said, Proverbs viij. 'My delight is to be with the sons of men.' Wherefore it should seem, that he doth much to the pleasure of God, that doth, or causeth to be done, any notable act, whereby the people of God, with whom he hath delight to be, is increased.

"It is therefore very like, that if the king's grace will increase his people, whereby the delight of God, and the glory also of himself shall be increased, that the same words, 'Filius inclytæ matris feliciter sublimabitur,' may, for the causes before remembred, be conveniently taken and understood to be spoken precisely of him."

The foresaid writing seems to have been some pretended prophecy, spread about in these times, perhaps by some of the monks, illwillers to the king and his proceedings, which this writer converted to a more favourable interpretation on the king's part.

Another paper in order to a suppression.

Another paper, in order to a suppression of monasteries, and diminishing the revenues of the bishops and secular clergy also, was drawn up, shewing the convenience thereof, upon a more politic account; and was presented, I suppose, to Crumwel, being found among his papers; which bore this title:

A project for increasing the king's revenues out of the church.

"Things to be moved to the king's highness, for an increase and augmentation to be had, for maintenance of his most royal state; and for the defence of his realm, and necessary to be provided, for taking away the excess; which is the great cause of the abuses in the church.

p. 274.

"First, That it may be provided by authority of parliament, by an act in due form to be made, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, for maintenance of his state, shall have MM. (*i. e.* two thousand) marks

yearly; and not above. And that all the residue of the possessions, as pertaining to the said archbishoprick, may be made sure to the king's highness and his heirs, for the defence of his realm, and maintenance of his royal state. 1536.

“ *Item*, That it may be likewise provided, that the Archbishop of York may have M. *l.* (*i. e.* a thousand pounds) yearly, and not above, for the maintenance of his state. And the residue to be to the king and his heirs, in form abovesaid.

“ *Item*, That it be likewise provided, that every bishop, that may dispend above a M. (thousand) marks yearly, to have assigned to him one M. marks, but not above, for maintenance of his degree. And the residue to the king, in form aforesaid.

“ *Item*, That his highness may have further maintenance of the state of the Supreme Head of the Church of England, to him, and to his heirs, the first fruits of every bishoprick, benefice, dignity or promotion spiritual, for one year next after every vacation thereof; of whose gift soever it be. And that the first fruits to the Bishop of Norwich may cease, and no longer be paid but to the king.

“ *Item*, That the king's highness may have, to him, and to his heirs, for the maintenance of his royal state, and theirs, all the lands and possessions of monasteries, abbies, priories, and houses of religion, or conventual; whereof the number in any one house, is, or of late hath been less than a covent, that is to say, under 13 persons.

“ *Item*, That in such abbies and monasteries of monks, and other religious men, where the number is above a covent, be it provided, that for every monk, being a priest, there may be assigned of the possessions of the house X. mark; and for every novice, not being a priest, V. *l.* And to every abbot, or governor of his house, as much of the possessions of his house in yearly value, as the whole convent shall have assigned among them all. To the intent, that every such abbot or governor shall keep hospitality,

1536. and the reparations of his house. And the residue of the possessions of the house to be to the king, and to his heirs.

“ *Item*, If abbies and monasteries of religious women be above a convent; be it provided, that every nun of the house may have assigned to them for their finding yearly X. marks. And the abbess or princess to have yearly as much as all the nuns for hospitality, and to the reparation of the house. And the residue to be to the king, and his heirs.

“ *Item*, That the king's highness may have the moyety, and halfendale of the dividends in every cathedral or collegiate church. And the other moyety to go to the residents, as it been accustomed.

“ *Item*, That the king's highness and his heirs may have the third part of the revenue of every arch-deaconry within the realm.

p. 275. “ *Item*, That the Lord of St. John's, during his life, may have one M. (*i. e.* thousand) marks, and not above. And the residue of the revenue to the king and to his heirs. And immediately after the decease of the said Lord of St. John's, to the king's highness, to have all the whole lands and possessions now appertaining to the said Lord of St. John's: and likewise all the lands and possessions of every commandry, after the decease of the knights now living, and being in possession thereof. To the intent, that his highness, after these possessions shall fall and come into his hands, may with the profit thereof, devise and practise for the maintenance of his estate and his children; and for invasion, defence and enterprize against the Irish men.

The act for
the dissolution
of
this order
was in the
year 1540.

“ *Item*, That justice may be truly and indifferently ministered by the king's only ministers and officers, to all the king's subjects; that all franchises and liberties to any archbishoprick, bishoprick, cathedral church, church collegiat, monastery, priory or other house, conventual or cathedral, may be resumed and annexed to the crown for ever; court barons and leets only excepted.

“ And over this, that his highness may have, as well towards the charge of the wars now present and begun, for the defence of Ireland, (which happened anno 1535,) as for the making the haven of Dover, and divers piles, fortresses, blockhouses and other munitions against Scotland; and other confines of the realm, necessary for the surety and defence thereof, these rates following: 1536.

“ First, of every spiritual person that may expend xx*l.* or above, 4*s.* of the pound, to be paid in two years: that is to say, 2*s.* of the pound.

“ *Item*, Of every spiritual person that may dispend under xx*l.* 2*s.* of the pound: that is to say, 12*d.* one year, and 12*d.* another.

“ *Item*, Of every temporal person, that may dispend in land xx*l.* or above, or be worth in moveable substance 100*l.* or above, 2*s.* of every pound in two years, that is to say, 12*d.* every year.

“ *Item*, Of every temporal person that may spend xls. or above, and under xx*l.* or be worth in moveable substance, vi*l.* or above, and under x*l.* 12*d.* in the pound in two years, that is to say, 6*d.*

“ *Item*, That all strangers inhabited, and resiant in the realm, to pay double the rate of the king's temporal subjects.”

This paper seems to have been drawn up to be laid before a parliament. And it may appear hence, that the statesmen were now meditating to advance the king's revenues by all ways and means, though others in very great numbers suffered, especially the spirituality, thereby; by withdrawing great quantities of the means settled upon them from antient times, to keep up their state, and maintain hospitality. And not only the monasteries were to feel their punishment, where much superstition and wickedness was practised, but the archbishops and bishops, and all other dignified churchmen were to bear their shares. Though all did not so roundly and fully yet take place, as this scheme propounded.

And for the same end and purpose, viz. for the in-

1536.
Commis-
sion for
taking the
true values
of first
fruits and
tenths.
p. 276.

crease of the king's royal estate, by advancing his revenues, the parliament had given him the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical preferments whatsoever, throughout the whole kingdom. And accordingly proper persons were appointed to go and take a true account of them, by all the ways and means that could be. And instructions were given them, according to which they should proceed in this great work and business. Which Instructions remain in the original parchment fairly written, in the Cotton Library; where, at the bottom of the first page, (for the value of it, I suppose,) Sir Robert Cotton wrote, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*, 1612. This was done pursuant to the act, "For the augmentation of the king's royal state and dignity of Supreme Head:" whereby the first fruits of all benefices, dignities, offices, &c. spiritual, was to be paid to the king; and a yearly revenue, being the tenths of all livings. Which act was made, *anno regni* 26. The title of these instructions ran thus:

INSTRUCTIONS.

"Devised by the king's highness, by the advice of his council, for knowledge to be had of the whole true and just yearly value of all the possessions, manours, lands, tenements, hereditaments and profits, as well spiritual as temporal; appertaining to any manner of dignity, monastery, priory, church collegiate, church conventual, parsonage, vicarage, chauntry, free chapel, or other dignity, office or promotion spiritual, within this realm, Wales, Calais, Barwick, and marches of the same, as well in places exempt as not exempt. Which his pleasure is, that such as shall have charge by his immediate commission to survey the same, shall effectually, with all uprightness and dexterity, follow and ensue, as they will answer unto his majesty at their peril.

"First, It is ordained that several commissions shall be made into every diocese, shire, and place within this realm, and into Wales, Calais, &c. and

to such number of persons as it shall please his majesty to assign," &c. 'Tis long, and so I omit it. 1536.

I shall only set down the king's particular commission to the commissioners, for taking the value of the benefices in London, viz.

"HENRICUS Octav. Dei gratia Angliæ, &c. Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hib. et in Terra Supremum Caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ; Reverend. in Christo Epo. London. Ac dilectis et fidelibus suis, Johanni Champneis, M. Thomæ Crumwel, magno secretario suo, Johanni Alleyn, mil. Thomæ Bedel, clerico, Johanni Baker, Henrico White, Johi. Onely, Thomæ Rusheton, Willo. Bowyer, Paulo Withipol, Rico. Gressham, Henr. Myldmay, Thom. Burgoyne, Tho. Roberts, et Johi. Noote, auditoribus, salutem. The king's commission for London.

"Sciatis, quod nos de fidelitatibus, et providis circumspectionibus vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos, quinq; quatuor vobis, ac quinq; quatuor, et tribus vestrum, vel in majori aut minori numero, prout per discretiones vestras, vobis melius visum fuerit, plenam potestatem et auctoritatem, ad inquirendum, scrutandum et examinandum, viis, modis, quibus scire poteritis, infra civitatem London. et libertat. ejusdem, de omnib. et singulis articulis, et instructionibus præsentib. annexis, faciendis et exequend. cum effectu, prout in eisd. articulis plenius continentur," &c. p. 277 The sum of that which followed was, "That they should do this with diligence, *absq; favore, fraude, dolo, corruptione.* And what they had done, to certify to the treasurer, the chancellor, chamberlains and barons of the exchequer, under their seals: giving them power to call before them, and to examine for this purpose, *tales et tantos, scribas, registrarios*, scribes, registers, receivers, auditors, and other officers and ministers, whatsoever, prelates and clergy of the church. And to all maiors, sheriffs, bailiffs, registers, and other officers and ministers, to be assistant to them in the premisses."

1536.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Charter House in London. Queen Anne's death. A favourer of the reformation. Her discourse in the Tower. The condition of the Lady Elizabeth, her daughter. The Lady Mary addresseth to the king. Articles for her.

The monks
of the
Charter
House.

THE monks of the Charter House, London, remaining refractory still, the king, being loth to go to the utmost extremity, endeavour was used to reclaim them, and enlighten them with a clearer knowledge of the nature of the supremacy, being for the most part young men. It was thought expedient therefore to separate them from one another. Four of the chief were disposed into two other houses of the same order, in the furthest part of the realm: and eight more they sent to Syon, an house of the order of St. Bridget, that they might there be persuaded to yield to the king. At last many of them took the oath, having been threatned otherwise to have their house plucked down. But while they took the oath, they said in their hearts, "Thou knowest, O God, how false and unjust this oath is, that these men wrest from us. Thou knowest what exceptions and alleviations we have alledged. Thou seest the streights of time, and how we are threatned. 'But skin for skin, and all that a man hath will he give for his life.' 'Evil is not to be done that good may come. But since thou knowest the hearts of all men, and how willingly we resist them, we beseech thy mercy not to respect the manner which we perform outwardly, in laying our hand upon the book of the gospel, and kissing it: nor take it, as if we were assenting to the king's will: but take this our outward dissimulation as our reverence to the sacred word written in the gospel, for the preservation of our house, if it shall please thy goodness." But there were ten monks that thought not fit thus to dissemble. And they were put out of the convent, in June 1537, and laid in

Hist. Mart.
Anglia,
fol. 59.

prison : where, saith their historian, they all died but one, named William Horne, who in 1541 was put to death. Two of the four that were removed from this house, were placed in a house of religion near Hull ; where they were busy in the rebellion that happened this year in the north ; and so were executed, and hung in chains at York, 1537, whose names were John Rochester and James Wannert. In the year 1539, all of them that remained were expelled their house ; consisting of twelve professed monks, three guests, and six converts professed. In the church the king's tents and ammunition were laid. The house was afterward given to Sir Edward North, who there built himself a fair dwelling, and made a parlour of the church ; pulling down most of the cloisters.

1536.

p. 278.

The dissolution of that house.

The state of the monks of the Charter House that were still against the king's supremacy, anno 1537, when the surrender of it was made, may appear from Thomas Betyl, the visitor's own letters to Crumwel : giving an account of a great mortality among them. " My very good lord, after my most harty commendations ; it shall please your lordship to understand, that the monks of the Charter House here at London, committed to Newgate, for their treacherous behaviour continued against the king's grace, be almost dispatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by this bill enclosed, (which follows at the end of the letter.) Wherefore considering their behaviour, and the whole matter, I am not sorry ; but would that all such as love not the king's highness and his worldly honour were in like case.

The surrender of the Charter House by the prior. Cleopatra, E. 4.

" My lord, as ye may, I desire you in the way of charity, and none otherwise, to be good lord unto the prior of the said Charter House, which is as honest a man as ever was in that habit, or else I am much deceived ; and is one which never offended the king's grace by disobedience of his law ; but hath laboured very sore continually for the reformation of his brethren. And now at the last, at mine expectation

1536. and instigation, constantly moved, and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands and goods into the king's hands, and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my lord, that the said prior may be so intreated by your help, that he be not sorry and repent, that he hath feared and followed your sore words, and my gentle exhortation made unto him, to surrender the said house, and think that he might have kept the same, if your lordship and I had not led him to the said surrender. But surely I believe that I know the man so well, that whatsoever he be ordered, he would be content without grudge. He is a man of such charity, as I have not seen the like.

“As touching the house of the Charter House, I pray God, if it shall please the king to alter it, that it may be turned into a better use; seeing it is in the face of the world, and much communication wol run thereof throughout this realm. For London is the common country of all lands: from whence is derived to all parts of this realm, all good and evil accidents here. From London, the xiv. day of June.

By your lordship's at commaundment,
THOMAS BEDYL.”

p. 279.

There be departed,
Brother William Grenewood,
Dane John Davye,
Brother Robert Salte,
Brother Walter Peerson,
Dane Thomas Grene.

There be even at the point of death,
Brother Thomas Scriven,
Brother Thomas Reading.

There be syck,
Dane Thomas Jonson,
Brother William Horne.

One is whole,
Dane Bird.

These had been all committed to Newgate, being monks of the Charter House, that would not take the oath to the king. 1536.

This year, (1536,) in the month of May, Queen Anne Boleyn was beheaded: a great friend and patroness of the reformed religion.

Queen Anne's death. She was a favourer of the reformation.

She was very nobly charitable, and expended largely in all manner of acts of liberality, according to her high quality. And among the rest of her ways of shewing this Christian virtue, she being a favourer of learning, together with her father, the Lord Wiltshire, and the Lord Rochford her brother, maintained divers ingenious men at the universities.

Among the rest were these men of note, Dr. Hethe, afterward Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor; Dr. Thirlby, afterward Bishop of Ely; and Mr. Paget, afterward Lord Paget, and Secretary of State: all which in her time were favourers of the gospel, though afterwards they relapsed. Of Paget one hath observed, that he was a most earnest protestant, and being in Cambridge, gave unto one Raynold West, Luther's book, and other books of the Germans, as Franciscus Lambertus de Sectis: and that, at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetorick openly in Trinity Hall; and was a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the protestants then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons out of their cowles.

Hethe. Thirleby. Paget.

Foxe's Mon. p. 961.

This queen was also a great favourer of those that suffered for religion. Let this letter ensuing, writ by her to Crumwel, stand upon record here, shewing both her love to such sufferers, and her high esteem of the Word of God.

And such as were persecuted for it.

By the Queen.

"Anne the Queen. Trusty and right well beloved, wee greet you well. And whereas, we be credibly enformed, that the bearer hereof, Rychard Herman, merchant, and citizen of Antwerp, in Brabant, was, in the time of the late lord cardinal, put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship of and in the Eng-

Her letter to Crumwel, Cleop. E. 5.

1536. lish House there, for nothing else, as he affirmeth, but only for that, that he did, both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in this world, help to the setting forth of the New Testament in English; wee therefore desire and instantly pray you, that with all speed and favour convenient, ye woll cause this good and honest merchant, being my lord's true, faithful and loving subject, to be restored to his pristin freedom, liberty and fellowship aforesaid. And the sooner at this our request: and at your good plesure to hear him in such things as he hath to make further relation unto you in this behalf. Yeven under our signet, at my lord's mannor of Grenewich, the xiv. day of May."

p. 280.

Divers say-
ings of Q.
Anne in
the Tower.

Hist. Re-
for. vol. i.
p. 198.

Life of
King
Henry, p.
416. Her
words at
her first
coming to
the Tower.

Kyngston's
first letter,
Cot. Lib.

Such a material piece of history in the king's reign, besides what is written by our historians, may deserve divers particular remarks to be shewn, concerning this queen's behaviour and her speeches, from the time of her commitment to the Tower to her execution. Which I am enabled to give from five or six letters of Sir William Kyngston, constable, or (as others) lieutenant, of the Tower, to Secretary Crumwel. And I do it the rather to represent matters concerning this queen in her afflictions the more largely, exactly and distinctly; which Bishop Burnet hath set down from the same papers more briefly and imperfectly. And perhaps upon the reading of what follows, some things which that reverend author attributes to fits and vapours in the queen, may find a better and truer interpretation. The Lord Herbert also has given us only some short hints of these things.

After the Duke of Norfolk, and some other of the king's council who had conducted Queen Anne to the Tower, (which was on the 2d of May) were departed, the said constable of the Tower went before her into her lodging. And then she said to him, Mr. Kyngston, shall I go into a dungeon? He answered her, No, Madam; you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation. Upon which she said, It is too good for me. And further said, Jesu! have

mercy on me ; and then kneeled down, weeping a great pace ; and in the same sorrow, fell into a great laughing. And so she did several times afterwards. Then she desired Mr. Kyngston to move the king's highness, that she might have the sacrament in the closet by her chamber, that she might pray for mercy. For I am as clear, said she, from the company of man, as for sin, as I am clear from you : and again, the king's true wedded wife. And then she said, Mr. Kyngston, do you know wherefore I am here ? And he said, Nay. And then she asked him, when he saw the king ? He said, not since he saw him in the tilt yard, (which was but the day before at Greenwich, when he seemed first to take a displeasure against her.) And then she asked him, I pray you tell me, where my lord, my father is ? He told her, he saw him afore dinner in the court. O ! where is my sweet brother ? (For she feared the king's displeasure against her would reach unto all her relations.) Kyngston replied, I left him at York Place : thinking it convenient to conceal it from her, though he was committed the same day. I hear say, said she, that I shall be accused by three men ; and I can say no more, but Nay, though you should open my body ; and therewith she opened her gown ; adding, O ! Norris, hast thou accused me ? Thou art in the Tower with me ; and thou and I shall die together. And Mark, (another that accused her,) thou art here too. And then with much compassion she said, O ! my mother, thou wilt die with sorrow. And then she much lamented my Lady Worcester, (being with child,) because her child did not stir in her body. And when the constable's wife, being present, asked, what might be the cause, she said, it was for the sorrow she took for me.

Then she said, Mr. Kyngston, shall I die without justice ? To which he replied, the poorest subject the king had, had justice ; and therewith she laughed. All these sayings happened that night. The next morning, in conversation with her, these speeches hap-

1586.

pened, related by Sir William Kyngston in his foresaid letter: Mrs. Cosins, a gentlewoman appointed to wait upon the queen here, and that lay on her pallete bed, said, that Norris (one of those that were accused about her) did say, on Saturday last, unto the queen's amner, that he would swear for the queen, that she was a good woman. And then the said gentlewoman added, speaking to the queen (as minding to enquire of her concerning the occasion of her present trouble), Madam, why should there be any such matters spoken of? Marry, said the queen, I bade him do so; for I asked him why he did not go through with his marriage? (with some lady, it seems, Norris courted); and he made answer, he would tarry a time. Then said she, You look for dead men's shoes; for if ought should come to the king, but good, you would look to have me. Then he said, if he should have any such thought, he would his head were off. And then she said, she could undo him, if she would. And therewith they fell out.

And then she said, I more fear Weston (another that was cast into the Tower about her business); for Weston had said unto her, that Norris came more unto her chamber for her than he did for Mage (the name, I suppose, of one of the queen's maids that he courted). And further, Kingston related another saying, which the queen spake to him concerning Weston (whom also she had sometimes talk with, coming often in her way; which might create a jealousy concerning him), that she had spoke with him, because he did love her kinswoman, Mrs. Skelton; and said to him, that he loved not his wife (spoken by way of reproof). And he made answer to her again, that he loved one in her house better than them both. And the queen said, Who is that? He gave this answer: It is your self. And then she defied him, as she said to Kingston (in scorne and displeasure, as reflecting upon her honour, undoubtedly). These passages between the queen and them was the cause of all their deaths, coming some way or other to the jealous king's ears;

for she, being of a free and courteous nature, would exchange words sometimes, and enter into some talk with such as she met in the court; and with these gentlemen, who were of the privy chamber, and so happened often to come where she was: and some of their discourse happened to be brought to the king by some officious person, that owed her no good will. 1536.

In another letter to Secretary Crumwel, he wrote these passages concerning the said queen: That she much desired to have there in her closet the Sacrament, and also her amner for one hour, when she was determined to die (that is, to suffer death). After an examination of her at Greenwich, before some of the council, the said Kyngston sent for his wife and Mrs. Cosins (who both were appointed to be always with her), to know of them how she had done that day? They said, she had been very merry, and made a good dinner; and after, called for a supper. And then called for him, and asked him where he had been all day? And after some words she began talk, and said, she was cruelly handled at Greenwich with the king's council, namely, with my Lord of Norfolk (who was indeed her enemy); and that he said (to what she had spoken, as it seems, in her own defence), *Tut, Tut, Tut*; and shaking his head three or four times. And as for Mr. Treasurer, he was, said she, in the forest of Windsor. You know, added the writer of the letter, what she meant by that. And then named Mr. Comptroller (another of the council) to be a very gentleman. But she to be a queen, and so cruelly handled, it was never seen. *But I think the king doth it to prove me.* And then laughed withal, and was very merry; and then she said, I shall have justice. Then said the constable, Have no doubt therein. Then she said, If any man accuse me, I can say, but *nay*; and they can bring no witness.

And in some communication with the Lady Kyngston and Mrs. Cosins, I would to God, said she, I had my bishops: for they would all go to the king for me: for I think the most part of England prayeth

She desires the sacrament in her closet, and her amner with her.
Kyngston's second letter.

p. 282.

She wishes for her bishops to go to the king for her.

1536. for me ; and if I die, you shall see the greatest punishment for me within this seven years, that ever came to England. (This she spake, no doubt, in the confidence of her innocency ; and God's righteous and visible judgments, for the most part, for shedding innocent blood : and, indeed, within the seventh year following, happened a dreadful pestilence in London, and many commotions and insurrections to the end of this reign.) *And then, said she, shall I be in heaven ; for I have done many good deeds in my days.* Then she took notice of divers women set about her, that she liked not ; saying, I think much unkindness in the king, to put such about me as I never loved. Then Kyngston shewed her, that the king took them to be honest and good women. But I would have had of my own privy chamber, replied she, which I favour most, &c.

In another letter of Kyngston to Crumwel, he relates how she desired of him to carry a letter to the said Crumwel (of whose friendship she had a belief). But he (it seems, not thinking it safe for him to carry letters from her) said to her, that if she would tell it him by mouth, he would do it. For which she gave him thanks ; and added, that she much marvelled that the king's council came not to her, as seeming to be ready to justify her self. The same day she said, we should have no rain till she was delivered out of the Tower ; it being a season that wanted rain. (Thinking, probably, that God, who takes care of innocency, would vindicate her, by giving or withholding the clouds of heaven.) To which Kyngston replied, I pray it may be shortly, because of the fair weather ; adding, you know what I mean (that is, the king's reconciliation to her).

Women set
about her,
disliked.

Other occasional speeches of hers were these : She said concerning such women as were set about her, that the king wist what he did, when he put two such about her as my Lady Bolen and Mrs. Cosins ; for they could tell her nothing of my lord, her father, and nothing else : but that she defied them all. (Meaning

any about her whosoever, to be able to charge her with any dishonourable act.) But then upon this, my Lady Bolen (her kinswoman) said to her, *Such desire as you have had to such tales* (tale-carriers or tellers, as some perhaps of her women were) *have brought you to this.* Then said Mrs. Stoner (another gentlewoman about her), Mark (Smeton the musician, another committed to the Tower, an accuser of the queen) is the worst cherished of any in the house, for he weareth irons. The queen said, that was because he was no gentleman; and he never was at my chamber (and so could know less, she meant, than any, what was done by her, or any with her there) but at Winchester, and there she sent for him to play on the virginals: for there my lodging was above the king's; and I never spake with him since, but upon Saturday before May day (that fatal day when the king first conceived his jealousy), and then I found him standing in the round window in my chamber of presence; and I asked him why he was so sad? And he answered and said, it was no matter. And then she said, You may not look to have me speak to you as I would do to a noble man, because ye be an inferior person. No, no, said he, a look sufficeth me; and thus fare you well. This shews him to be some haughty person, and thought the queen gave him not respect enough, and so might take this opportunity to humble her, and revenge himself by this means on her, not thinking it would cost him his own life. 1536.

Another letter of Sir William Kyngston to Crumwel, giving an account of this queen's behaviour at her execution, is published in the History of the Reformation, which began thus: "Sir, This shall be to advertise you, that I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower. And so they be, by the means of Richard Gresham, and William Loke, and Withepole. But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not many bothe (other)." *Armed* is added in the said history, which word is not in the original letter. Other mis-

p. 283.

Vol. I.

P. 204.

Otho, c 10.

1536. takes there, this more exact transcription will rectify thus far in the letter.

Her letter.
to the king.

Another letter of hers to the king, beginning, *Sir, Your grace's displeasure, &c.* is published in the said history. But this passage following, wrote at the end of her letter, I think worthy to be transcribed, and set here, the reverend author of that book relating it imperfectly, viz.

The king sending a message to the Queen Anne, being prisoner in the Tower, willing her to confess the truth, she said, "She could confess no more then she had already spoken. And she said, she must conceal nothing from the king, to whom she did acknowledge her self so much bound for many favours: for raising her first from a mean woman to be a marquess; next to be his queen; and now, seeing he could bestow no further honour upon her on earth, for purposing to make her, by martyrdom, a saint in heaven."

No pre-
contract
between
her and the
Earl of
Northum-
berland.

I add one remark more concerning this queen: That at this time of her being in the Tower, a former charge was revived against her; namely, the contract of marriage between her and the present Earl of Northumberland, before her marrying with the king; designing, if they could prove this, to make her former marriage with the king unlawful and void, and to make the smoother way for his marrying with the Lady Jane. But whatsoever the afflicted queen confessed, to save her life, or to change the way of her execution from burning to beheading, that there never was any such precontract the said Earl protested solemnly, in a letter to Secretary Crumwel, who, it seems, had now desired to know the truth from himself; therein telling him how he had formerly, before the two archbishops, viz. Warham and Wolsey, utterly denied it upon his oath and the receiving of the sacrament; so he now confirmed it in this letter, which the Bishop of Sarum saying he saw, but entred it not in his History, Vol. I. yet in his third he hath: to which recourse may be had by such as are pleased to peruse it, which I find is correctly set down from the original.

p. 284.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
Coll. p. 113.

This letter was more shortly entred by the Lord Herbert in his History, leaving out something in the beginning and end of the said letter, and the earl's subscription. 1536.

In what ill case the young Lady Elizabeth now was, any one may guess, she being degraded into a meaner condition upon the queen her late mother's divorce and death; and what it was will in part appear by a letter of the Lady Margaret Brian, governess of the king's children, sent to Crumwel, now lord privy seal, from Hunsden, for his instructions how she should now manage the Lady Elizabeth, and to know how she should be served with diet and attendance; and withal acquainting him with her present need, and praying for a supply of cloaths for her mourning. Mr. Shelton, who was one of the chief of the house there, and calling himself master of that house, was for the said young lady, not being much above three years old, to dine at a table of state; which this discrete lady governess thought by no means convenient considering her age, lest she sitting at so plentiful a table, furnished with wine, fruit, and other dainties, by eating and drinking thereof too freely, might overcharge her stomach, and be an occasion hereby of sickness to her self; and that she might rather be appointed to have a mess or two in her own lodging, where she might be more under the oversight and care of her the said lady governess as to her diet, and the reversion of her table might go to her women, gentleman usher, and groom, eleven servants in all; and in short, she advised that the same course of diet might be observed towards her grace as was towards the Lady Mary's grace. And this she judged the better managing of her house, and withal save the king much expence. And then praying an order, agreeable hereunto, should be sent from him the Lord Crumwel, or the king, to the said Mr. Shelton, without letting him know that this advice came from her.

And what hope there was, that this young Lady Elizabeth would afterwards prove an excellent accom-
The condition of the Lady Elizabeth.
Great promising hopes of her.

1536. plished woman, and of whom the king should in all probability have great comfort, the Lady Brian added "That although by reason of her pain in breeding her teeth, she, her governess, gave her a little more her will, she was as toward a child, and of as gentle conditions, as ever she knew any in her whole life." These are but the short contents of the letter of the Lady Elizabeth's governess, concerning that princess's state and circumstances at this time: who afterwards proved one of the greatest and wisest princes that ever ruled this land. And the letter deserveth to be preserved for some supply of her history in her youngest years. Read it in the Appendix, as

No.LXXI I transcribed it from the original.

The Lady
Mary sues
to be re-
conciled to
her father.

p. 285.

So that after the beheading of Queen Anne, the Lady Elizabeth her daughter came under the like inconvenience with Queen Katharine's daughter, the Lady Mary: both declared princesses successively, and both successively degraded of their titles, and declared illegitimate. But the Lady Mary, thinking this to be a good opportunity to attempt the being received again as the king's daughter and heir, was advised by some about her to sollicite and apply to the king her father, to take her into his favour. And accordingly she sent her message to him, acknowledging her former obstinacy, and begging of him to be reconciled to her. Whereupon were several articles, seven in number, drawn up, and brought to her by the Duke of Norfolk to sign. The contents of them were, "Whether she recognized the king, and submitted to all his statutes and laws: whether she acknowledged him supreme head, under Christ, of the Church of England: whether she refused the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority: whether she took and thought it in her heart, the marriage of her mother to be unlawful and indispensable, and the divorce justly done: and whether she accepted herself illegitimate and a bastard: why she held out in her obstinacy thus long, and what causes induced her now to submit herself?" These articles

shall be fully set down in the Appendix, as I found them among certain MSS. of the Lord Burghley; and I have the rather transcribed them, because they are very much curtailed in the Lord Herbert's History, and one of them, namely, the fifth article, which relates to her acknowledgment of herself a bastard, wholly left out.

1536.
Vid. No.
LXXV.

Life of
King Hen.
p. 450.

The four first of these she signed, saith that noble author, and, I suppose, the fifth too by him omitted. For it is certain, either now or soon after, she acknowledged her mother's marriage incestuous and unlawful: which was to acknowledge herself illegitimate, as may be seen in the transcript of a writing by her subscribed, preserved in the Cotton Library, and printed by the right reverend author of the "History of the Reformation." But she would make no discovery of persons or causes, as she was required in the two last articles. But one of the causes that inclined her to make the abovesaid acknowledgment, might be the prospect of a marriage, that was soon after moved by the French king's ambassadors, to be celebrated betwixt his second son, the Duke of Orleans, and her: an intimation whereof the Lord Herbert gives. But upon some great passion King Henry was put into by the ambassadors, he tells us, that matter of marriage was scarcely propounded. But by a memorial thereof, which is among the aforesaid MSS. it appears, there were some considerable transactions concerning it, between the two French ambassadors, and some of the king's council. Wherein may be seen, that the king was very inclinable to it, and required for that purpose, that the young duke should be sent over into England, to live here, to learn the customs, language and manners of the English nation; the king's intentions being hereby to use him as his own son, in order to the advancing him to the crown of England. But read the Memorial itself.

The Lady
Mary sub-
scribes to
certain ar-
ticles.

Vol. I.
P. 207.

Vid. No
LXXVI.

Queen Anne's death, as it was probably of the Romanists procuring, so it was good news to them.

The pa-
pists glad
of Queen
Anne's
death.

1586. For they reckoned her (and that truly enough) a great instrument in putting the king forward to what he had done in reforming religion. Pole, in a letter to the king, wrote within two months after her death, takes leave to call her the king's "Domestick evil, which God, as he said, had rid him of: and that she was thought to be the cause of all his errors. And that with her head (cut off,) he trusted, God had cut away all occasion of such offences as had separated the king from the light of God: and that from her descended all *disorders*." As he had stiled the orders made for the correcting and regulating the corruptions of religion.

Favourers
of religion
persecuted.

When therefore the papists had got this good queen out of the way, they made account the doctrine of the gospel would decline and languish with her. Hereupon they began to bestir themselves, to accuse and depress all that inclined to reformation. I find this year several clergymen and others brought into trouble by the papists: as one Gale, parson of Twait in Suffolk, indicted before the justices of assize for heresy and treason, together with Broman and Kemp. These were forced to accuse several others, clergymen and friars; as Dr. Barret, a white friar of Gipswich; Bale, a white friar and prior of Doncaster, and divers others. The matter of the accusation may be understood, if we do but read this following, as I took it out of a Cotton volume.

John Gale.
Cleopatra,
E. 5.

" 28 Hen. Sir John Gale, clark, parson of Twaite in Suffolk, indicted before the justices of assize of heresy and treason; and so was committed into the hands of the high sheriff William Drury, who kept him without bail or mainprize, and sent up to Crumwel to know what he should do with him. He was indicted by the grand jury, for saying before divers of his parishioners and others, that a temporal man may consecrate the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath as great power as any priest, if the temporal man can speak the words, the which the priest speaketh: and that holy water, and holy bread

is of no strength ; nor he will make neither holy water nor holy bread the next Sunday after. And also he persuaded his said parishioners, that they should not take neither holy water nor holy bread. And after that, the same day, the foresaid parson, and one John Augustine, of the same town, husbandman, like schismatics and infidels, brake up certain iron work, which was long before set in the wall of the church, afore the images of our Lady and St. Erasmus ; that all men and women might set up lights in honour of God and the holy saints. And in derision, the same parson and John Augustin turned the face of the picture of St. Erasmus towards the wall, ‘*Contra pacem Domini Regis*.’ This for his heresy ; and then for his treason ; that consisted in his saying, “ I will not declare the articles, which be commanded by the king’s grace, for the half of them were nought.”

1536.

William Broman was also brought into trouble at this time. “ He saith, that he hath learned by the teaching and doctrine of one Dr. Barret, sometime a white friar of Gipswich, about 3 or 4 years past, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is but a figure, and a remembrance of the passion of Christ : saying, that the lifting up of the host betokeneth nothing, but the sending down of the Son by the Father to suffer death for man : and the lifting up of the chalice signified, that the Father of heaven sent down his Son to shed his blood in earth for man’s salvation.”

William
Broman.

“ Also he saith, that one Bale, a white friar, sometime prior of Doncaster, taught him about three years ago, that Christ would dwell in no church that was made of lime and stones by men’s hands, but only in heaven above, and in men’s hearts in earth.”

Bale.

p. 287.

“ Also he saith, that in Lent last the parson of Hothfield taught the same doctrine that is expressed in the first article : adding thereto, that men ought to put no trust in the host, when it is lift up, but forthwith to remember the passion of Christ, and to put whole trust in that. And he saith, that he heard it reported by a dozen at the least, that the said parson

Parson of
Hothfield.

1536. of Hothfield preached, that our Lady was not queen of heaven, but the mother of Christ; and that she could do no more for us, than another woman, liking her to a saffron bag. And, over that saith, that when the said parson preached after this sort, the bailiff of Folstan bad the vicar pull him out of the pulpit. Whereunto the vicar answered, that he durst not do so, for fear of losing all that he had; for that, as the said parson said, he had a license under the king's broad seal to preach in all places. And further he saith, that the said parson of Hothfield, by the said sermon, turned an hundred hearts to his opinion and devotion.

Wyne.

“Also he saith, that one Wyne, his servant, dwelling in Folston, said, that Christ being received by a sick man, it was an unfit thing for Christ to be buried with him when he is dead. (Thus could illiterate people frame notable arguments against the gross presence of Christ in the sacrament.)

Parson of
Hanworth.

“Stephen Kemp saith, That he heard the parson of Hanworth preach at Kingston, about twelve months past, in Lent, that whosoever came to church to seek God, he should not find him there, except he brought him with him. And that men ought to put their trust in God's word, and to have better regard to good sermons and preaching, than to the sacrament of the altar, mas-matters, or evensong.

“The said parson of Hothfield preached, that the sacrament of the altar was not to be regarded, and that it was but a similitude. That Latimer and Cromer preached, that we should trust only in God's word, and that we should not honour any saints, nor trust in any ceremonies of the church.”

The vicar
of Step-
ney's Re-
cantation.

This year Mr. Hierome, vicar of Stepney, was fain to make his recantation for a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross. One Henry Dowes in a letter dated from Stepneth, (curate, I suppose, there) on Easter Monday, wrote unto Gregory Crumwel, Esq. an account of Hierome's recantation sermon, which he made that day at Paul's Cross. Wherein he revoked

a doctrine that he had preached at the same place not long before, concerning justification by faith, without any other condition. Whereas now he confessed penance and other sacraments must be joyned thereunto. There was a recantation made and subscribed by Dr. Barnes in the year 1540, to which this Hierome also subscribed : which is extant in the History of the Reformation. He with Barnes and Gerard were burnt for heresy the next year.

1536.

Vol. I. Collect. p. 244.

Nor did they strike no higher than at some of the friars and priests ; but the bishops also that went not along with them in their errors and superstitions, could not escape the notice of their accusations. Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, was charged with four articles of false doctrine, preached by him in a sermon at St. David's. Which were, " that two or three meeting together in God's name, though they were weavers and cobblers, was the true church of God. That it is expedient to confess only to God. That there was no purgatory, but that it was only an invention of the Bishops of Rome and the priests, for their own gain. That a learned layman might be as good a bishop as any of them, if he was called thereunto by the king." Information was made against him for these sayings and assertions ; as also against one Tally, who had preached some doctrines of this nature in the same church the sevenight after : and being drawn up into articles, was sent unto the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, then lord president of the marches of Wales, and he the next opportunity sent them up to Crumwel ; whose letter with the articles themselves are in the Appendix.

Bishop of St. David's accused for preaching false doctrine.

p. 288.

Tally.

Vid. No. LXXVII. Seditious books.

There were about this time many books brought into the realm, printed abroad, that favoured the gospel, and inveighed against the superstitions and corruptions of Rome. The popish prelates, and favourers of the old religion, did what they could to seize and suppress them. One of these books, called, " Hortulus Animæ," fell into the hands of the Bishop of Durham, being seized in Newcastle. And in a

Hortulus Animæ.

1536. kalendar of that book, at the day of the decollation of John the Baptist, were it seems some favourable things said of Queen Anne, lately beheaded. That bishop taking occasion from hence to bring that whole book, and all such like books, into dislike at court, sent up an information to the Lord Crumwel of the book, and bad him read that place, saying, that it was an insinuation against the late act of parliament for the succession; wherein the children of Queen Jane were made heirs only to the crown. He desired the said lord to consider this to the king, and that he would move him that orders might be issued out, diligently to search in Newcastle and Hull, and other sea-port towns and places, for such books; and particularly, to write his letter to the maior of Newcastle, and to other towns for this intent. The Bishop of Durham's letter may be read in the Appendix.

Vid. No.
LXXVIII.

A contest
between
the Bishop
of Lincoln
and the
Arch-
deacon.

Under this year a contest happened between the Bishop of Lincoln and his archdeacon, about their dues and privileges: the bishop requiring the *synodals*, (which the archdeacon claimed as his fees time out of mind,) because the bishop found in his register, that the archdeacon paid yearly *prestations* to the bishop. Wherefore they were fain to appeal to my Lord Crumwel, the king's vicar general, lord privy seal. The archdeacon charged the bishop with avarice, and drew up his business in a paper, which he intituled, "Instructions for my Lord Privy Seal, concerning the Bishop of Lincoln, and his Archdeacon touching the Bishop his demand for *prestations*." Wherein is shewed what appertained to the office of an archdeacon, and whereupon his revenues in former times grew: namely, procurations, *synodals*, peter-pence, pensions or indemnities, fines of testaments, vacations of benefices, installations of abbots. What all these were, and wherein lay the cause of this said contest, may be seen in the Appendix; where the original paper is transcribed, and worth perusing.

Vid. No.
LXXIX.

CHAP. XXXVII.

p. 289.

Letters to and from Reignald Pole. His book, *De Unione Ecclesiasticâ*. Starkey's letter to the Lord Privy Seal.

THERE was an intercourse of letters begun the last year between Pole and Starky, by the Lord Crumwel's means: and which continued this year. Starky had wrote to Pole in answer to a former letter of his, 22 of April; which was so penned by Pole, that some expectations were gathered thence, that he would gratify the king in writing concerning his great cause, according to his mind. And Starky so conceiving, signified as much to the king. And now that he was to return an answer to Pole, Mr. Bainton, vicechamberlain to the queen, and Pole's old friend, desired Starky to tell him from him, "That he should well consider, how the king's highness devised (and ever had done) a convenient means, to set him in such case, that he might, according to the fame of his virtues and merits, handle and entreat him: and that he should also consider, how much the king gave to his learning and judgment; whom the said Bainton knew much willing to have his consent in his great causes, although they were defined already. Inso-much that his judgment thereto could little avaunce, except peradventure in some part to the confirmation thereof.

1537.
Hopes conceived of
Pole.

Pole had, as it seems, in another letter to Starky, (which he shewed the king) wrote a letter concerning the king's cause, more like a statesman than divine. Wherein he shewed the dangers that might follow; but the matter itself, as it was most sharply judged of the king, he did not at all touch. Wherefore the king again desired his learned judgment, and that he should leave his prudence and witty policy, till he were required to shew it. Thus Starky wrote to him

Two questions propounded from the king to Pole, to answer.

1537. again, and there laid down before him the point in two questions, viz.

“I. An matrimonium cum relictâ fratris, ab eo cognita, sit jure divino licitum.

“II. An superioritas, quam multis in sæculis Romanus Pontifex sibi vindicavit, sit ex jure divino.”

No.

LXXX.

The occasion and issue of his book, *De Unione*.

This letter of Starky will be found in the Appendix. These messages from the king and Crumwel, by Starky, at last produced Pole's book, *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, so much surprising to the king, and his correspondent Starky : and whereby he drew so much the king's displeasure upon him and his family ; which had such a tragical end, in the execution of his mother and several others of them. In which book he threw out many unworthy reflections upon the king, and upon Dr. Sampson, the author of a book aforesaid, wrote against the pope, which was sent to him by Crumwel's order.

Account of this book. Latimer, in his 5th Sermon before King Edward. p. 290.

Of this book of Ecclesiastical Union, (which was wrote to the king) and of the author, thus speaks one, that lived in those times, and of great learning and fame : “That in his persuasions he was very homely, quick and sharp with the king. That he extolled unmesurably the pope, and too much undervalued kings. He said, that a king was an odious word, and touched the place where God was offended with the Israelites for calling for a king. That he seemed very lightly to set forth the title of a king ; as though he should mean, What is a king ? What should a king take upon him to redress matters of religion ? It pertaineth to our Holy Father of Rome. A king is a name and a title rather suffered of God as an evil thing, than allowed as a good. And thus he went about to persuade the king from his *supremacy*.” So Latimer in a sermon before King Edward. In another place of the book, Pole useth very impertinently, for the pope's authority, a text out of St. Luke, of Christ's going into St. Peter's ship, and preaching out of it, and afterwards bidding him launch out into the deep, and catching a miraculous

Luke v.

draught of fishes. Which he understood all allegorically; wresting several passages in it on the pope's side. As, that it was Peter, the chief apostle's boat, that Christ came into. Hence he framed an argument for the Bishop of Rome's supremacy. And by virtue of those words, *Duc in altum*, "Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught," Peter was made a great man, and all his successors after him; because he spake to Peter only. "To him he spake in the singular number: *ergo*, he gave him pre-eminency above the rest. The rest indeed he bad to let down their nets, but to him only, *Launch out*." This passage Father Latimer thought fit to confute in one of his sermons before King Edward, in these words: "I dare say, there is never a wherry-man at Westminster-bridge, but he can answer to this, and give a natural reason of it. He knoweth that one man is able to shove the boat; but that one man is not able to cast out the nets; and therefore Christ said in the plural number, *Laxate retia*. He said in the singular number to Peter, 'Launch out the boat:' he spake to the other in the plural, 'Let down your nets.' Because Peter was not able to convey the boat, and cast out the net too. This would a wherry-man say, and that with better reason, than to make a mystery of it, as none can espy but themselves. As though Christ by that expression intended to give Peter the supremacy over the rest."

1537.

Sermon
6th.

Thus I have given a taste of this famous book of Pole's, wherein he declared himself so roundly for the pope to the king's face. Hereupon letters were sent from the king to him, to come over and explain his book to him. Pole sent an answer to the king, and his messenger to carry it, with instructions to him, what account he should give him of his reasons and intent in writing it. In the said answer, "He wished the king, that he would let the Bishop of Durham, *a sad and learned man*, (as he called him,) read his book over, and give his majesty a true ac-

The king
sends for
Pole.

1537. count of it. For though in some places it might seem harsh to his majesty, yet if it were all read over, it would appear otherwise. The king, as Pole desired, did let Durham peruse it. Whereat that bishop writ a letter to Pole, signifying that he had read his book, but disallowed it much. This occasioned another letter from Pole to the said bishop. It was conjectured here, that Cardinal Contarini and another bishop were Pole's great counsellors in what he wrote. His mother and relations in England disapproved the book, and more in dread of what would follow.

Starky
amazed at
the book.

No.
LXXXI.

But being now writ, Starky sent a long and earnest letter to him: therein partly confuting it, and partly expostulating with him for it. Which being a notable letter, I have, dispensing with the length thereof, transferred into the Appendix.

By which letter it appears, that when Pole's book was brought to the king, Starky, as Pole's true friend, desired the king that it might be committed to the reading of some learned men, that might indifferently report their judgments of it; which the king allowed, and Starky was joined with them. But in the reading of it together, they met so many expressions, savouring of such gross ingratitude towards the king his gracious master, and containing such corrupt judgment of the matters treated on; that though they all loved Pole very well, yet they could not but abhor what they read: and Starky particularly, was amazed and astonished; and was ready to judge it to be none of Pole's oration. Because, of all others, he had known him to be ever one that shewed himself to be earnestly affected towards his king and country. Starky desired he might have leave to read it all over by himself; which he did seriously, and compared it from the beginning to end: and considering well the whole circumstance of the matter, he professed, (as he told Pole himself in his letter,) that therein appeared to him the most frantick judgment that ever he read in his life, of a learned man. The main argument

A frantick
judgment
appeared
in his book.

of his book was, that because the nation was gone from the obedience of Rome, therefore they were separate from the unity of the church, and to be no member of the body catholick. And hereupon he railed upon the king most vehemently, as though he was departed from the Christian faith, and pursued him with as much reproach as Gregory had done Julian the Apostate. But Starky shewed him, "That he did but abuse himself to think the nation was separate from the unity of the church, because it had rejected the pope's superiority: and that the Christian unity, according to St. Paul's doctrine, consisted in the unity of the faith and the Spirit, and in a being knit together by love." 1537.

But notwithstanding all this pains Starky took with him, the matter falling out so much contrary to the king's expectation, and to what Starky had put the king upon believing, being vexed with this book, and fearing the publishing of it, he in his displeasure with Pole frowned upon Starky too; suspecting him to have given him some secret counsel to write what he did. It added to the king's suspicion, that he lately preaching against the pope, had used too much mildness, and wanted more sharpness of expressions, as though he had secretly favoured his primacy. This caused great disquiet and trouble of mind to him; insomuch, that both the Lord Privy Seal and the Archbishop of Canterbury were fain both to comfort him, and assure him of the king's good will. During which time he added this letter to the former. The king offended with Starky.

"My Lord, Though as well by the relation of my Lord of Canterbury, as also by the few words which you spake to me the last day at Stepney, I am restored to a great part of the quietness of my mind; for as much as thereby I am persuaded fully, that you took my purpose and intent even as it was; and that you be my good lord after your wont and accustomed manner; yet thorowly quieted I nother am, nother yet can I be, until I may be assured, that the Starky to the Lord Privy Seal. Cleop. E. 6. p. 380. p. 292.

1537. king, my sovereign lord and master, is by no wrong information, nor contrary suspicion otherwise persuaded of me, than my heart, will, and deed deserve. For albeit the testimony of my own conscience be indeed sufficient to countervail against all outward displeasure, yet to my weakness and infirmity it is no small grief to be in doubt, that my lord and master otherwise should judge me, than my heart deserveth. The which also is much more grief to me, because that I am well assured both by the king's own words, and also by his deeds, that he was good lord to me, and gracious. Wherefore, since there is of my part no occasion given to the contrary, but rather cause why his goodness should be increased towards me, and benevolence; (forasmuch as I have travailed to put in effect such things as were of his grace's will well approved and allowed, the which before time I by writing only touched: that is to say, to endeavour my self to the inducing of the people to their office and duty, concerning the obedience of his laws, and the conceiving of such things, as were set forth for the maintenance of God's truth.) All the which considered, I cannot but sorrow, and plainly confess my weakness and imbecility, utterly to be unable to bear and sustain of my sovereign lord any contrary suspicion.

"Wherefore, my lord, I shall beseech you, as you be my special good lord, so to declare it now at this time, and not to suffer my purpose and desire, which I have long suffered in my heart to serve my master withal, now to be hindred and drowned with any wrong information, nor to be blotted with any other man's act*, whereof I never ministred occasion. For of your lordship I take witness, that I never studied nor laboured thing more earnestly, than I did, to bring that man (for whose fault I now perceive I am blamed) to his office and duty, and to pluck from him all sturdy obstinacy. And whereas, peradventure it may be thought, that I was the occasion of the demanding of his sentence, you know, my lord, it was

* Meaning
Pole's
writing.

an occasion taken, and not upon my behalf given. For I never moved the king, nor yet you, to the en-searching of his judgment at any time. Troth this is, that I never thought him to be of so corrupt a judgment and sentence in this matter of the primacy. And therefore I put you in hope and expectation : and so I did the king also, after he had commanded me to write unto him his pleasure and request. Of the which hope that I am so deceived, he liveth not which is more sorrowful than I am : nor his own mother which bare him, and now repenteth of his bringing forth to light : nor yet his most dear brother, who by his act is deprived of a great comfort of his life. Therefore, my lord, to blame me for his deed cannot be without injury.

“ And as touching my own judgment of this primacy, this I may truly say, that if there be any men within this realm, which ought to want suspicion of this matter, but sincerely doth approve it without dissimulation, I think I may be of that number. For of this, my lord, I shall assure you, (and you shall never find me feigned,) that before this matter was moved here in our country, I much and oft desired it to be reformed, considering the damnable heresies annexed to it. Insomuch that I was then noted and blamed of many men which otherwise judged. And this I once declared unto the king ; before whom I never yet dissembled, nor never shall, during my life. And though peradventure some such which knew the familiarity betwixt Master Pole and me, (whose amity and friendship I did not a little esteem, so long as he forsook not the judgment of his country, the service of his sovereign lord, and love to his natural friends,) have induced you to an injurious suspicion ; yet, my lord, he liveth not, nor looketh upon the light, that ever shall justify in me, towards my lord and master, any point of dissimulation. Wherefore, my lord, if I should otherwise be taken, it were no small grief to me, standing in this truth and sincerity.

p. 293.

1537.
Starky vindicates his preaching.

“ And as concerning my preaching, one word I am yet constrained to speak to you again, and I am constrained by the desire I have to the setting forth of the truth, not moved by any vain glory: the word is this, That if my intent and purpose in my preaching had been well taken, and indifferently considered, I should rather have been judged worthy of thanks, which I sought not, than of reproach, which I deserved not. For, my lord, you know it is not the right way of preaching, to bring men thereby unto the light, with great reproaches to condemn their blindness suddenly; but that is the way rather to exasperate men’s hearts, and so to confirm them in their follies more stedfastly. Wherefore, my lord, I have wished many times lately, and for the love that I bare to the truth, and to the quietness of the city, wherein I have chosen my dwelling place, and I do yet wish daily, such preachers to be elected, chosen and picked out, which without contention and study of glory, shall set forth the truth sincerely, and, after the counsil of St. Paul, in things indifferent should have consideration of the weakness of men, and infirmity; whereby they should promote and advance the truth with charity, and not exasperate and stir one part to the hate of the other, by light suspicion and foolish contention, moved upon such things as be indifferent and nothing necessary to men’s salvation. Such preaching, my lord, as me seemeth, were much to be desired: and now in this time most especially, wherein the king and you, with the other counsellors, study to the setting forth of such a tempered doctrine, whereof, as I am persuaded, all our country ought not a little to rejoyce in. For the doctrine of our country is now so tempered with truth, that it is both purged from the old abuses and foolish superstitions, and also defended from the errors of this time and from all false religion. The which thing hath caused me now so to apply my self to preaching, and, I witness God, no glorious desire of fame and vanity. For if I were

persuaded that this doctrine, approved in our country, were erroneous, I would yet rather lose my life shortly, than be one of those which should set forth the same openly. 1537.

“ Nor think you not, my lord, that I am so bleared with the shadows of this life, that I prefer the life among them above the light of the truth : neither yet that I am, ‘ Neq; frigibus neq; calidus, sed tepidus,’ in the setting forth thereof, as peradventure by some information you may conceive. For it is my daily prayer to him that is the Fountain of Light, that I may by his benefit both see the truth, and also constantly to stand in the defence of the same. Wherein I trust he doth, and will maintain and strengthen me continually, and give me his grace not to stand therein coldly. p. 294.

“ And though, my lord, you judge me more to be travailed in philosophy than in the trade of scripture; and in the writers thereupon, wherein peradventure your lordship judgeth not much amiss; yet this I shall to you, my lord, say, (I shall say it without arrogancy,) that of the continual reading of scripture it self, wherein certain years I have accustomed my self, I have gathered a certain judgment, wherewith I long have examined such writers as I have read thereupon. From the which I propose not to slip during my life. And in case I feel the writers of this time to swerve from the same, I have them suspected. For in the old authors, I find thereto a great conformity. The sum of my judgment tends to these two points : first, to a contempt of this life, and of the vain pleasures thereof, and to a sure trust and confidence of another; looking up always to those things which are not seen, with a clear eye; not dazzled with the glittering of such things as are present and subject to our sight. The other is, to a certain unity and concord, yea, and to a certain band and knot of charity; whereby men must knit themselves together as members of one body, and walk in an obedience to the order of the world : despising all

1537. things which other men so much contend and strive for; and bearing all trouble with patience and humility. To these two poynts tend my judgment, gathered of scripture. The which, though they may peradventure appear vulgar and common, and to be but of small moment and weight; yet by them I do examine all the writings, sayings and doings of this time. The which not savouring hereof I do utterly condemn, and will do, while I live. For I abhor all such seditious acts and doctrines, which, under the pretence and colour of the truth, moveth upon trifles such controversies, whereby is broken the order of Christian charity.

“Wherefore, my lord, I do not a little rejoyce, to see here among us in our country, by the common consent of our clergy, maintained and confirmed all true ecclesiastical polity, and no notable and necessary order broken, nor infringed, by the plucking away of this primacy, as many have greatly feared. Insomuch, my lord, that if I may in this rest of my life, be in any part a minister to set forth this order, approved by the judgment of my country, with concord and unity, I shall think my self not to be born utterly in vain. Wherefore, my lord, I beseech you, as you judge me to be one of those which intend to serve my master and country faithfully, so to help, that my heart, will and mind may be taken of my sovereign lord, as it is, sincerely. Whereby I may be the better encouraged to do that thing which pertaineth to mine office and duty. To the which I shall endeavour my self most diligently; strengthened, as I trust, by him who governeth all. To whose governance I shall now commit your lordship; beseeching you to pardon me of this importunity, to which I am by sorrow constrained. Written at London, the 24. of July.

p. 295.

Your lordship's,

THOMAS STARKY.

“To the most honourable, and my singular
good lord, my Lord Privy Seal.”

1537.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The king sends for Pole. Who refuses to come. Pole's letter to the Bishop of Durham, about his book.

BUT to look a little back to what happened upon the king's receipt of his kinsman's book, which he had sent to him by a messenger. However nettled the king was with the writing (insomuch as he thought of bringing Pole under the guilt of a capital offence), he dissembled his anger, and in the letter he sent back, which was in the month of June, he only commanded him to come over, and to repair unto his presence, all excuses laid aside, that he himself might be the interpreter of his own book, because there were many places that he did not so well apprehend; the secretary, in a letter sent to him at the same time, more vehemently persuading him to come over without delay. This command of the king, so full of danger on Pole's part, he thought fit to disobey, and in the room of himself sent a very humble letter unto the king, dated from Venice; wherein he told him, "That he that commanded him to come to him would not let him come, by putting such impediments in his way that he could not pass to him, unless he should rashly cast away himself. (He meant the laws lately made.) And were it not for these lets, he would not only go, but run to him." It is a long letter; and Pole spake of divers things, about the reasons of writing his former book, and about Queen Anne, and the the king's assuming the *Supremacy*, and Dr. Sampson's book, too tedious to be here inserted; and therefore have laid it in the Appendix.

Pole refuses to come over to the king, who sent for him.

And why.

No.
LXXXII.

There were also instructions which Pole gave to his messenger that carried this letter to the king, which instructions he ordered him to shew his majesty; which were to declare, that his whole intent and purpose in writing his book, was to manifest the truth in

1588. that matter of the *Supremacy*, which the secretary had required him to do, and so took it as the king's command; and that otherwise he had not set pen to paper, there being such little hope of persuasion: and partly to answer some books, written on the contrary part, that were sent to him; wherein he saw, as he said, the truth marvellously suppress and choaked. These *Instructions* are entred among Bishop Burnet's Collection, Vol. III. of his History; which, therefore, I omit.

No. LI.

p. 296.
The Bishop
of Durham,
by the
king's com-
mand,
reads Pole's
book.

And because in those instructions Pole propounded to the king, that some learned and sad man might read over his book, and then, upon oath, give his majesty a true and impartial account thereof; and for this purpose had, above all others, recommended the Bishop of Durham to him, as being the saddest and most grounded in learning; therefore the king so far condescended to Pole's request, as to command the said bishop to peruse his book. And to prepare the bishop, Pole had about this time writ a letter to him, therein giving him as fair an account of his book as he could, and excusing his vehemency therein. But when the bishop had read over the book, he was so far from approving of it, that he wrote a letter in July to Pole from London, much contrary to his expectation. Therein he wrote, "That it made him heavy in his heart at the reading of it, and much moved when he had read it through; and that all through he ran wide of the truth. That in his book he took it for granted the king was gone from the church, and laboured to reduce the king back again to it by penance; taking this up by the reports he heard in those parts, which were untrue. That the vehemency of his book gave many blows, but little or no salve to heal them; and so at good length answered Pole very learnedly, and vindicated the king in the rejection of the pope and assuming the supremacy." The letter I had transcribed from the rough draught thereof, of the bishop's own hand-writing; but finding it entred into the third volume of the

History of the *Reformation*, I omit it here. See 1538. Collect. Numb. LII.

To this letter Pole framed a very long answer (after his tedious way), dated in August, from a place beside Padua: wherein “ He stoutly defended himself and his book; and justified the vehemency and sharpness of his stile, by saying, that it was no time to sleep, when the head of the realm attempted such things as never did prince since the Christian faith was received among princes; and that he could not forbear doing this out of that love he bare to him for all his benefits, in bringing him up in virtue and learning. That the king did so amiss, that all the world cried out against it. That there was need he should plainly tell the king his faults, because those about him were so negligent in it; and that they, whose office it was when the king demanded their sentence, did not declare to him the bruteness and danger of the thing. That he was forced to be so large to the king, and to write a long book rather than a letter, because the king should see fully the evil of his late acts, and abhor them. That whether his book came abroad to the sight of the world, or no, the king’s deeds were well known to all people; and that they were rehearsed commonly every where with more slander than he, or any man, in writing could express. That before he set pen to book, they were talked of with more dishonour to the king than pen could tell; and indeed they were written *stylo adamantino*, as the Jews sins were. And whereas the bishop had earnestly desired him to burn the original, for the securing both himself and the king from slander, he said, the verity thereof should stand; which he intended not so to abolish, nor to do that injury to a catholic book, that is done to heretical ones. That his book could not be wrote *against the king*, as was urged, when it was tempered in such a manner to shew him to avoid, with his honour, the dishonour of his acts. That he well took it for the ground of all his books, that the king was swerved from the unity of the church, though

Pole to
Durham,
in defence
of himself.

p. 297.

1538.

the Bishop of Durham had said, that he had therein ran wide of the truth; for what could it else be, but separating from the unity of the church, to take upon himself, in his realm, the name and office of him who, as head, did indeed keep the unity of it. That it ever was the concurrent consent of the church, that there should be one head-pastor of the whole. That however the people rejoyced at the abolishing of the pope's authority, as a deliverance from a grievous burden, all the popes together, that exercised their authority in the realm before, never so pressed the spirituality, as they were pressed during that little time since his authority was suppressed. That there was never matter of greater importance to the wealth of the realm, and the whole church, than the matter of the papal authority, now rejected. And that the loss of the East, and the falling of it into the hands of infidels, and all the miseries thereupon, the ground thereof was this very matter, viz. disagreeing with the church, rather than the sword of the Turk. That the like misery was to be feared in England. That the liberty so much boasted of to be gained to the kingdom, by departure from the pope (call his authority as much as they will a *captivity*), was more truly a captivity; and that no nation wished for such a liberty, nor envied it to the English nation. That all this began upon the king's unlucky marriage; when the king left the noblest and best lady in the world, for the vilest, as the cause of her death shewed. That for expectation of any favour from the king, he thanked God, that since he came to manly years he could not remember that ever he had estimation of any thing the king, or any other prince, could give him; and that if he had come to the court to serve the king, he had come to give, not to receive." But for the rest,

No.
LXXXIII.

The pope
sends for
Pole to
Rome.

I refer the reader to the letter itself in the Appendix. The 26th of July, being the day before Pole received the Bishop of Durham's letter, the pope sent for him to Rome; being resolved that winter, before the General Council was to meet at Mantua in May

the year following, to consult with learned men of all nations, as he pretended, for the making the better preparation for that council; and to have a congregation at Rome for that end. Of this Pole gave signification to the king's secretary, and sent him a copy of the pope's brief to him to cite him. And now to the Bishop of Durham he declared the same, and his resolution of going thither; the pope having, as he said, a just power of commanding him in such a just and holy cause. 1538.

The knowledge of this still more rankled the king's heart against Pole. He had, to please the king, hitherto kept himself at Padua or Venice, and never went to Rome, that he might not seem to visit the pope, whom the king had so broke with; but now, growing more careless of the king's displeasure, he was preparing himself to repair to Rome, according to the pope's command: at which his old friend Starky writ him another letter, trying to dissuade him from going, which being penned somewhat sharply, gave Pole offence. However, in the month of January, Starky backed it with another (especially upon the rumour of his being now nominated for a cardinal) to this tenor: He prepares to go. p. 298.

"Sorry I am, Maister Pole, that both my sentence and sharpness of writing, used on the hearing of your journey towards Rome, offended your stomach so much, and took so little effect; for albeit that you peradventure, judging me herein otherwise than my nature requireth, so known unto you by long conversation plainly, that I am corrupt with affection, and wrot contrary to my own conscience, blinded with ambition: yet this I shall say unto you, and call him your witness who is privy both of your thoughts and mine, that as the sentence wherein I stand springeth of the only zeale of the truth, and of the desire of the setting forth of God's honour and glory; so the sharpness of my writing, used toward you, came of the sincere love that I bare to you and to your family. For I am neither so gross and base of judgment as to prefer Starkey's letter to him here-upon. Cleop. E. 6. p. 371.

1538. any worldly vanity above that thing which appeareth to be truth and verity, neither yet so unkind as to use such sharpness to my friend without reasonable ground. For upon such time, as upon the declaring of your sentence to the king, you intended to Rome, I then conceiving, as well upon the one part, the increase of the schism stirred in Christ's church, which might ensue thereby if you should there open your judgment in your writing comprized abroad to the world; as upon the other part, the displeasure of your prince which might succede the same, both towards you and others of your family; thought it expedient to use such sharpness, and that so to do it appertained to my bounden duty: to the which you may impute it, if it so please you.

“ But now, sharpness set aside, I shall say unto you, Maister Pole, these two words friendly, moved by such things as I lately heard from you. Though here be great rumours spread abroad, that you be named to be a cardinal, and entred into that order, by the which the doctrine of Christ these many years hath been little promoted, yet persuaded I am fully that the love of your country so sticketh in your brest, and the desire of serving your prince so pricketh your heart, that you will never accept that dignity, before you consider well the state of Christ's church now in this time; weighing well the pleasure of your master, and bounden duty to his gracious goodness and liberality. For to me it appeareth, that without such consideration you take not the streit path to the thing to the which, above all other, I am sure you direct your labours and studies; that is, to help to pluck out this schisme of Christ's church, and to restore again Christian unity: but rather it seems the very high way to augment this division; forasmuch as by such writing and eloquence the roots thereof may be much confirmed.

“ Wherefore, Maister Pole, if you stay your self to this matter, I think you shall hereafter nothing repent thereof; for though matters of our country have

been here lately in great motion, the which peradventure you will impute to this defection from Rome, judging us thereby to be slipped from God's order and institution; yet by the high providence of him, who governeth all, and by the high wisdom and goodness of our prince, I trust, you shall yet hear such way to be found and taken herein, that ever the same thing which ye percase think hath been the chief root of this motion, shall be so tempered and ordered with equity, that not only the sincerity of Christian doctrine shall come to more clear light thereby, but also the order of Christ's church shall be restored again with unity, according to the first institution. Whereof that my hope is not in vain, I trust, you shall hear more shortly. And glad I would be to see you a minister to God, and to your prince in such purpose. That which I fear you shall never be, if you once enter into that order at Rome, and take upon you that dignity. Wherefore Maister Pole, my trust is, that you will consider this matter with yourself earnestly; and yet great hope I have, that honest ingenuity shall once meet together in such a mean, whereby this odious schism, which now reigneth in Christ's church, shall be extinct utterly. For the which I shall not cease to pray unto him, who is the only author of all godly unity; to whose governance I shall now commit us all. Written at London, the 16. of January.

Yours yet, I trust, after the old manner,
THOMAS STARKY."

This was the second time Pole saw Rome, as much now against the king's will, as the former time was with it, which was anno 1525, when he went thither for the improvement of himself by travail and learning. Then were two English men, and great scholars, with him, Thomas Lupset and Richard Pace. At which the great Erasmus saluted him with a letter from Basil, sent by one Charles, who came from Basil thither, with John a Lasco. And in the year

1538.

p. 299.

Pole at Rome.

Anno 1525.

1538.
Lib. 15.
Ep. 16.
and Lib.
21. Ep 27.
Pole made
cardinal.

1526, Erasmus wrote him another letter from Basil also: both which are extant in the volume of his letters.

Tonstal
and Stoke-
sley write
to him.
Bec. Re-
ports. fol.
272.

The XI. of the calends of January, that is, December 22, Pole was made a cardinal, notwithstanding all the former dissuasions, and the king's disgust: and so became wholly a creature of the papal chair. Now both Bishop Tonstal and Bishop Stokesley wrote a letter unto him, being at Rome; "That for the good will that they had born unto him in time past, as long as he continued the king's true subject, they could not a little lament and mourn, that he neither regarding the inestimable kindness of the king's highness heretofore shewed unto him in his bringing up, nor the honour of the house that he was come of, nor the wealth of his country that he was born in, should so decline from his duty to his prince; that he should be seduced by fair words and vain promises to the Bishop of Rome, to wind with him: going about by all means, to him possible, to pull down, and put under foot, his natural prince and master, to the destruction of the country that brought him up. And for the vain glory of a red hat, to make himself an instrument to set forth his malice, who had stirred up by all means that he could, all such Christian princes, as would give ear unto him, to depose the king (Henry) from his kingdom, and to offer it as a prey to them, that should execute his malice, and to stir, if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his realm. Where the office and duty of all good Christen men, and namely, of us that be priests, should be, to bring all commotion to tranquillity, and trouble to quietness, and all discord to concord. And in doing the contrary, they shewed themselves to be but the ministers of Satan, and not of Christ; who ordained all that were priests, to use in all places the legation of peace, and not of discord. But since that could not be undone that was done, the second thing was, to make amends, and to follow the doing

of the prodigal son, spoken of in the gospel; who returned home to his father, and was well accepted; as no doubt he might be, if he would say as he said, in acknowledging his folly; and do as he did, in returning home again from wandring abroad, in service of them, who little cared what became of him, so that their purpose might by him be served." Then they descended largely, to confute the pope's primacy out of the fathers, and history of the antient church; which knew not of his primacy: and to assoyl Pole's arguments. As may be seen at large both in Becon's Reports, and Foxe's Monuments, where this letter is recorded.

Soon after this the pope sent this his new cardinal, as his legate to France, to stir up that king against King Henry, his natural prince. But his majesty sent to the French king, to seize upon, and deliver Pole, his subject, over to his ambassadors there. Which he understanding, was glad to shift away to Cambray. And thence he wrote a letter to the Lord Crumwel, dated in May, 1637, wherein he professeth his loyalty to the king, and complaineth of his usage of him. There he said these things, "That such was the king's indignation against his person, that to have him in his hand, he would be willing to violate both the laws of God and man, and to disturb all commerce between country and country. That such was the king's dealings towards him, for the procuring of his undoing, that never the like was heard of in Christendom against any that bare that person that he did. That he was for his part ashamed, rather than angry, out of the compassion he had for the king's honour, that he coming not only as an ambassador, but a legate, and so in the highest sort of ambassage, should be so used. That a prince of honour should desire another prince of like honour, 'Betray thy ambassador, betray the legate, and give 'him into my ambassadors' hands, to be brought 'unto me.' A dishonourable request. But that when he heard of this in France, it was a kind of

1538. pleasure to him: and he then said to the company about him, that he never felt himself to be a cardinal before then. Now God sent him like fortune, as he did to those heads of the church, (whose persons the cardinals represented,) which was to be persecuted of them most, whose wealth they most studied. In this case lived the apostles: and the same was now happened to him. That if we were infidels, yet the law of nature would teach, how abominable both the desire of this giving up of an ambassador were on the one part, and the granting of it on the other." This whole letter also I transcribed from the original.

No.
LXXXIV.

p. 301.
Cardinal
Pole sends
the Bishop
of Verona
to the
French K.
and the
English
ambassa-
dors.

When the cardinal departed from France, and dared not to treat with the king about the welfare of Christendom, as he stiled it, committed unto him by the pope, he sent the Bishop of Verona to the French court in his stead. Which bishop returning back from the said court, attempted to speak with King Henrie's ambassadors, who were the Bishop of Winton, and Mr. Brian, then at Abbeville, (which lay in his way,) that he might justify the cardinal to them, to intend nothing by this his legation, but the king's honour. The ambassadors would not speak with this Italian bishop, but they sent to him their secretary. To whom after he had sufficiently declared the effect of the cardinal's legacy, the secretary seemed to acknowledge that there were sinister reports made to the king of this purpose of the cardinal's coming into those parts; and that the king might be evil informed: the secretary adding, that when the king by letter or messenger were better informed, he would, no question, turn his mind, as he saw the deeds to justify themselves. This when that bishop had reported to the cardinal, he hereupon began to tell him, how he had endeavoured by all means to testify the king's misinformations, both by letter and by his messenger, sent often for that purpose. But that he could never be admitted to have audience of the king.

This Bp.
appointed
by the
pope to ac-
company
Pole.

This Bishop of Verona was long known both to the King of England and the French king, and well

accepted of both: he knew also Pole's concerns since his departure out of the realm. And being so well acquainted with affairs relating to him, and both princes, the pope engaged him to go along with the cardinal in this legation. This man the cardinal now moved to go unto King Henry, and try to quiet his mind, as to his surmises and jealousies against the cardinal. To the which the bishop answered, that he would be content at all times to repair to the king, and to take this charge upon him, if it were permitted; knowing the cardinal's matter as he did, and seeing what conveniences might follow, and what comfort it might be to all parties, if the cardinal's true and faithful dealings were well signified unto the king. 1538.

This passage Cardinal Pole in his letter to the Lord Crumwel related, that he might intimate it to the king: endeavouring to demonstrate thence his good mind towards him; and to put him into a way to have all suspicions he entertained of the cardinal cleared, and things relating to him appear, and be brought to light, which were somewhat obscure before. He added, "that if he had born any other than a good will unto the king, he should never have done as he had done; that is, making the king privy by letter unto all his actions and processes, and of the cause of his going to Rome, and of his present legacy. Such advices, he said, rebels (among which the king reckoned him) were not wont to give. That once when censures were ready to come forth against the king from the pope, he stopped them from being published, lest it might cause more trouble to his majesty; and that then he sent his servants to him to offer his service, to procure by all means he could, the king's honour and wealth, and quietness: at which time he also encouraged his neer kinsmen to remain constant in their service to the king. So that if he had been hired by rewards to do him service at Rome, he could not have done him more. This rebels, as he repeated again, were not wont to do. The cardinal declares his merits, rewards the king. p. 302.

1538.

That he would not assent to many things, propounded at Rome, tending to the king's disquiet. Inso-much that some judged him half a rebel to God and his country. His loyalty also to the king appeared, in that he had suppressed certain writings, which some, and they of authority to command him, would have seen and published: writings which would have caused most trouble of all. He concluded, that after this, he intended no further to labour, to justify himself: and that he had neglected his service to God and the Catholick Church on this behalf, because he would not offend the king." And so expected to know the king's pleasure, whether he would admit the Bishop of Verona to make his repair to him. Which I think he never did. But proceed we now to other matters. The next year we shall hear of the cardinal again.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Instructions to the bishops. Crumwel's letter to them. State of religion in York diocese. The large English Bible, with marginal notes, first printed.

Preaching
regulated.

THE king saw it necessary to look diligently after the preachers. Some whereof preached bitterly against others, according as they stood affected to the reformation of popish abuses, or favoured them. The evil whereof was, that the people were brought to a diversity of opinion, and so into contentions among themselves. There was also among the people much speaking against the ceremonies and customs of the church. Hereupon the king somewhat before this time, had writ sundry letters to the bishops, to admonish them to preach God's word sincerely, and to declare abuses plainly; and in no wise to treat contentiously of matters indifferent. And this same thing occasioned the king this year to publish, by his own authority, certain articles of

religion, (as well as to conceive them by his own pen;) as manifest and necessary to be read to, and taught his subjects, for avoiding contention, and bringing in unity. But notwithstanding there was much speaking against them, especially against the use and custom of the ceremonial things of the church. Nor did that quiet and unity grow thereupon as was desired. Whereupon, next the king issued out his letters to the bishops, directing them how to instruct the people; which, because it may be seen in the History of the Reformation, I shall only touch the heads of.

1538.
Articles of
religion.

Addend. to
the Coll.
of Rec.
Vol. I.

These Instructions, (which were to be observed upon pain of deprivation,) were five: "I. That the bishop should, every holy day, read and declare plainly and distinctly the articles, and in no wise vary a word, to make the same doubtful to the people. II. Each to travel from place to place in his diocese, and make a collation to the people; and to set forth plainly the text of scripture; and to declare that obedience that is due by God's law to the prince; and to command and press the honest ceremonies of the church; yet tempering his discourse so, that the people might not put over much affiance in them. III. To use no word in their private conversation, to the contrary of this the king's commandment: nor to keep any in his house, that shall speak in these matters of the ceremonies contentiously, or contemptuously. And if there should be any such toward them, to send them up to the king and his council to be punished. IV. To give streit commandment to all parsons, vicars and curates, and governors of religious houses and colleges, that they do as was commanded the bishops in the indifferent praise of ceremonies, and avoiding contentions, and contentious and contemptuous communication. And that none should preach out of their own church. V. To make secret enquiry for such priests, as have of late married themselves; and since used and exercised the office of priesthood: and to signify it to the council."

Instruc-
tions to
bishops.
Cleopatra,
E. 5.
p. 290.

p. 303.

1538.
Crumwel's
letter to the
bishops.

These Instructions, I should conclude, were sent by the Lord Crumwel to all the bishops, enclosed in this letter of his own, by and by to follow, had not the difference of the dates caused some hesitation: the king's letter, with the Instructions, bearing date November 19, and the letter of Crumwel, January the 7th. But however, the matter of this letter being such a concordance with those instructions, I will place it here: wherein may be seen how roundly he dealt with the greatest spiritual men, and bore out himself in so doing, by the office the king had laid upon him, *of Supreme and Principal Officer and Minister in all Matters that might any thing touch the Clergy*. And this was the tenor of his letter:

Cleopatra,
E. 5.
p. 203.

“After my right hearty commendations to your lordships. Ye shall herewith receive the king's highness letter addressed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his highness travails, and your duty touching order to be taking for preaching. To the intent the people may be taught the truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over many novelties. The publication whereof, unless the same be tempered and qualified with much wisdom, doth rather breed contention, division and contrariety in opinion, in the unlearned multitude, than edify, or remove from them, and out of their hearts, such abuses; as by the corrupt and unsavoury teaching of the Bishop of Rome and his disciples, have crept into the same. The effect of which letter, albeit I doubt not, but as well for the honesty of the matters, as for your own discharge; you will so consider, and put in execution, as shall be to his grace's satisfaction on that behalf: yet forasmuch as it hath pleased his majesty to appoint and constitute me, in the room and place of his supreme and principal officer and minister in all matters, that may any thing touch his clergy, or their doings; I thought it also my part, for the exoneration of my duty towards his highness, and the rather to answer his grace's expectation, opinion and trust conceived in me, and in that among others especially

committed for my fidelity, to desire and pray you, in such substantial sort and manner, to travail in the execution of the contents of his grace's said letters; namely, for avoiding of contrariety in preaching, of the pronounciation of novelties, without wise and discreet qualifications, and the repression of the temerity of those, that either privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended authority of the Bishop of Rome: as I be not for my discharge, both enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written for that purpose, and so to charge you with your own fault, and to devise such remedy for the same, as shall appertain: desiring your lordship to accept herein my meaning, tending only to an honest, friendly and Christian reformation, for the avoiding of further inconveniences: and to think none unkindness, though in this matter, wherein it is almost more than time to speak, I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both in respect of my private duty, and otherwise for my discharge. Forasmuch as it pleaseth his majesty to use me in the lieu of a counsellor, whose office is an eye to the prince, to foresee, and in time to provide remedy for such abuses, enormities and inconveniences, as might else with a little sufferance, ingender more evil in the publick weal, than could after be redubbed with much labour, study, diligence, and travail. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the Rouls, the viith of January.

Your loving friend,
THOMAS CRUMWEL."

This letter, together with the king's Instructions before mentioned, brought many factious and busy preachers of both sorts into trouble. In York diocese, the archbishop there was so tender of offending the king, and his vicar general, that there being a friar in York, that preached of purgatory, (that is, I suppose, against it,) before he knew the king's will and pleasure, he silenced him from preaching any

What was done in York diocese upon this letter.

1538. more: and another friar in Doncaster, who, in preaching, reflected upon some of the late articles of religion, he silenced also: and a third, being a Gray Friar, who preached *new things*, as preaching against the old superstitions were called. Here were also a few other preachers of this sort, who, it seems, had the king's authority to license them. Of these the archbishop likewise informed Crumwel, and that at this preaching of *novelties*, the people much grudged, being sometimes done also without both charity and discretion. There were indeed some few honest friars and others, even in those North parts. And these the archbishop chiefly complained of, and endeavoured to suppress, and rid those quarters of, especially being fortified by the aforesaid letters: though they were directed only against such as should preach up these new things, *without wise and discrete qualifications*, and that, *charged the people with too many of them at the beginning*. But towards those that were addicted to the pope, and preached up his authority, (which sort most abounded there,) he was more favourable, making no complaints at all, as if there were none such in his diocese. But he that is minded to see somewhat of the present state of religion in Yorkshire, may read the said archbishop's letters in the Appendix.

No.
LXXXV.

p. 305.
One
Cootes, in
Worcestershire,
for preaching sent for
up by
Crumwel.

About this time also, as near as I can guess, (for I am left to grope for the date,) one Cootes, in the Bishop of Wigorn's diocese, preached very zealously for popery. He was a man influenced much by More's book; built much upon unwritten traditions, and affirmed, that the laws made by the spirituality were of equal authority with the word of God, to oblige to the observance of them. Crumwel hearing of him, sent for him up: the bishop, who was Hugh Latimer, sent up the sermon he preached, that gave the offence, as Cootes himself had in his own behalf favourably writ it. The desire of the bishop, in a letter to Crumwel was, that he would so deal with him, as either to reform him, or to inhibit him his

diocese, and send another in his place. The letter 1538
being short, I will here insert, which, according to
Latimer's witty way of speaking, ran in this tenor :

“ Right Honourable Sir, *Salutem plurimam*. And because I hear your mastership hath sent for Master Coots, which preached at Halls, to come to you : therefore I do send now unto you his sermon ; not as he spake it, (if he spake it as his hearers reported,) but rather as he had modified and tempered it, since he perceived that he should be examined of it. And yet peradventure you will not judge it every way very well powdered. He seems to be very well studied in Master Moor's book, and to have framed him a conscience and a judgment somewhat according to the same ; and to avoid all falsities, he appeareth to stick stiffly to unwritten verities. I would fain hear him tell, who be those new fellows, that would approve no sciences but grammar. *Qui vos audit*, &c. *Obedite præpositis*, &c. *Qui ecclesiam non audit*, &c. serveth him gayly, for traditions and laws to be made of (by) the clergy authoritatively, and to be then observed of the laity necessarily, as equal with God's own word, as some, saith he, both thinketh and heareth.

“ As far as I can learn of such as here commoned with him, he is willfully witty, Dunsly learned, Moorly affected, bold not a little, zealous more than enough : if you could monish him, charme him, and so reform him, &c. or else I pray you inhibit him my diocese. You may send another, and appoint him his stipend, which God grant you do. To whom I now and ever commit you. Your's,

H. WYGORN.”

A great rebellion brake out in the North this year, headed by Ask, and others ; that superstitious people, (acted by popish zealots,) not bearing to see the Lady Mary made illegitimate, the monks expelled their houses, and the pope deprived of his pretended jurisdiction in England : the reversal of these things being

The rebellion in the North.

Bishop Latimer's information concerning him. Cleopatra, E. 5.

1538. the chief of their demands from the king. And if we may believe Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, in a famous sermon he read at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1554, the king began to relent. "For he was sure," he said, "the king was determined to have given over the supremacy to the pope; but the hour was not then come." But if the hour then was not come, the most probable reason was, because the
- p. 306. king determined no such matter. For nothing seemed so dear to the king, as this his supremacy in his own dominions.

The king comes to Canterbury. August. Monks' Journal.

"The xxi. day of July, King Henry came to Canterbury, with the Lady Jane, the queen, who in the monastery of S. Augustin was very honourably received: the reverend father, Thomas Goldwel, Prior of Christ's Church being present; who from thence went to Dover to see the peer, to his great charge and cost begun.

St. Augustine's Abby, Canterbury, visited.

"The same year, the 20th and 21 day of September, Doctor Peter, (being sent of the Lord Cromwel, to visit all the clergy throughout all Kent,) did visit this abby of St. Augustine's (Canterbury:) making enquiry of the observing of the injunctions, which were in the first visitation received by Doctor Leyghton.

Houses in Canterbury suppressed.

"In the year of our Lord 1537, the 23d day of February, the monastery of Saynet Gregories was suppressed, and the chanons were expelled; Mr. Spitman and Mr. Candel, being the king's commissioners hereunto appointed.

"The same day the church of St. Sepulchre, by the authority of the said commission, and by the same commissioners, was suppressed. The monks notwithstanding at that time were not removed. For they obtained licence to abide there until Easter. Which, notwithstanding, scarcely remained one month afterwards. And so at the last, the week before Easter, they were expelled.

Rebels executed.

"The same year, divers persons of Lincolnshire, which made the foresaid insurrection, and also many

persons of Yorkshire, were put to death, both there and also at London, about the time of Lent and Whitsuntyde. The captains of that conspiracy were, the Lord Hussey, the Lord Darcy, son of the Lord L. with other gentlemen of those parties. The chieftest notwithstanding in that conspiracy was a certain lawyer, whose name was Aske; a man of base parentage, yet of marvelous stomach and boldness." 1538.

Among these favourable proceedings towards a reformation of abuses in religion, the whole Bible translated in English, now came forth in print, by the pains and labour chiefly of Tyndal and Coverdal; whereas before some parts of it, as the five books of Moses, some of St. Paul's Epistles, the Gospels, or one of them, were obscurely set forth. And that it was this year printed, and that with marginal notes, for the better information of the readers, in the sense of more difficult places; one of these notes fixeth us in the year of the edition, viz. Mark i. upon these words, "What new doctrine is this?" the note in the margin is, "That that was then *new*, after XV.C.XXXVI. years, is yet *new*. When will it then be old?" This note was made to meet with the common reproach then given to the religion reformed, that it was a new upstart religion, and called, *The new learning*. Another marginal note was at Matthew xxv. "And the wise answered, Not so, lest there be not enough," &c. where the note is, "Note here, that their own good works sufficed not for themselves; and therefore remained none to be distributed unto their fellows." Against works of supererogation and the merits of saints. And Matthew xvi. "I say unto thee, that thou art Peter: and upon this rock," &c.—The note is, "That is, as saith St. Austin, upon the confession which thou hast made, knowledging me to be Christ, the Son of the Living God, I build my congregation or church." And again, "I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven."—The note is, Origen writing upon Matthew in his first homily affirmeth, that these words

The whole
Bible in
English
printed.

p. 307.

1538. were as well spoken to all the rest of the apostles as to Peter. And proves it, in that Christ, John xx. saith, "Receive the Holy Ghost. Whose sins soever ye remit," &c. and not, "thou remittest." And Matthew xvij. "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven. And whatsoever ye loose on earth," &c. Margin; "Whatsoever ye bind, &c. is, whatsoever ye condemn by my word in earth, the same is condemned in heaven. And what ye allow by my word in earth, is allowed in heaven." These and such like notes and explications, giving offence no doubt to the popish bishops, when the Bible was printed again, (which was in the year 1540,) all was left out.

The bishops but backward in religion.

Whatever steps the king had by this time made in a reformation of religion, by the ministry chiefly of Crumwel and the Archbishop of Canterbury, (as the setting forth articles of religion, injunctions for the clergy, and the Bible in English,) the bishops generally were backward, and went little further than the denial of the pope's authority above the king's in his kingdom. And therefore the lord privy seal writes again to them, blaming them for their negligence, and pressing the king's injunctions upon them; and particularly, that the Bible in English should be in all their houses, and in all churches, to be read by all. But this whole letter, as I transcribed it out of a volume in the Cotton Library, is worthy entring into this history. And was as followeth:

Excited by Crumwel's letter to them. Cot. Library.

"After my right harty commendations. Whereas the king's highness, minding to set forth the glory of God, and the truth of his word, hath as well in his own person, as by other his ministers, travailed to bring the same plainly and sincerely to the knowledge of his subjects; and for that purpose, not onely in the late visitation, exercised by authority of his majesty, but also at other times and other wayes, hath ordained many godly ordinances and injunctions, and given also sundry strait commandments, as well to you, as to all other persons ecclesiastical, of all sorts and degrees within this his realm. Forasmuch as it

is come to his grace's knowledge, that the said ordinances, commandments and injunctions have been very remisly hitherto observed, kept and obeyed within your diocese: and his highnesse's people there, for want of the sincere and true teaching of the word of God, suffered to live and dwell continually in their old ignorance and blindness: his grace's pleasure and express commandment is, that you, having a more vigilant care, and better respect to his highnesse's said commandment and ordinance, cause the same, and every of them, to be duely published and observed: forseeing as well in your own person, as by the archdeacons, chancellors, officials, deans, curats, and other ministers; that all such curates and other persons ecclesiastical, as after these many callings on, shall be found negligent, remiss, or stubborn in the following them, or any of them, receive for their transgressions in that behalf, such punishment as in the said ordinances is contained; and more, as to the directions shall be seen meet and convenient.

1538.

“ And further, his grace's pleasure and high commandment is, that you with no less circumspection and diligence, cause the Bible in English, to be laid forth openly in your own houses; and that the same be in like manner openly laid forth in every parish church, at the charges and cost of the parsons and vicars. That every man having free access to it, by reading of the same, may both be the more apt to understand the *Declaration* of it at the preacher's mouth; and also the more able to teach and instruct his wife, children and family at home. Commanding nevertheless all preachers and other curates within that your diocese, that they at all times, and especially now at the beginning, exhort and require the people to use and read the Bible, so left among them, according to the tenor of an Instruction, which ye shall receive herein enclosed: to be sent to every curate, with, a certain day by you to be appointed; within the which the Bible in English be, as is aforesaid, laid forth in every church.”

p. 308.

1538.
Declara-
tion con-
cerning the
Bible to be
read by
curates to
the people.

The said Instruction and Declaration, enclosed in the lord privy seal's letter, which the bishops were enjoined to send to all curates, to be read by them, to their respective parishioners, upon the publishing of the Bible, was to this purpose: "That the king, supreme head under God, of this church, for a declaration of the great zeale he bare to the setting forth of God's word, and virtuous maintenance of the commonwealth, had permitted, and commanded the Bible in our English tongue to be published, to be sincerely taught by them the curates; and to be openly laid forth in every parish church: that all his good subjects, as well by the reading thereof, as by the hearing the true explanation of the faith, might be able to learn their duties to Almighty God and his majesty: and every one of them to use charitably one another. And that applying themselves to do according to what they should hear and learn, they might both speak and do christianly. — — — That his majesty had willed and commanded this to be declared unto them, that his plesure and commandment was, that in reading and hearing thereof, most humbly and reverently using and addressing themselves unto it, they should always have in their remembrance, that all things contained in that book, was the undoubted will, law and commandment of Almighty God, the only and strait means to know the goodness and benefits of God to us, and the true duty of every Christen man, to serve him according to his will. And that if at any time by reading, any doubt should arise to any of them, touching the sense and meaning of some part thereof, then not giving too much to their own minds, fantasies and opinions, they should have recourse to such learned men, as should be authorized to preach and declare the same." This whole Declaration is exemplified in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Appendix, Numb. XXIII.

Grafton
printed
1500 of
these
Bibles.

There were fifteen hundred of these Bibles, now printed in the large volume by Richard Grafton: the charge of the printing amounted to 500*l*. This holy

book being so acceptable to the people, some Dutchmen, that were good printers, went about to print it in a small volume ; and so of a less price, to enable the more to purchase it. Grafton therefore addressed to the lord privy seal, that he would procure him the license for his allowance of it, and to prohibit all others from printing it for three years, lest he for his good deed might be undone ; and moved that lord further, that for the better and speedier sale of this Bible, every abbot might be enjoined to cause six of them to be laid in several places of the convent, for the brethren to read, and every curate to have one, that they thereby might learn to know God, and to instruct their parishioners. And this, no question, gave occasion to the said lord to write the above-mentioned letter to the bishops. Grafton's letter is preserved in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Appendix, Numb. XX.

1538.

p. 309.

CHAP. XL.

Cardinal Pole goes back to Rome. His legacy from the pope discovered. Letters from Throgmorton and Legh concerning the cardinal.

POLE, some time after the writing of his book of *Ecclesiastical Union*, was declared the king's rebel to all nations. Concerning him, Crumwel once uttered these threatenng words against him (who had so angered the king by his book), *That he would make him eat his own heart* ; which Latimer had heard him say, and in a letter of his puts him in mind of, upon the occasion of his being declared rebel and attainted, viz. " I heard you say once, after you had seen that furious invective of Cardinal Pole, that you would make him eat his own heart : which you have now, I trow, brought to pass ; for he must needs eat his own heart, and be as heartless as he is graceless."

1537.
Cardinal Pole not suffered in France nor the Low Countries.

But the pope, however, as well deserving of this man, made him cardinal, and sent him, in the begin-

1537. ning of this year, into the parts next adjoyning to England, in quality of legate, to promote the pope's designs, and to stir up enemies to the king. He knew of his coming, and ferreted him out of France; writing to that king not to entertain him, but to deliver him up, as hath been remembred before. Thence he went to the Low Countries, accompanied, among others, with one Michael Throgmorton, his servant. Hutton, the king's agent, acted his part so dextrously that he gained Throgmorton. The queen regent, governess of the Low Countries, upon the message of the king to her against the cardinal, refused to allow him to tarry in her dominions. And having before dispatched a letter to the Lord Crumwel, to clear himself of ill designs against the king, now in another to the regent, he told her his message chiefly was to dispute the errors of the king's reformation.

Recalled
to Rome.

Hist. of
King
Henry,
p. 488.

p. 310.

The cardinal held his correspondence with England by close and secret methods, whereof the aforesaid Throgmorton, and Peyto, a Franciscan, gave intelligence in some part, as the Lord Herbert found in some records. Throgmorton certified also his return to Rome, in November this year, where he was received with much triumph: for he was revoked about this time to Italy, against the sitting of the General Council, which was appointed to be on the first of November. Yet I find this Throgmorton and Peyto, together with Goldwel and Hilliard, clarks, all, as it seems, Pole's servants, attainted with him in December the next year, for casting off their duty to the king, and subjecting themselves to the Bishop of Rome.

Throgmorton's discovery to Crumwel concerning Pole.

Throgmorton being now gained, was to be employed by the lord privy seal, to learn as much of Pole's designs and affairs as might be. The said lord, therefore, seems to have sent him to Rome, to see the bottom of this legacy of Pole, and to know Pole's mind. To take all from Throgmorton's own pen, as I find it in a letter of his, writ to the said lord privy seal, dated from Liege, August the 23. this

year. From the letter it appears, “ That Throg-^{1537.}
morton came with Pole from Rome to Paris, sent ^{Cleop. E. 6.}
thither by the pope; that the king took him for a ^{p. 382.}
much greater rebel than either Throgmorton or Pole
himself thought, at their departure from Rome; and
Throgmorton, seeing him to be accounted for such
by the king, prayed Pole to give him his dispatch.
So Pole told him, that he thought it not convenient
to send him with letters of credence to the king’s
grace, who he had perfect knowledge took him, as he
said, undeservedly, for so grievous an adversary or
rebel, as he would never have thought, finding no
cause why, in all his actions and purposes; that his
grace took all things to the contrary, that ever he
did, said, or wrote. And hereupon Pole delayed his
dispatchment till he came to some settled place, and
soon after arrived at Cambray; where being himself
in great danger through the king’s procurement, thought
it neither time nor place to commune further concern-
ing Throgmorton’s dispatch.

“ Being here at Cambray, he declared to Throg-
morton, more fully than ever, the effect of his legacy,
which, he said, had that ground that concerned the
difference of his opinion concerning the unity of the
church; wherein he said, that for fear, favour, or love
of any creature living, he would never change: but
that in the rest he was never, that favoured more the
king’s true honour and wealth, nor that could do more
to the maintenance and furtherance thereof, than he
both did, shewed, and purposed in his whole legacy
to do. That if he had been minded to the contrary,
he began to show what occasions he had to hinder the
same, both by force of his legacy, and in this espe-
cially, which they never could persuade him to;
which was, that at the point of his departure they
would have had him to have left his book in the pope’s
hand, who in his absence would have put it forth and
published it. And herein was made such violent in-
stance, that without force there could be no more
shewed. That when they saw his so stiff and obsti-

1537. nate resistance, alledging divers causes therefore, and this in special, how it might be hurtful to the cause (if the king's grace were inclined to return) so to irritate by such a book put forth in the mean time, when he went about a reconciliation: but yet with that they would in no wise be satisfied, unless he put them in some hope, that at his return, in case he returned desperate of the king's mind, he would be content that they should do what they and he thought best; and thereupon they were willing to defer all things till his return.

p. 511.

“ That he refused now a second time the exercise of censures against the king. That touching the matters he had to treat with princes, to whom his legacy was directed, he affirmed with constant asseveration, that he never thought nor meant to treat with them, but what should be most for the king's honour, if his grace's mind did any thing incline to that part, that other princes did, touching the unity of the church; that it might seem most to come by the request and desire of other princes, for the wealth of Christendom, that they would demand the same of the king's grace, by request and prayer. And that he did this the more, because of the violence that the people had used of late in that behalf.*

* In the rebellion in the North.

“ That for this one great cause he had desired the Bishop of Verona to accompany him in this legation, as an instrument most meet for this purpose, both for the great favour he had ever been in with the French king, and our king likewise, through the good pleasure and service he had done for them both in times past (when he was in office and place), also for the good practice and wisdom and good opinion the said bishop was in, most of all known in governance of his bishoprick. That, for the foresaid causes, he thought him the more meet person to intreat these matters betwixt these princes. And for this, he told Throgmorton, he was now called and taken as a rebel.

“ In conclusion, Pole said, he feared lest at the

last, the king continuing his persecution in publishing him as his rebel to all princes, that he should be constrained, both before all princes, and in face of all Christendom, to declare himself what a rebel he is, and for what causes. Wherein he said, that for his own part, if he sought honour, he would desire no more than to make it to be openly known after what fashion he was rebelled from his grace."

Throgmorton wrote also, "That the pope, as he had sent indulgences through all Christendom, to pray for deliverance from the danger of the Turk, so he would send also through Christendom indulgences to pray for the king, with the state of England, for their return to the unity of the church; rehearsing what charitable means had been used to that intent, but without taking effect. They intended moreover in these indulgences to describe many of the king's acts. And for Pole's justification in relation to his book, they about the pope intended, at his return, to put it in print, if he would consent thereto; as it would be hard for him to deny, for the great confidence they had therein, more than in all the rest, for the virtuous life and other great qualities they had conceived of the writer thereof.

"That upon Pole's return hanged both the divulging of the censures, putting forth the book, and sending the new ambassadors to all Christen princes, if he refused to take on him to commend unto them the case of England.

"That many were greatly astonied to see the great diligence and procurement many wayes on the king's behalf, for the utter ruin and destruction of this man, which daily came to his knowledge divers wayes. And yet, notwithstanding all such irritation, he continued and persevered in the same love and constant mind to the king's honour and wealth that he had ever hitherto shewed; declining to no man's requests or desires in any thing as yet, that might put his grace to any dishonour, hindrance, or trouble: which made many men so much the more to marvail, to see the

p. 312.

1537. king's grace so highly bent rather to his ruin and destruction than to take some way to reconcile him." This that hath been said will give some notice of Pole, not yet perhaps known.

Legh confesses what he knew of Pole.

There was, about the year 1538 (that I may lay together Pole's matters), one John Legh, a traveller, lately laid in the Tower, upon suspicion to belong unto Pole, or to be privy to his dealings. He was once a servant to Cardinal Wolsey; and the court suspected him to be illy affected towards the prince, and that he went out of England upon treasonable purposes, to make enemies to his country. But he pleaded for himself, that he had neither kin nor substance proper to maintain and carry on such designs, nor universal acquaintance or knowledge, by reason of his so long absence. He was but newly come into England from his travels; in which, indeed, he met with Pole, and thereupon grew the jealousy of him. This was the cause he was laid in prison, to get out of him what correspondence he had used with Pole. He therefore made a confession of what he knew concerning him. And now, in a letter, he assured the lord privy seal, and took God to witness, that this, and what he wrote in a former letter, was all the communication of importance that ever he had with Pole in his life: *And if I had more, said he, then let me not die the death of a traitor, but the death of a thousand traitors.* What discourse happened between Pole and him, may be known from the contents of the foresaid letter, as I extracted them thence.

Cleopatra, E.6.p.390.

Confession betwixt Pole and Legh.

"Pole demanded of him, if he had not heard that the king had appealed himself from the general council? He answered, that Frogmarton, his servant, first told him of it. Pole asked him how he thought of it? He answered, that he had but little understanding in such matters; but that he had heard of others, that the king's grace did but as the most part of Christendom did. He shewed him also, that it was no indifferent way that any man should be judge in his own cause. Pole asked him what he meant by that?

Then he said, you, among you, call for a general council in your own country and power, where the judgment is given before the matter cometh in argument. Pole said, that men had better conscience than so. He replied, few men had conscience to judge against themselves. He answered, no more of that, nor any like matter.” 1537.

Then he proceeded to another argument, concerning a religious house or hospital founded, I suppose, in Rome, dedicated to St. Thomas a Becket, for Englishmen, whereof Cardinal Pole was now the supervisor; and complaint being made of one Borbrig, the present master of that house, the cardinal told Legh, “ That he would put an order to come to the hospital for to limit Borbrig to his pension. He disannulled this man of the mastership of the house, and made a new master, called Helliard (Hilliard, I suppose, who was attainted by parliament when Pole was), and another, his companion, named Goldwel (attainted at the same time), was made Custos then. He made brothers of the hospital, among the which he would needs that Legh should be one; saying to him, that he might do it with his honesty and worship, and that there were other worshipful men of England of the brotherhood: among the which he named Dr. Clark, the Bishop of Bath, who also, Pole said, had been a great benefactor to the house. Further he named one Mr. Wotton, and Dr. Benet (who had been formerly ambassadors), to be brothers there.” p. 313.

There being a publick dinner at this house, the cardinal and Legh happened to be there, who, after eating, fell into discourse about the foundation of it, saying, “ That it was founded in the name of Thomas of Canterbury, whom the king’s grace, said he, hath pulled out of his shrine. To which Legh answered, that it became never a servant to be better clothed than his master. Pole asked him what he meant by that? Legh answered, that he had seen the sepulchre of our Master Christ, and also the sepulchre of all his

1537. progeny. Which were nothing in comparison to the shrine, (of St. Thomas at Canterbury,) nor also neer by a thousand parts like unto it. Pole said, that there was no devotion in those countryes. Legh, that there was honest devotion in those parts, and not used with abusio*n*. Pole asked, what he called *abusio*n**. Legh answered, all that which was demanded in God's pretence, and afterwards to man's folly. Pole told him, he was not learned, and therefore could judge no such matters. Legh told him, no more he took upon him for to do. And that which he spake was not upon judgment of learning, but upon open experience. Pole then asked him, what experience he had in the things of the church. Legh said, none other than that which was open to all the world. Pole told him then, that though there were some evil of the church, yet also there was some good. Legh said, of their acts be it tried.

“ Pole then entred into communication of More and Rochester, saying, that they were put to death, and that if he had been with them, he had died in their opinion. Legh said, no man would refuse the death in God's quarrel. Pole said, God ever gave time to sinners to amend. Legh subjoyned, that the common saying was, that More and Rochester died more in obstination, than in any good opinion. Pole replied, that for the most part, common sayings ever were untrue. Pole asked him, what stories he had studied, or read in the Italian tongue. Legh said, none, because he had no leisure from going about from place to place to see countries: but told him, that at his going home shortly, he would buy some stories in the Italian tongue to have with him, and study them at his commodity. Pole said, he should do well not to impatshe himself with reading of the story of Nicolo Machavello; because he said, to his judgment, that it had already empoysoned our country of England; and that it was a story also to empoysen all the rest of the states of Christendom: saying further, that with all that he could do, he

would cause it to be dystynkyd (extinguished) and put down, out of reverence, in all places where he might have any power." 1537.

All this account Legh gave the Lord Privy Seal, concerning his communication with the cardinal. For coming in his travels through Rome, he could not easily miss of seeing the English cardinal. Who being now under attaint, it was dangerous for any English subject to be in his company; and therefore Legh was thus by the state called to account. And it seems likely, he was looked on, as some spy or emissary from him. p. 314.

CHAP. XLI.

Letters congratulatory of the universities to the king. A commission to divers bishops and others. Rodolph Bradford, a great promoter of religion. Humphrey Monmouth, a worthy citizen, and sufferer. Articles against him.

I FIND a letter without date of the year, sent to his majesty from the university of Cambridge, and another from that of Oxford, chiefly upon the same subject. Which was a congratulation of the king, for the proceedings he had made in reforming the corruptions and superstitions of religion. But I know not in what year so well to lay them as in this of 1537. Because I observe, in the former letter, two things hinted, that happened about this time. The one is the mention of the infant Prince Edward, who was born in the month this was writ: the other, the destruction of the convents of friars, the smaller of them having been granted to the king the last year: and this year was much taken up in the actual dissolution of them. In this address to his majesty, Cambridge interceeds with him, "That as those houses had been unprofitable, nay, pernicious to Christian religion, and devoted to superstition and vain religion; so the king would take an opportunity

The universities address to the king.
That of Cambridge

1537. to make excellent use of them, by converting them into colleges and places of good literature. That as before, lazy drones and swarmes of impostors were sent out of them, so now by these means, men might be bred up in them, to promote solid learning, and to preach the gospel." It is observable by the strain of this letter, how well disposed this university in these early days was to religion, and how glad of the emendations the king had made : giving this character of itself, "*Quæ semper sinceriori religioni maximè faverit*—That it ever had a great favour to sincere religion."

And that
of Oxford.

The letter of the other university ran much to the same strain, "extolling the king for his promoting of learning, as well as religion. Insomuch as whereas in their fathers time the more polite learning, and the study of all good arts faded and waxed cold, now in his time there were not a few in Britain, that might strive for victory with the antients themselves. They praised him for his favour and benefits to the universities, which were the very fountains of virtue and seminaries of learning. That for his extraordinary benefactions to them, he obscured many other kings, that had before time been their founders and benefactors. They extol him most of all for forgiving their tenths and first fruits. And so conclude with a supplication to him, to make an end of the contention betwixt the townsmen and them." Both these epistles

p. 315.

No.
LXXXVI.
LXXXVII.

"The Institution of
a Christian
Man."

are repositied in the Appendix.

The famous book, called "*The Institution of a Christian Man*," came out this year. For the compiling whereof, the king issued out a commission to divers bishops and other divines : wherein most of the doctrines of religion, and the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, were seriously debated : each setting down in writing his judgment on each point, digested under several questions. I have seen divers of these writings ; especially concerning *confirmation*, *orders*, *wedlock* and *extreme unction*. I will not think much to transcribe the papers of divers of these

divines, both bishops and doctors, upon the first of these rites; namely, that of *confirmation*, that the reader may see and judge of the learning of the scholars of those days, and what abilities the king's chaplain had. This proceeded upon three questions, to be resolved by each divine. 1537.

I. Whether this sacrament be a sacrament of the New Testament, instituted by Christ, or not?

II. What is the outward sign and invisible grace, that is conferred in the same?

III. What promises be made, that the said graces shall be received by this sacrament? Which questions I suppose were devised by Archbishop Cranmer. In the Appendix may be seen the judgments (according to the order wherein they stand in the MS.) of these bishops: Lee, Archbishop of York; Goodrick, Bishop of Ely; Hilsey, the learned Black Friar; Bishop of Rochester; Longland, Bishop of Lincoln; Capon, alias Salcot, Bishop of Bangor; Stokesly, Bishop of London; Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. (The judgments of which two last are excepted out of the rest, and printed in the History of the Reformation.) And then follow the papers of these doctors; Wotton, Barbar, Bell, Wolman, Marshal, Cliff, Edmunds, Downes, Marmaduke, one anonymous, Robynson, Smith, and Buckmaster. No. LXXXVIII. P. I. Col- lect. p. 318.

I cannot set the time exactly of the death of Rodolph Bradford, but not long after this time, I conjecture, it happened. Of whom I cannot but make a note, having been one of the divines, nominated among the bishops in that famous commission aforesaid, to meet together, and correct the errors of religion, and to draw up a wholesome book, for the use and instruction of the people: to which his name among the rest was subscribed. He was a very pious gospeller, and furtherer of true religion, and suffered much for it. In King's College, Cambridge, he had been both scholar and fellow: whence he went to London. Where by the help of Jeffrey Lome, servant to Dr. Farman, (a learned man and

1537. favourer of religion at Cambridge) he met with certain New Testaments, translated into English by Frith: and went to Reading with them, out of a godly zeal to disperse them. There he delivered them to a certain monk who being apprehended, made known the names of him and others, from whom he had them. Whereupon letters were sent over to Cambridge, to Dr. Redman, then vice-chancellor, to apprehend this Bradford, now returned thither, together with Dr. Smith of Trinity Hall, Simon Smith of Gonville Hall, Hugh Latimer and Segar Nicolson. But Bradford, and an Augustin friar, (Barnes it may be,) fled away into Ireland; where he openly preached the gospel. But being there pursued, he was at length taken and imprisoned the space of two years. And then being enlarged, he returned to Cambridge; and in Corpus Christi College (wherein were several that loved religion) he went out Dr. of Divinity, in the year 1534, where while he remained, he would let no holy-day pass, without preaching a sermon. Afterwards he was chaplain to Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and died there.

Foxii.
MSS.
Humphrey
Monmouth, an
eminent
citizen.

I cannot let this year pass, without mentioning a very eminent man about these times, named Humphrey Monmouth, citizen and draper of London, a great dealer in Suffolk cloths; noted as well for his piety as his wealth. This year I suppose he died, I am sure this year he made his last will and testament. He was one of the great patrons and favourers of the gospel, and the preachers of it, in these days in London. In former years, he in his travels visited Rome; where he and his company obtained indulgences and pardons from that bishop, both “à culpa et à pœna—from sin, and from punishment” due to to it, for certain times of the year. Which large favour was, I suppose, granted them, either because they were going to Jerusalem to visit the holy sepulchre, or rather because they were rich men, and gave liberally. And it may be, his travels to Rome shewed him so much of the pope and his religion, as

made him no great friend to it afterwards. This man, when Luther's doctrine came first into England, was an embracer of it, and conversed much in his writings, and did what he could for the enlarging and spreading evangelical knowledge therein contained; though in the year 1521 Luther had been proclaimed an heretick in England, and his books heretical and damnable: and it was strictly enjoined, that none should adhere to his sect. He encouraged the translation of the Holy Scriptures into English, and contributed largely both to the translating and printing of them, by Hutchin, alias Tyndal, and Roye, and was privy to their goings into Germany. He also assisted in the printing of books in English beyond sea, against the sacrament of the altar, and the mass. He entertained Tyndal at his house, and gave him ten pounds, when he was to go to Hamburgh about his translation of the New Testament. Besides, he gave many exhibitions to scholars in the universities, for their maintenance; some whereof came afterwards to be great men: as Dr. Royston, the Bishop of London's chaplain; Dr. Wooderal, provincial of the Augustin Friars; Dr. Watson, the king's chaplain, and afterwards bishop; and to divers priests and friars besides.

1537.
A Lutheran.

A great benefactor.

In the year 1528, May 14, Sir Thomas More and Sir William Kyngston, of the privy council, searched his house for heretical books, and letters of correspondence abroad with hereticks, and committed him to the Tower. The articles they laid to his charge were in number 24, as they follow, taken, as I suppose, out of Bishop Tunstal's register.

Committed for heresy.

Foxii MSS.

Articles mynystred against Homfrye Munmouthe, of the paryshe of All Sayntes Berkinge, of the Cytie of London.

p. 317.
Articles against him.

First, That thow diddest know, believe, or here say, that Martyn Luther, with all persons adhering to his opinions and heresies was by sufficient authority condempned an heretyke, and his books, works

I.

1537. and opinions, as heretical, detestable, erroneous and dampnable, by like aucthorytie condempned and re-
proved ; and prohibitions generally made, and in this
realm publyshed in the month of April, anno Domini,
a thousand VC. XXI. that no person should leane
or adhere to the sect of the said Martyn Luther, any
of his heresies and detestable opinions, or buy, kepe
or have, retayne, or read any of his foresaid books
or works, or of other of the said sect.
- II. *Item*, That at any tyme after the premysses by
thee known, thou hast had or bought divers and many
books, treaties and works of the said Martyn Luther,
and other of his detestable sect.
- III. *Item*, That thou hast favoured, helped and given
exhibition to such persons, as went about to translate
into English, or to make erroneous books out of holy
scripture : and chiefly to Sir William Hochin, other-
wise called Sir William Tyndalle, preest, and to
Fryer Roye, sometymes observant, and now in apos-
tasye, or to eyther of them.
- IV. *Item*, That thou wert privy, and of counsel, that
the said Sir William Hochin, otherwise called Tyn-
dal, and Fryar Roye, or eyther of them, went into
Almayne to Luther, there to study and lerne his
sect ; and diddest help and ayde them, or eyther of
them, with mony, or the exhibition thereunto at there
departing hense, or syns.
- V. *Item*, That thou haddest certain books of Luther's,
translated into English, as well " Luther de Liber-
tate Christiana, or, Luther's Exposition upon the
Pater Noster."
- VI. *Item*, That the book " De Libertate Christiana,"
was written in the beginning, and drawn out of St.
Augustine's works, and the " Exposition of the Pater
Noster," was ascribed to Hilarius, to blynd and abuse
thereby your readers of them, as they were books of
holly fathers.
- VII. *Item*, That thou was privy and of counsail, or
hast given help thereunto, that the New Testament
was translated into English by Sir William Hochin,

or Tyndal, and Friar Roye, and printed and brought into this realm, as well with gloses as without gloses. 1537.

Item, That after they were openly forbodden, as being full of errors, thow hast had, red and kept them. VIII.

Item, That thou hast had an Introduction in English, printed upon Paul's Epistle to the Romaines, and kept, red, or used the same. IX.

Item, That thou hast had, and yet hast, certain other works, full of errors, translated into English, sent unto thee by the said Sir William Tyndal, or Hochin. X.

Item, That thou hast been privy and of counsel, of certain detestable books late prynted beyond the sea, in English, against the sacrament, and all other observances of holy church, and chiefly against the blessed sacrament of the autar, and the observance of the holy masse. XI.

Item, That thou hast cawsed divers other works heretical, to be translated into English, as well of Luther, as of one Frier Lambert of the same sect. XII. p. 318.

Item, That thou hast eaten flesh in Lent season, contrary to the ordinance and determination of holly church. XIII.

Item, That thou hast said, affirmed and beleved, that faith onlie is sufficient to save a man his sowle, without any works. XIV.

Item, That all men be not bound to observe the constitutions made by the church. XV.

Item, That we should pray only to God, and to no saintes. XVI.

Item, That Christen men ought to worship God onlye, and no saintes. XVII.

Item, That pilgrimages be not profitable for man's sowle, and should not be used. XVIII.

Item, That men should not offer to images in the church, ne sett any lightes before them. XIX.

Item, That contrition is sufficient for a man being in dedlye synne, to confess him only to God, without confession made to a priest. XX.

1537.
XXI. *Item*, That no man is bound to kepe any manner of fasting day, institute by the church.

XXII. *Item*, That pardons granted by the pope, or the bishop, doth not profit a man.

XXIII. *Item*, That thow art named and reputed to be avancer and a favourer of the said Martyn Luther, his heresies and detestable opinions, and one of the same sect.

XXIV. *Item*, That all and singular the premisses be true, notorious, publike and famous; and upon them reyneth the common voice and fame among good, sadde, and discrete persons, within the Cytie of London, and within other places.

His petition to
Cardinal
Wolsey
and the
Council.

Five days after his commitment, he made an humble petition to Cardinal Wolsey, and the lords of the council, for his liberty. Therein he related, "what examinations he had undergon from Sir Thomas More and Sir William Kyngston, concerning books received from beyond sea, and concerning his acquaintance with divers suspected persons, and monies by him allowed them. He related, how they searched his house for books and letters, and committed him to Sir Edmund Walsingham, Lieutenant of the Tower: what acquaintance and communication he had with Tyndal, which indeed was the chief quarrel against him. He acknowledged, that having heard some sermons by him preached at St. Dunstan's in the West, four or five years past; and understanding from him that he had no place, he entertained him half a year in his house. Where he lived, he said, like a good priest, and studied most part of the day and of the night at his book; and would eat no meat, but sodden, and drink nothing but small bear, nor wore any linnen about him. That he promised him ten pounds, to pray for the souls of his father and mother, and all Christen people: which he afterwards sent him to Hamburgh. He excused himself of giving this to Tyndal, by saying, that he gave exhibitions to divers other priests, friars and scholars; and that he had

spent more a great deal for the love of God, after the counsel of good doctors, than upon that one priest. That the books he had were, the Enchyridion, in English, and an Exposition of the Pater Noster, and concerning the Christian Liberty, and the New Testament in English: but he had parted with them all, and delivered them up. And while he had them, all of them, but the New Testament, lay open in his house for two years; nor had any friar, priest or layman, found any fault with them. And he shewed them likewise to them. He had also shewed them to divers other learned clergy men, who found no fault in them, except that of Christian Liberty. In which they said were some hard things, except the reader were wise. That before he heard the Bishop of London say, at Paul's Cross, that Tyndal had translated the New Testament into English, and done it noughtily, he never suspected, nor knew any evil by him: but after, he burnt all his books, and letters and sermons, which he had by him. Lastly, he prayed the council to shew him mercy, and grant him deliverance out of prison: and that he had by lying there, utterly lost his name and credit; besides the great inconvenience that happened thereby to the poor people in Suffolk; great numbers whereof were maintained, by his taking off great quantities of cloth from the clothiers there, to whom he payd ready money, to set the poor folkes on work. That he sold to strangers every year four or five hundred cloths: whereas since his lying in prison, his trade had exceedingly failed; and a great damage was hereby done to the king's customs." But he that would see that petition, as penned by Monmouth himself, may find it in the Appendix. This petition and confession he acknowledged to be his own writing, before Tunstal, Bishop of London, to whom, I suppose, the cardinal and council assigned him over; and those articles beforementioned might, by his court, be ministred unto him.

No.
LXXXIX.

After this good citizen escaped these troubles, he

1537. still persisted in his good courses ; was a great hearer of the sermons of Bishop Latimer, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Crome, Mr. Tayler, all famed preachers in those days in the city. Therefore by his last will and testament, made in the year 1537, he appointed them to preach in his parish church of St. Alhallowes, Barking, two sermons a week, till they had preached thirty sermons. For which he allotted them a legacy. In his will he forbad the ordinary superstitions of candles and singing *Dirige*, and ringing the bells at his funeral, and gave away much in charity. His said will, as I find it printed by John Goughe about that time, I have preserved in the Appendix. Such an esteem good men then had for it, and of the exemplary piety and charity shewn therein, that they reckoned it worthy making publick. When the times came on more favourable to the gospel, he was alderman of London, and served sheriff there in the year 1535, and seems to have been known and favoured by the Lord Crumwel, and Audly, (afterwards lord chancellor,) to whom he gave legacies.

His last
will.

No. XC.

p. 320.

CHAP. XLII.

A convocation. Injunctions for religion set forth by Crumwel. The proceedings of the Archbishop hereupon. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester. His proceedings. Committed to the Tower.

1538.
A convocation.

MAY 2, 1538, a convocation met at the Chapter House of St. Paul's, that had been prorogued by the archbishop. The absents (which it seems were many) were pronounced *contumaces* by the archbishop, after one or two prorogations. The 6. session, being June the 2, in the Chapter House, before the Most Reverend, Lord Thomas Crumwel, the king's vicegerent, exhibited to the prolocutor and clergy of the lower house, questions ; to be by them discussed : and assigned to them to relate their judgments upon, on a day appointed. The questions were as follow :

Divers
questions
of religion
exhibited
to them.

I. Whether there be in the sacrament of the altar transubstantiation of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the flesh and blood of Christ, or no? II. Whether priests, being ordered, may, after they be priests, marry by the law of God, or not? III. Whether the vow of chastity of men and women, made only to God, bindeth by the law of God, or not? IV. Whether auricular confession be necessary by the law of God, or not? V. Whether private masses may stand with the word of God, or not? VI. Whether it be necessary by the word of God, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in both kinds, or not?

1538.
Extract.
Convocat.
MS. D.
Fr. Ep.
Roff.

The resolution to which questions were returned, as follow:—I. That in the blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken by a priest, is present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour, Jesu Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the form of bread and wine: and that, after consecration, there remaineth no other substance, but the substance of the foresaid natural body. II. That communion in both kinds is not necessary, *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons. And that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, and form of bread, is the very blood; and in the blood, under the form of wine, is the very flesh, as well apart as though they were both together. III. That priests, after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry by the law of God. IV. That vows of chastity or widowhood, by men or women, made to God advisedly, are to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that, they might enjoy. V. That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be continued and admitted in this our English church and congregation; as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolation and benefits: and it is agreeable also to God's law. VI. That auricular confes-

The answer of
the convoca-
tion.

1538. sion is expedient to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the church of God. This convocation was prorogued from time to time till the year 1540.

p. 321. This year the Lord Crumwel, as the king's vice-
Three books of gerent in ecclesiastical matters, issued out many good
injunctions. injunctions: which were pursuant of two books of
injunctions set forth two years before, viz. in the year
1536: which I shall mention here, to make way for
the injunctions of this year.

The king's First, the king issued out injunctions that had been
injunctions assented to by the prelates and inferior clergy as-
1536, for sembled in convocation: which were for the abro-
holy days. gating a number of holy days, and especially such
as fell in harvest time; the keeping of which was
prejudicial to the gathering in the corn, hay, and
fruits of the earth. The sum of them was, "That
the dedication of churches should be kept on the first
Sunday in October for ever. That the feast of the
patron of every church, commonly called the Church
Holy Day, should not be henceforth kept as a holy
day, except it be such a holy day, as is to be universally
kept. That all holy days that happen in harvest
time, that is, from the first of July to the 29th of
September, were not to be kept holy days, but people
were to do their ordinary work, except the feasts of
the apostles, of the blessed Virgin, St. George, and
such feasts, wherein the king's judges at Westminster
did not use to sit in judgment. And what days they
were, were afterwards mentioned in the injunctions.
The four offering days to be, the Nativity of our
Lord, Easter Day, the Nativity of St. John Baptist,
and of Michael, the Archangel." I do but briefly
give the heads of these injunctions, and not transcribe
them at length, as I meet with them in a volume of
the Cotton Library; because they are already printed
to our hand, both in Foxe's Acts, and in the Bishop
of Sarum's History.

Crumwel's The same year came abroad other injunctions, set
injunctions forth in the Lord Crumwel's name, and dispersed
the same year.

1538.

throughout the deaneries of every diocese: beginning thus, "In the name of God, Amen, in the year of our Lord 1536, &c. I THOMAS CRUMWEL, Knight, keeper of the privy seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and vicegerent of the same, for and concerning all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highnesses honour, the publick weal of this realm, and encrease of vertue in the same, have appointed and assigned these injunctions insueing, to be kept and observed of the deans, parsons, vicars, curates and stipendiaries resident, or having care of souls, or any other spiritual administration within this deanery."

These injunctions were in number twelve. The first was, "For keeping all the laws and statutes of the realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's pretended power, and for establishment of the king's authority as supreme head. That the articles of religion lately put forth be declared in sermons, that it may be known which be necessary to be believed, and which be not necessary, but only concern a decent and politick order of the church. For declaring to the people, the abrogation of superstitious holy days. For the abolishing of images, and forbidding pilgrimages. Parents and masters to teach their children and servants the Lord's Prayer, the Articles, and the Ten Commandments in the mother tongue; and for the bringing up youth to arts and occupations. That sacraments and sacramentals be duely administred in parishes; and good curates placed by those that reside not upon their benefices. Every parish to provide a Bible both in Latin and English, to be laid in the quire, to be read by any priest. Not to resort to, or haunt taverns or alehouses; nor to play at tables and cards after dinner or supper; but to spend those times in hearing or reading some portions of holy scripture. That all non-residents, that could dispend 20*l.* and above, should distribute among their poor parishioners, the 40th part of the fruits of their benefices. That every

p. 322.

1538. clergyman, having, in promotion of the church, an 100*l.* yearly, or upwards, for every hundred pound, should find a scholar in either of the universities. The fift part of the benefices to be bestowed yearly upon the mansions or chancels. And all this under pain of suspension and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices." These were the injunctions of the year 1536.

His in-
junctions
two years
after.

Crumwel in this year, 1538, set out other injunctions in the king's name, to the number of seventeen. Which were, " For the setting up the Bible in churches, and for the observing the injunctions before given. To which were added, that sermons should be made quarterly at least : wherein the preachers were to instruct their people against the ordinary superstitions, of wandering on pilgrimages, offering candles and tapers to relicks, kissing or licking of them, and the like. That if any priest had extolled these things, that he should now recant and reprove the same : shewing that he did so upon no ground of scripture, but led by common error and abuse. That none should stop the reading or preaching of the word of God. That a register should be kept in every parish. That the former injunctions be read every quarter of a year. That no man should detain his tithes, upon pretence of his curates not doing their duty. None to alter the order and manner of any fasting day, that is commanded or indicted by the church, excepting the commemoration of Thomas Becket, which shall be clean omitted. The knoling of *Aves* after service, brought in by pretence of the Bishop of Rome's pardons, henceforth to be left ; that the people should not trust to have pardon, by saying their *Aves* between the said knoling. To omit saying in processions their *Ora pro nobis* to so many saints : whereby they had no time to sing the good suffrages, *Parce nobis Domine : Libera nos Domine.* Which were more necessary and effectual to be said."

These last injunctions were given out by occasion

of the negligent observation of the former, which the clergy took little heed to ; which when the king understood, and being resolutely now determined to purge out many abuses in the church, and rectify divers errors in doctrine, then generally entertained, he gave command to the Lord Crumwel to make in his name a set of new Injunctions ; and a copy of them he sent to every respective bishop to be duly executed, and to give a strait order to their clergy to observe them. The letter which Crumwel wrote to Archbishop Cranmer relating to this matter, was this, the like to which I suppose was sent to the rest of the bishops :

1538.
On what
occasion
set forth.

“ After my right hartly commendations unto your lordship. Whereas the king’s highness, being informed as well of the negligent observation of the former injunctions exhibited to the clergy of that diocese, as also of the further continuance of superstition and idolatry in the same, and minding, like as to his office most appertaineth, the expurgation of untrue religion, and the abolishment of all abuses crept into the same, hath willed and commanded me to put forth by his grace’s authority, to all his clergy and subjects within this realm, certain other injunctions, to be kept and observed of the same, upon their further peril. These shall be therefore as well to advertise your lordship, as also of the king’s highness behalf, to charge and command the same ; that calling before you or your commissaries, at days and places convenient, the whole clergy of that diocese, ye do exhibit and put forth on the king’s highness behalf, and by his grace’s authority, these injunctions, whereof ye shall receive a copy herewith, and may send whereat they be printed for as many more as will serve to give every curate within that diocese ; straitly charging every of the same inviolably to observe the said injunctions, upon the pains therein expressed. In default whereof they may look for no like indulgence, as they have had hitherto by violation of the other, but earnest cohercion and severity to be extended towards them, for both contempts together.

p. 323.
Crumwel
to Cranmer
for the In-
junctions.
Cranm.
Reg.p.215.

1558. And that ye fail not this the king's highness pleasure and commandment effectually to put forth, execute, and accomplish, without any dissimulation, negligence, or remiss handling, as ye intend to answer to the king's majesty for the contrary thereof at your peril. And thus most hartily fare you well. From London the last of September.

Your lordship's friend,

THOMAS CRUMWEL."

The conclusion of the injunctions.

Then follow in the register the injunctions themselves, which end thus: "All which and singular injunctions I minister unto you and to your parishioners, by the king's highness authority, to be committed in this part; which I charge and command you, by the same authority, to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the king, or his vicegerent for this time being, shall be seen convenient."

The proceedings of the archbishop upon the aforesaid letter;

Upon this order for all rectors, vicars, and spiritual persons, within the diocese of Canterbury, to observe these injunctions, the archbishop issued out his letters to certain persons, his officials, to declare the said injunctions both to the clergy and laity, whom they were empowered to call before them, and to command them diligently to obey them. Dated at Lambeth, October 2. The like letters of commission he wrot to John Butler, his commissary of the town and of Marches of Calais, and to the Deans of South Malling and of Bocking.

And of the Bishop of Chichester.

p. 324.

The other bishops laid their commands upon their respective clergy also. The Bishop of Chichester, Richard Sampson, about this time issued out his instructions to the parsons and curates of his diocese, containing two heads; namely, That they should with all diligence apply themselves to accomplish the king's commandments and injunctions, being so compleat, so perfect, and so good, that nothing could well be added to them, as he wrote; and that every priest in his mass should say a special collect for the king

and the prince: which instructions are recorded at length in the Appendix. 1538.

No. XCI.

But Bishop Sampson would stir no further than needs must, being one that bore a very good will to the old superstitions, however satisfied he were in the king's supremacy against the pope. This begat some jealousies of him in the king and Crumwel. There was one Wells, incumbent of the parish of Rye, in Sussex, of this bishop's diocese, some grave and leading man in those parts, perhaps the Benedictin of that name, prior sometimes of Gloucester College, Oxon. This Wells had some conferences with the bishop, and letters past between them for his direction about the affairs of the clergy, loth to change their old religion any more than they were forced and driven. He wrote to the bishop, that he sung no service openly in the English tongue; which it seems some desired he should, and I suppose Cranmer, the archbishop, might advise it: and namely, that the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and some hymns, should be repeated in the time of service in English, for the better understanding and edification of the people. This doing of Mr. Wells, the bishop signified to him his approbation of; bidding him in his letter, "For the common quietness, to forbear any such novelties, till it should please the king's majesty to declare his pleasure." And then the bishop proceeds to give his reasons against using the English: "Because the ministers of the church in all places, both with the Latins and Greeks, sung or said their offices or prayers in the Latin or Greek grammatical tongues, and not in the vulgar. That the people prayed apart in such tongues as they would. But this (used in publick) was a common prayer of the ministers and people together, as he promised he would more shew him at their next conference; and wished that all the ministers were so well learned that they understood their offices, service, or prayers, which they said in the Latin tongue."

He is against the service in English.

Cleopatra, E. 5.

In this great town of Rye, it seems, there were

1538.
His mes-
sage to
Rye upon
dissensions
there.

p. 325.

people of different minds, and many were for the Gospel; so that there had been some uproars and disturbances. The bishop, for the better quieting and directing matters in the church, had promised to come thither himself; which Wells urged him to do, remembering him of his promise. But his business at London had been, as he wrote, a let to him, and he heard also that there was quietness now in that place for a good space, till now of late; which gave the bishop occasion to use these words: "But I perceive that our ghostly enemy travaileth, as he hath been at all times wont to do, with his seed of dissension; wherefore we have so much the more need to be vigilant, to pray for grace that we may withstand him." At Rye the bishop had been once before, and then had required this Wells to advertise him of things that might be causes of dissension. Accordingly he had informed the diocesan of somebody there, that preached popish doctrines, I suppose, and had the king's licence; with whom nevertheless the people were grieved, and the rather because he was an outlandish man, however a denizon. But the bishop wrote his judgment herein in these words: "I assure you, I regard nothing his country, so that he teach the word of God soberly, charitably, and purely, without any innovation of any such things as are not necessary, till that the prince's pleasure be known in them." Wells also desired to have a *concord of religion* (as he called it) at the bishop's hands. To the which he answered: "Surely it is my most bound duty to apply all my diligence to that godly act, and will do. Wherefore I require you, in the name of God, to signify unto me the most special points that now are causes of any discord with you there; and I trust, with God's help, to quiet that matter, whatsoever it be. One thing ye must know, that the king's highness is yet content that the book * lately put out (by his grace's favour and licence) by the prelates, should be obeyed, and may be taught till that his majesty shall otherwise order some things with a more mature

* The bps. book, called, The Institution of a Christian Man.

and deliberate counsel. In the mean time no person ought to reprove that book; for in things concerning the religion, I suppose, the doctrine is true. In other ceremonies, when it shall please the king's majesty to order them otherwise, the people shall be taught accordingly. Lastly, he told Wells he would shortly send them an honest man to have the cure there, who should both preach the word of God purely, and also use himself with such good discretion, that he should be a means of much quietness." This letter was dated August the 21. 1553.

Crumwel understanding well the clergy, by the secret intelligence that he had, liked not this Bishop of Chichester, and took occasion openly to speak against him, as that he played false with the king. And he took it the worse from him, because he had received divers favours from Crumwel, and, as it seemed, was beholden to him for being instrumental in procuring him the bishoprick. And to be particular, Crumwel was informed of certain things in a sermon by the bishop, preached at Chichester; and he had notice of other preachers in his diocese, that preached not according to the injunctions aforesaid; and of the bishop's nonresidence, and that he was a secret favourer of the Bishop of Rome, and held certain unsound doctrines. As to these matters, he laboured to carry himself towards Crumwel in a very humble, complying way; "Acknowledging some things, and professing his profound obedience to the king's will: but he owned that he was no friend to novelties, except manifest necessity required it. That as concerning a sermon he preached at Chichester, on the day of our Ladie's Conception, if Crumwel himself had been present he would have been well contented with it. That if any other preached amiss in his diocese, if he knew it, he would reform him, or correct him for the example of others. As to his remissness in resorting no oftner to his diocese, he would reform it. That whatsoever should be set forth by the king, he trusted that neither the king nor he should have any

Crumwel
offended
with him.

His vindication
of
himself.

1538. travail for his diocese, he would settle that people in such a sure sort of quietness and obedience. That he would send down such a preacher to Rye, and the parts about it, that a reformation should follow concerning worshipping images, setting up candles before them, kneeling to them, and the like. That whereas p. 326. some complaints had come to Crumwel against him from Rye and Lewes, he desired to know the specialities, and he should know his answers. That there was not any in England or Germany, but that he dared to adventure his life he was no more Papist than he; and that it was well known to his lordship, that none was in more obloquy among the Bishop of Rome's friends beyond the seas then he was (because of the book he had writ against him). And therefore he prayed him to suspend the persuasions of his mind concerning him, till he should hear his answers to the accusations made against him, as though he had dealt rigorously with some people. That he had used temperance and moderation in all his doings. That where there was a fault, he would grant it and amend it. And finally prayed him, that as he had been his good lord, so he would continue to be in his just defence, from his accustomed goodness." But behold him No. XCII. speaking in his own words, in his letter.

This bp. in
the Tower.
His confession;

But notwithstanding all this, he could not clear himself from some matters laid to his charge; as his good will to the old superstitions, and particularly relieving some Papists, impugnors of the king's authority, that were prisoners for it; but was sent to the Tower, in the year 1539, and there I find him in 1540. At an examination in which year, to get himself the more favour by being open, he confessed a combination between the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, London, himself, and some others, to do all their utmost endeavours to preserve the old religion, and the usages and traditions thereof. It was then, when that which was called *The Bishops Book* was framing at Lambeth by the bishops commissioned thereunto by the king. The Bishop of Durham used to carry an old

Greek book with him, wherein were divers things favouring the traditions of the church. Having this Bishop Sampson in his barge with him, passing over to Lambeth, he did often produce to him several places in that book, wherein matters that were here in controversy were ordained by the Greek church. And in this book, or another, he likewise shewed him a mass written, either of Basil's or Chrysostom's. And the Bishop of London, Stokesley, brought certain other Greek books; which both he and Durham conferred together, searching to find out the old canons in them: and Durham, taking occasion from these books, exhorted Sampson to stand for the old customs of the church. And so he did likewise when they were busied with the German divines, in 1538. Stokesley of London took him aside in the gallery at Lambeth, at their departure from the archbishop (who stood against them), and was very earnest with him for the usages of the church, when it seems Cranmer had well nigh persuaded him on the other side: both he and Durham being fully bent to maintain as many of these old customs and traditions as they could; urging how necessary it was so to do, because they found them in the Greek church. The Bishop of Winchester, he confessed, more lately urged him "To help things forward, because the king was well disposed to them. He bad him be diligent in the ceremonies, and omit none. He told him, that old traditions were not to be broken without great cause, and some of them in no wise to be broken. And that he and the Bishop of Rochester (who, it seems, was more moderate, yet) agreed in effect in this point, for the necessity of retaining some old traditions."

1538.
Concern-
ing the Bp.
of Durham;

Stokesley,
Bp. of
London;

And of the
Bp. of
Winches-
ter.

p. 327.

All this the Bishop of Chichester confessed to the Lord Crumwel, being in great trouble and extraordinary dejection of mind, even to the danger of his life, upon the fear of the king's displeasure and Crumwel's. But this lord comforted him with the assurance that the king was his gracious lord. But when Crumwel had charged the Bishop of Durham with these

1538. matters, confessed by Chichester, he denied them. Whereat the said lord sent his servants, Dr. Peter, and Bellows, to him in the Tower, signifying as much. Which made him send a letter to Crumwel in vindication of the truth of what he had said. The
 No. XCIII. tenor of which may be found in the Appendix. Upon these confessions and submissions he was delivered out of the Tower, but how soon after, I cannot tell.

The king
 turns the
 church of
 Norwich
 into a dean
 and canons

Thus matters now were with the Bishop of Chichester. Another bishop, viz. Rugg, alias Reps, Bishop of Norwich, saw his church this year transformed from the original constitution of it, by prior and monks, into a secular dean and canons. For King William Rufus, in the tenth year of his reign, gave certain lands to Herbert, then Bishop of Norwich, to erect a monastery with prior and monks in Norwich. And thereupon the said Herbert erected the said monastery, and endowed it with lands. Which continued so until the second day of May, anno Reg. Henry VIII. xxx°. when he translated the monks from prior and covent, into a dean and chapter: the letters patents are as follow:

His patents
 for the
 same.
 E MSS.
 Cecillian.

“ Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, et in Terra Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, omnibus, &c. Cum apud Norwicum, a tempore cujus contrarium memoria hominum non existit, una sedes episcopalis in ecclesia cathedralis Sanctæ Trinitatis Norwici ibidem fundata ordinata et locata extiterit, ac etiam in ea ecclesia, ac prope eandem unum vetus cœnobium sive monasterium aut prioratus, a tempore prædicto similiter fundatum, ordinatum et locatum extiterit: in quo quidem cœnobio monachi ordinis Sti Benedicti ab eodem tempore usq; nunc sub uno priore ibidem monachis, regulis, observantiis et servitiis divinis ministraturi et servaturi debebant, negotiaq; ejusdem cœnobii per priorem prædict. pro tempore existen. seu per eundem priorem cum consensu convent.; ejusdem cœnobii sub

nomine prioris, aut sub nomine prioris et conventus ecclesiæ cathedralis, Stæ Trinitatis Norwici, continuè tractabantur et fiebant: de quo quidem cœnobio quidam Willielmus Castelton (non immerito) prior existit: NOS diversis causis et considerationib. et præsertim ad laudem, gloriam et honorem Stæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, illud cœnobium de priore et conventu ecclesiæ cathedralis Stæ Trinitatis Norwici constitutum, in decanum et capitulum ecclesiæ cathedralis Stæ Trinitatis Norwici, transponere et mutare proposuimus.

1538.

“ Quamobrem, ut dicta nostra intentio absq; temporis dilatione in ea parte perimpleteur, SCIATIS quod nos auctoritate nostra regia, et auctoritate nostra in Terra Supremi Capitis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ qua fungimur, de gratia nra. speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nris. dictum cœnobium de priore et conventu ecclesiæ cathedralis Stæ Trinitatis Norwici, sic ut præfertur constitut. et fundat. in decanum et capitulum ecclesiæ cathedralis Ste Trinitatis Norwici transponimus et mutamus per præsentés, et pro sic translato et mutato deinceps reputari et haberi volumus in perpetuum per præsentés. Et præterea de scientiis, virtutibus et cæteris gratiarum donis præfato Willielmo Castelton a Deo collatis plurimum confidentes, cui tam de habitu suo quam de regula legitime dispensatum est, ipsum Willielmum decanum ecclesiæ cathedralis prædictæ, præficimus, ordinamus et constituimus: ac quosdam Waltherum Grym. W. H. E. N. &c. commonachos dicti nuper cœnobii, quibus etiam tam de habitu suo quam de regula similiter dispensatum est, præbendarios in eadem ecclesia cathedrali: ac quosdam Robertum Thwaytes, T. R. R. F. &c. similiter commonachos dicti nuper cœnobii, quibus etiam tam de habitu quam de regula similiter dispensatum est, canonicos sæculares in ecclesia cathedrali prædict. similiter tenore præsentium, acceptamus, ordinamus, et constituimus. Ipsosq; decanum, prebendarios et

p. 328.

1538. canonicos in ecclesia prædict. realiter ponimus et constituimus per præsentēs.”

The patent
void, for
want of the
bishop's
consent.

But because the bishop, who was the founder of the said priory in succession, did not give his consent to the said translation, these letters patents were long after, under Queen Elizabeth, doubted not to be good in law. And it was urged, that all the grants made to this foundation as dean and chapter were void, because they continued prior and monk till their death. Until which time, as the case was enforced, the king had nothing in the said priory and lands. But afterwards, the last of the monks being dead, which happened about the xviith of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the same priory and lands were said to come to her highness by an act of parliament made in the xxxth year of King Henry VIII. for the dissolution of monasteries, since which time the queen granted them to the Lord Wentworth's assigns. And this cost a long suit in law between them and the church, one Gardiner being then dean. Which case was referred at last to the Lord Treasurer,

CHAP. XLIII.

Treaty with the German princes, confederates. Melancthon's letters to the king. The writings of the bishops concerning divers abuses in religion. The king excommunicated by the pope.

Mount
sent to the
German
princes.

THE king this year shewed some apprehension of dangers from abroad. For he rode to Dover, caused the haven to be fortified, sent commissions throughout the realm, to have the people mustered. Whereat many feared the pope would have brought foreign princes suddenly to invade the realm. And these apprehensions might be the reason the treaty between the German confederates and the king (obstructed

protestant princes being, the latter end of the year 1537, at Brunswick, Christopher Mount (a German by birth, but made much use of in messages by the king) was now sent to meet them there. Who told them in the king's name, "of his Christian zeale and propension of mind towards the word of God: and that he desired to plant the sound doctrine of Christian religion in his kingdoms, and to gain all his subjects to Christ our Saviour, and wholly to take away and abolish the impious ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome." This year, 1538, the German princes, the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave, sent their ambassadors to the king, "declaring their joy at this, and making no doubt, that God by his goodness would be present with the king in this matter, and would graciously govern and prosper him, to the praise of his name."

Cleop. E. 6.
P. 272.

Mount had a further business also with the Germans, namely, to see who the confederates were, and whether their league was for a general defence, or for matters of religion only. And whereas the princes had desired the king to come into the confederacy with them, and own the Augsburgh confession, he was desirous to hear those points discoursed between some of his divines and theirs. This caused another dispatch from the Germans, who sent Francis Burgart, vice-chancellor to the Elector of Saxe, George a Boyneburgh, and Frederick Myconius, the divine, into England. With the first, for his better credit and acceptation with the king, Melancthon (of whom the king had a great opinion) sent a letter, written with his own hand, dated in May 1538, wherein he gave his majesty a great character of that ambassador, viz. Burgart: "What intimate friends they were, that Burgart could testify his perpetual observance of the king, and how well affected he stood to illustrate the godly doctrine. But that private men greatly needed prosperous kings and states to further the good work. That his majesty did mightily raise the hearts and hopes of all good

The German ambassadors sent to the king.

Melancthon's letter.

1558. men, that he would be assistant in forwarding the desires of pious men, earnestly calling for the reformation of the churches; whereas the Bishop of Rome's faction aimed at nothing but to extinguish the truth divinely revealed, and to exercise unheard of cruelties towards many princes and nations, and to constitute an unbounded and more than barbarous tyranny in the church, to defend and maintain his impious abuses. And that therefore, when the universal church was in such imminent danger, he would not cease to exhort and beseech him, to cast his eyes upon the true church, throwing herself as it were at his feet, that he would be the author of settling some firm and lasting consent in this behalf, and of moving the minds of other princes from joining with papal counsils. That this was a thing so great, that nothing could be greater; and so was worthy of a king, excelling others so much in learning and wisdom."

No. XCIV. This excellent letter is in the Appendix.

Confer-
ence be-
tween the
ambassa-
dors and
English di-
vines.
Vit. My-
con.
p. 330.

These orators being arrived in England, the king appointed certain bishops and doctors (three of the former sort, whereof Tonsal was one, and four of the latter, as Melchior Adam writes) to enter into conference and debate with them, of each of the heads of Christian doctrine contained in the Augustine confession, and of divers abuses brought into the church. It seemed to be managed by writing; the king's questions and doubts first being offered to the orators, and they then returning in their answers thereunto: and afterwards disputing it with the English divines. This held for divers months. And in fine, they came to an agreement (at least seemingly) in the main and chief doctrines and articles. Thence they descended to dissert the single life of priests, and some other corruptions crept into religion. But the year wasting, and ships waiting for them, the orators were willing now to depart home. Myconius, either through too great painfulness and study, or the disagreement of this soyl with his constitution, fell very dangerously sick, insomuch that he despaired of his

life, if he returned not home speedily to his own country. So he in the name of the rest, by a letter to the Lord Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal, earnestly desired him to procure them the king's gracious dismission. Myconius his letter is repositied in the Appendix. Departing, they left a large discourse, by way of letter to the king, dated August 5th at London; "De utraq; specie, de privata missa, et de conjugio sacerdotum:" upon which three points they reckoned the foundation of papal tyranny to rest. For it seems they perceived after much dispatch the English bishops and doctors would not let go their communion in one kind, their private mass, and celibacy of priests. This original letter is in the Cotton Library. Which being very long, the king bad the Bishop of Durham to draw up the heads of it; and that in order to a distinct answer. It was drawn up in Latin; the English whereof epitomized, may be read in the Appendix. But the whole letter is transcribed by the care of the Bishop of Sarum, and printed in his History: as also the answer the king procured to be drawn up to this letter. Wherein the king, making use of the Bishop of Durham, shewed his mind to retain those points.

1538.
Myconius
to Lord
Crumwel.

No. XCV.

No. XCVI.
Addend.
to the Col-
lect.
Vol. I,
No. vii.

There was great endeavour used by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to persuade the rest of the bishops to enter into conference with the Germans about these abuses, before their departure, and to set down their judgments hereupon in writing, as they had done in other points. But they utterly refused so to do, making this excuse; that they knew the king had taken it upon himself, to answer the orators in that behalf; and that thereof a book was already devised by his majesty: and therefore, they said, they would not meddle with it, lest they should write therein contrary to him. And so they required the archbishop to proceed, to treat of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; though they also knew, that the Germans would not agree with them, except in matrimony

The Bps.
will not
treat of
abuses.

1538. only. Hereupon the archbishop wrote to the Lord Crumwel, August 23, telling him, "How the bishops declined to discourse of abuses, seeing manifestly, as he said, they could not defend them, and yet would in no wise yield to the Germans concerning them. And that their main end was, to break the concord. And therefore desired the Lord Crumwel to move the king, to issue out some special commandment unto them." But however, I think there was no entrance made into any conference of these abuses. I find indeed the writings of divers bishops and

p. 351. divines, containing their judgments upon some other abuses; which I do suppose they drew up by the king's order at this meeting: as, a writing concerning Pilgrimages. To which is the subscription of four bishops, viz. of Bath and Wells, of London, of Lincoln, and of Durham, and one abbot, namely, of St. Benedict. Also a writing of Auricular Confession by the Archbishop of York, and Bishops of Winchester and Durham. And a writing concerning Purgatory, by Hugh, Bishop of Worcester, with King Henry's annotations in the margin. In the same place, is also two writings under the king's own hand: the former of purgatory; wherein he endeavoured to confute the Bishop of Worcester's discourse: the latter contains some notes concerning the marriage of priests. All these writings I have laid in the Appendix, as very valuable pieces.

No.
XCVII.
XCVIII.
XCIX.
C.

The king
parts with
the orators.

The German agents being now ready to depart, waited upon the king; who, though he, overpersuaded by his bishops, could not be brought yet to let go these abuses, yet took a very smooth and gentle farewell of them; thanking them for taking so much pains, and suffering so much labour by land and sea, enduring so long absence from their own country, to come and discourse with his divines. And he invited them, after they had fulfilled their prince's orders, and settled their own private affairs, to come again, and see him; whose access would be very welcome unto him. The next year accordingly, some of them came again.

And how they prosecuted their disputations upon other points of religion, we shall see in due place. 1538.

When Burgart came home, he related to Melancthon how kindly the king spake of him, and what a good opinion he had of his learning; which caused Melancthon to write another letter to the king, dated March 26, 1536, "acknowledging his favour, and stirring him up in the cause of religion; and wishing for a consent of pious doctrine among these churches, which had condemned the pope's tyranny. And that as the king had begun to take away wicked superstitions, he would take upon him the emendation of the abuses that remained. That whatsoever attempts the adversary made, they should never suppress the doctrine professed; and that God would be the keeper of their states and princes. That they were rather for peace, but if the enemy would take arms, the princes would not be wanting to their duty. He remembred the inscription upon a piece of coin of one of our Edwards, 'And Jesus passed through the midst of them.' Of which he made this interpretation, that that wise king, who gave this motto, did mean thereby, that good governors are divinely protected, when they defend causes that are just. That it is especially an heroical part, to beare arms for the church against tyrants." But I will not detain the reader from the perusal of the letter it self, which I have laid in the Appendix.

Melancthon's counsel to the king.

No. CI.

This year was a general council proclaimed by the pope, to be holden at Vincenza, a city in the dominion of the Venetians; concerning which the king remained of the same mind as he was concerning that indicted to be held at Mantua, in the year 1536: for, being requested by the emperor to come, or send to this council, he made his protestation against it, by way of letter to the said emperor, beginning thus: "King Henry VIII. by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, King, &c. saluteth the Emperor, Christian princes, and all true Christian

The king protests against the council at Vincenza.

p. 532.

1538. men, desiring peace and concord among them," &c. which protestation being very large, I omit it here: and who will may see it in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

The pope
excommu-
nicates the
king.

In the month of December, the pope thundered out his bull of excommunication against the king, and caused it to be fixed up in divers places of Flanders, as Bruges and Dunkirk, and Bulloign and Diep in France, and St. Andrews in Scotland. Hereby the pope "absolved all the king's subjects from their oaths of allegiance and obedience; commanded the nobility, gentry and others of his realms, to expel and depose him from his dominions; declared all his leagues with other princes to be null; and they enjoined to renounce all amity with him, or else to lye under interdiction: exhorted and commanded all princes to invade, spoil and fight against him; gave them a right and property to his ships, goods, and whatsoever pertaineth to him; willed all ecclesiastics publicly to declare him and all his adherents excommunicate by bell, book and candle." Which excommunication was so sharp and unmannerly towards so great a monarch, that the sober sort of papists liked not of it. Father Paul, the excellent writer of the Council of Trent, said, "It was such as never was used by his predecessors, nor imitated by his successors." This bull the pope had decreed in the year 1535, but kept it by him till now, that he could no longer forbear to shoot his thunder-bolt, and to declare how displeased he was with the king, who had lately demolished the shrine of his saint, Thomas à Becket.

CHAP. XLIV.

Books set forth against the pope's supremacy in England. The Bishop of Durham preaches against the pope, before the king.

THE pope, no question, was not a little offended with the king, for some state books which shewed themselves abroad this year: one was a treatise, printed by Thomas Barthelet, intituled, "A Treatise, proving by the king's laws, that the Bishops of Rome had never right to any supremacy within this realm." Who the author of this book was I cannot tell. In the preface he proved the Bishop of Rome had no title over kings, by the laws of God: and then in the book, he proceeded to mention the statutes of English parliaments, that ever rejected the papal power; and, "That notwithstanding the Bishops of Rome, in many realms, and especially in those in which the law civil is used, having of long time had possession of their said usurped power, yet the same never could take full and perfect effect in this realm; but the king and his noble progenitors, always justly resisting and repugning the same, have been continually supreme judges here under God. So that all laws, powers, and jurisdictions pretended by the Bishop of Rome and the clergy within this realm, have been under the correction and orders of the king and their laws; as is made appear in that book, by divers reasons, laws, statutes and customs of this realm; whereby men may also well perceive and perfectly know, that the king's majesty being recognized to be supreme head, under God, of the Church of England, hath thereby no new power given unto him, but the self-same power and supremacy hath always before been in his most noble progenitors, kings of this realm, and united and knit to the imperial crown of the same; though they did not use to

1538.
A book,
shewing
the pope
to have no
power here
by our
laws.

p. 333.

1538. write the same in their style." This book, put forth, no doubt, by publick order, may be worthy to have some particular notice taken of it; and therefore I will give a taste of it, by rehearsing the beginning, *verbatim*.

"That the Bishops of Rome had never rightful power or authority of supremacy in any country; nor their writings, certificates or processes were at any time obeyed here, by the laws of this realm.

"THE FIRST CHAPTER.

"The Bishops of Rome, sometime called popes, never had jurisdiction, power or supremacy rightfully over kings, by the law of God, as appeareth by the texts of Scripture before rehearsed, and diverse other; nor yet over other bishops, as appeareth by the Council of Nicene; where the Bishop of Alexander is first spoken of, before the Bishop of Rome: which should not have been so, if he had had any supremacy over them at that time. And also in times past, the Bishop of Constantinople tooke himself highest of all bishops, and called himself Prince of Bishops. But the said pretended power and supremacy, aimed by the Bishops of Rome, began first, as it seemeth, by colour, that Phocas the emperor ordained, that the Church of Rome should be head of all churches, Boniface the Third then being bishop there. Whereupon it might happily follow, that the said Boniface took on him to be head of all bishops and priests, but not of the universal church. Howbeit, by occasion thereof, the said bishop and his successors have sythen that tyme, fayned and pretended, not only to be the head of all bishops and priests, but also of kings and all other Christen people, and to be God's vicars on earth, and to lose and bynd above all other. Which pretended power, the laws of this realm have always rejected and condemned, and never took full peace; as shall appear, as well by the common laws of this realm, as by

divers statutes made in the parliaments of the same, 1538.
as hereafter ensueth," &c.

Another book also upon the subject of the pope's usurped supremacy, was printed about this time, by the same Thomas Barthelet. The author, Thomas Starky, a man of great learning, a chaplain of the king's, brought into the court by Crumwel, and the same, who, as before was related, wrote several letters to Cardinal Pole. This book was intituled, "An Exhortation to the People, instructing them to Unity and Obedience." Herein addressing to the people, he told them, "That few other causes he saw of greater efficacy, than this usurped long and many years superiority of the pope: which, for the maintaining of his authority under the cloke of religion, had brought in among Christen nations much false superstition; and, for the maintenance of his high pride and cloked tyranny, had among Christen princes many times, to the great ruin and common quietness, set great division. For who is he, that of story hath any consideration, which plainly do not see how few Christen princes there be, which for the setting up of his arrogancy, hath not once, one against another, drawn their swords, to the great effusion of Christen blood, and ruin of all good civility: yea, and which is worst of all, they have been persuaded thereby to set up Christ's honour and religion. O Lord, what a blindness was this, reigning in princes' hearts! And what a superstition, one Christen man to kill another, under the profession of Christ's religion! And as for the abuses of that authority, as well in pardons and dispensations, as in interdictes and excommunications; I think there is no man so blind, no, nor yet nation so far from judgment, nor so far from the common sense and true consideration, the which that doth not see and observe. For among Christen men, no nation there is, which being obedient to that authority, hath not felt, by pilling and polling and tyrannical exaction, ever covered with the pretext of religion, of these abuses the plain and

Another
book a-
gainst the
papal su-
periority.

p. 334.

1538. manifest experience. This thing I have observed, dere friends, long and many a day, not without great sorrow and dolour of mind," &c.

And again, " To affyrme that Christ establyshed among his disciples any such superiority, making thereby Peter chief head, and also consequently the Bishop of Rome, that he thereby upon all Christendom, should be a chief judge; and upon all princes and laws, to have authority and interdictes and dispensation, them to temper and rule at pleasure; yea, and upon the word of God alone, to have power of interpretation: this, to my judgment, when I weigh the thing with myself, appeareth to me, more than madness and extreme folly. For thys passeth all pryde and arrogancy; this is above all tyranny. Christen nations were never so mad, by open decree or consent in council general, ever to give to any one man such authority. But undoubtedly by the simplicity of Christen people, and by the patience of good princes, yea, and by the arrogancy and pryde of those, the which have used and occupied the see of Rome, it is grown by little and little into this intolerable tyranny. The which after this sort, as it is used, to affyrme to be of the law of God, and of necessity, is plain contrary to the law of God, and much to the obscuring of his glory."

Then he proceeded to consider the pretences for the papal superiority both from scripture and history. " Of the grounds of scripture," saith he, " and of Christ's gospel, no man can take sure argument of the pope's prerogative, &c. From the tyme of Peter untyl the tyme of Silvester, Bishop of Rome, in the reign of Constantine, about the space of CCC. yeres, of this head, with such superiority, was no mention at all. For this by certain story is known, that all the time the bishops, in every place, chief and principal, as Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, were both chosen and institute of the whole congregation, or else by the priests, to whom was given of the multitude such aucthority. And no mention is had in

all that space, that they ran to the Bishop of Rome, 1538.
as their common head and superior: which at the
same tyme was rather, as by probable conjecture we p. 335.
may gather, long and many a day, inferior unto the
church of Jerūsalem and Alexandria."

And again, " All the antient and good interpreters
of Christ's gospel among the Greeks, whom I judge
to have more light in the holy scripture, as they had
in all other letters and learning, than any other nation,
that ever yet received the truth of Christ's religion,
(the which without proof here of me, is open by their
works to all men, that with diligence them will read;)
all these I say, with one consent, keep silence of this
aucthority to be given to the Bishop of Rome of such
necessity. In their works, thereof ye shall never find
mention. The which is not like they would have
done, if they had judged it to be so necessary a
thing, and a gospel-truth of Christ institute and
stabled. Besides this, if this ground were true, then
should all the Indians all those thousand yeres have
run headlong to damnation, which never took the
Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's Church, and
his vicar on earth, nor of him take any tradition.
And yet they have, yea, and yet are now in our days,
under Preter John, their king and head, of Christ's
doctrine devout and true professors, and with us in
all the grounds of scripture utterly agree. In cere-
monies and rites ecclesiastical, their is much diver-
sity; as it is necessary according to the nature of the
country and people. The same thing might be said
of them in Armeny, which never should be obedient
to the Bishop of Rome; but had among them their
head, whom they called their Catholyke, as he that
was a true professor and maintainer of the catholike
faith. The same also might be said of the Greek
nation, which would never confess the obedience to
the Church of Rome, to be necessary to the salvation
of man; wherefore, chiefly by the Bishops of Rome,
they were most unjustly noted, not to be as members
of Christ's universal and catholike body.

1538.

“ But now all these nations, Indians, Armenians and Greeks, utterly to condemn, and separate them from the benefyte of Christ’s passion, wherein they have ever had their chief comfort and trust, only for because they would not, nor were not to this head, as to the vicar of Christ, obedient ; all these, I say, to condemn and cast them into the depe pyt of hell, seemeth playne madness, and most blynd arrogancy. And I pray God, that they which so blyndly judge, be not for their own judgment, rather to be condemned. For this judgment hath no ground, neyther of scripture, nor yet of reason, but is a playn blynd superstition.

“ Wherefore, dere friends, seing that neither scripture, story, nor good reason, driveth us to confess this superiority to be necessary to our salvation, and to be of Christ institute, let us not, blynded with foolish superstition, by process of tyme copen into our hearts, bynd our own conscience with scrupulous necessity of such a thing ; which undoubtedly grew in among us only as a thing of conveniency, and as a thing of great help and succour to the maintenance of a certain unity in Christ’s church, and not as a thing of necessity.”

p. 336.

But the inconvenience of maintaining unity by this means, he then proceeded to shew ; concluding, “ Therefore, dere friends, briefly to conclude, as it is in the politike life and civil, nothing convenient to have one emperor, by whose judgment all other causes, worldly and politike, in all nations should be defined, (forasmuch as thereby all princely authority should be derogate, and be in subjection) ; so it is in the spiritual policy of Christ’s church, one head to be with such authority, as of many years hath been used, a thing most inconvenient, and to all Christen nations plain injury ; yea, and playnly to say, to the doctrine of Christ nothing agreeable. Wherefore, dere friends, seeing that this superiority geven to the Bishop of Rome, is neither by God’s word in his scripture graunted, nor by the practyse thereof by his apostles

inspired with his Spirit, conformed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man requisite and necessary; I see no cause, why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugne to such good and common policy; whereby is plucked away from our nation such a cloked tyranny, which, under the pretext of religion, hath stabled among us much superstition, to the great ruine and decay of the sincere, simple and pure doctrine of Christ. 1538.

This year also did Tonsal, Bishop of Durham, preach a notable sermon before the king upon Palm Sunday, in behalf of the king's supremacy, and in declaiming against the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome. When he thus delivered himself: "What shall we say of those whom God hath created to be subjects; commanding them by his word to obey their princes and governors; who do not only refuse to obey God's commandment, but contrary to his word, will be above their governors in refusing to obey them; and furthermore also will have their princes prostrate upon the ground, to whom they owe subjection, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth, and to kiss their feet, as if they were gods, where they be but wretched men? and yet they look that their princes should do it to them, and also all other Christen men, owing them no subjection, should of duty do the same. Do not these, as ye think, follow the pryde of Lucifer, their father, who make themselves fellows to God, contrary to his word? but who, I pray you, be these, that men may know them? Surely the Bishops of Rome be those, whom I do mean; who do exalt their seat above the stars of God, and do ascend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God," &c. Bishop of Durham's sermon against the pope.

Again, "the Bishop of Rome offereth his feet to be kyssed, shod with the shoes on. For I saw myself, being then present XXXIII. year ago, when Julius, then Bishop of Rome, stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlaynes held up his skirt; because it stood not, as he thought with his dignity, that he

1538. should do it himself, that his shoe might appere, whiles a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty. Where methought I saw Cornelius the centurion, captain of the Italian band, spoken of in the tenth chapter of the Acts, submitted himself to Peter, and much honouring him. But I saw not Peter there to take him up, and byd him ryse, saying, *I am man, as thou art*, as St. Peter did say to Cornelius. So that the Bishops of Rome admytting such adoration due unto God, do clime up above the heavenly clouds, that is to say, above the apostles, sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hearts of men by their heavenly doctrine of the word of God.

p. 337.

“Unto the high powers all men must obey; apostles, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, and all of the clergy; and all noblemen of what degree soever they be, being within their governaunce, with all the people also. And therefore the Bishop of Rome oweth likewise to his sovereign and superior, like subjection by the word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other bishops owe to their princes, under whom they be. And therefore Agatho, the Bishop of Rome, in whose time was the sixth synod and council general, after his election, sent to the emperor, then being at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he would be consecrate, after the old custom at that time used.”

Then he proceeded to confute the interpretation of those texts of scripture that are wont to be brought in favour of the pope's power: as, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I shall build my church.” That is, said he, as Chrysostom in his 26th sermon of the feast of Pentecost expounds it, “Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith:” and that text, “I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind,” &c. and that, “Feed my sheep.”

Next, he notes the pope's late excommunication of

the king: "That because he can no longer in this realm wrongfully use his usurped power in all things, as he was wont to do, and suck out of this realm, by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; he therefore moved, and replete with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all Christen nations, that will give ear to his devilish enchauntments, to move war against this realm of England, giving it in prey to all those, that by his instigation will invade it. Which few words, *To give in prey*, how great mischief they contain, I shall open to thee, thou true Englishman. First, to make this realm a prey to all venturers, all spoilers, all snaphaunces, all forlorn hopes, all cormorants, all ravenors of the world, that will invade this realm. That is to say, thou possessioner of any lands of this realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves. And thou mayest be sure to be slain. For they will not suffer thee, nor none of thy progeny to live, to make any claim afterwards, or to be revenged: for that were their unsurety. Thy wife shall be abused before thy face, thy daughter likewise deflowered before thee; thy children slain before thine eyes: thy house spoiled; thy cattel driven away and sold before thy visage; thy plate, thy money, by force taken from thee; all thy goods, (wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy children,) ravened, broken and distributed in thy presence, that every ravenour may have his shayre, &c. To take the whole realm *in prey*, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do, if they can."

Next, he reprocheth the pope for his infecting Pole with rebellious principles and practices. "To set forth his pestilent malice the more, he hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, comen of a noble blood, and thereby the more errant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from

p. 333.
Pole infected by the pope with unnatural principles.

1538.

countrey to countrey, to stir them to war agaynst this realm, and to destroy the same, being his native countrey. Whose pestilent purpose the princes, that he breaketh it unto, have in much abomination ; both because the Bishop of Rome (who being a bishop should procure peace) is a stirrer of war ; and because this most errant and unkind traytor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the countrey he was born in ; which any heathen man would abhor to do. But for all that without shame he still goeth on, exhorting thereunto all princes that will hear him, who do abhor to see such unnaturalness in any man, as he shameless doth set forwards. Whose pernicious treasons late secretly wrought against this realm, have been by the work of Almighty God, so marvelously detected, and by his own brother*, without looking therefore, so disclosed, and condigne punishment ensued ; that hereafter, God willing, they shall not take any more such root, to the noysance of this realm, &c. And beside his pestilent treason, his unkindness agaynst the king's majesty, who brought him up of a very child, and the which promoted both him, and likewise restored his blood being attainted, to be of the peres of this realm, and gave him mony yearly out of his coffers, to find him honourably at study, maketh his treason much more detestable to all the world, and him to be reputed more wild and cruel than any tygre." This sermon was printed by Tho. Berthelet.

* Sir
Geofry
Pole.

And thus the state at this time stood affected, or rather disaffected, to the pope ; and so sensible were the learned bishops and clergy of his usurpations ; however, afterwards this Bishop Tonstal, and others calmly took his yoke upon their own necks, and layd it again upon the neck of the nation.

CHAP. XLV.

Affairs between the king and the German protestant princes.

Another letter of Melancthon to the king; and to Crumwel.

The king's agents with those princes. Their reports.

THE German princes and states had been, the latter 1559.
end of the former year, treating with the emperor The confederates
at Frankford about a pacification; which put the send ambassadors
king into some doubt of them, whether they would into England.
stand to their former principles: fearing lest they
might comply with the emperor upon some terms,
for the sake of peace and quietness. And it added
to the king's jealousy, that after the return of their
ambassadors from England, they did not presently
write to him. The king also was minded to have
some of their learned men to be sent over for a p. 339.
further disputation: because the king was willing,
if possible, to bring the German protestants over
from some articles of theirs in the Augustine con-
fession; which nevertheless they would not do. To
them therefore the king sent two agents, Christopher
Mount and Thomas Paynel, who, resorting to the
princes, told them the king took it in evil part, that
they went about such a matter, as treaty with the
emperor, without him; desiring to know the con-
ditions they proceeded upon. Burgart therefore and
another agent, who spake sundry languages, and had
been in divers other embassies, with four more, were
soon dispatched by the duke and landgrave into
England; who came hither in company with Mount
and Paynel, from Frankford, April 23, where the
assembly was not yet dissolved, nor any full con-
clusion made: but it was thought it would end in a
truce on both sides for eighteen months.

The said Mount, and Paynel his colleague, repair- Their
ing to the king, brought him word from the elector message.
and landgrave, that they continued in their loving and

1539. friendly observation of his majesty, and would be very glad of the king's allowance of them. And their own orators brought the same intelligence and message; and from their masters required concord in doctrine and mutual defence. A late proclamation of the king that disallowed of the marriage of priests, and concerning the vows of religious persons, gave them disgust. And Melancthon, in a letter to Crumwel, shewed himself to observe this, and some other true doctrines disproved by the king: but that, considering how in that proclamation the king promised to abolish abuses, he hoped he would more exactly consider that point. They earnestly doubt with Mount, while he was in Germany, upon this point; who answered them, "That although he knew not the king's considerations in this behalf, yet he might affirm, the king would not be so scrupulous in the matter of vows. And that sundry nuns and religious women were discharged out of their houses with pensions during their lives; and were not forbid to marry. But as for priests, he thought the cause of the prohibition was, because they might preach the word of God, and to prevent the common people's imagination of concupiscence in them, if they should take wives; and so confute and condemn their own preaching, and the word of God. But what the king would do afterwards, when the people should wax stronger in knowledge, he could not tell; yet doubted not but he would do nothing without good reason and great consideration:" and with this discourse the landgrave and the rest shewed themselves to be well satisfied.

The king
receives
another
letter from
Melanc-
thon.

Burgart, as he brought a letter from Melancthon to the king the last year, so he brings another from him this. Wherein he gave the king assurance of the extraordinary praises Burgart upon all occasions gave him; bestowing a good character likewise upon the said orator; and exciting the king to further so good a cause, as he and his colleagues came about, namely, to negotiate of matters pertaining to the

common safety of the church, and the preservation of godly doctrine; a cause, than which there could be none in the world more honourable, and more worthy of royal protection. But the reader may peruse the letter itself, if he pleaseth, in the Appendix. 1539. No. CII.

But I will step a little back to our own orators, Mount and Paynel; who being now ready to return home to their master, King Henry, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave put into their hands an obliging answer to his embassy by them; which may be read at full length in the Appendix, as I translated it into English from the Latin original. But, in short, the message they brought back from the princes, as they related it to the Lord Crumwel, was, “That the league *evangelic* was stedfast, and that they would dye rather than give it up. They looked shortly, that either one part or the other would have the upper hand: for they thought that antichrist and the devil would not sleep, but practise to overcome the evangelics. That things were so far gone, that either the evangelics must destroy them, or they the evangelics. That the emperor above all things desired of the confederate princes, that they would receive no others into their league, than were already. And that caused a great stickling at the diet. And that to quiet them the emperor’s fleet was returned to Zealand, and that all the ships should be dismissed, and his artillery discharged out of them, and brought ashore.” This was what the king’s agents told Crumwel. And Crumwel told the king moreover, that he was assured, “that the coming of those orators from the Germans would be formidable to the bishop of Rome, and other his adherents; not doubting, but if his majesty would joyn with them, the papists, in his judgment, would be half in despair.”

The match between the king and Anne of Cleves was now in motion. And by this agency also it was told, that the Duke of Saxony had exhorted the Duke of Cleves to go through without any difficulty. Anne of Cleves.

1539.
Melancthon's letter
to Crumwel.

A letter came now from Melancthon to the Lord Crumwel; the sum of which he communicated to the king. Which was, "That the bishops in England did, as many in other countries used to do; namely, by interpretations craftily devised, to excuse and colour over abuses; thereby to establish them by art. As was lately done in a book put forth at Colen, called Enchyridion. Which sophistry he saw, as he said, pernicious to the church; and that care was to be taken, that the truth were not overwhelmed with these cheats. And that simple truth was more profitable to a lasting tranquility." This and a great deal more of matters relating to Germany, Crumwel wrote to the king, being sick of an ague at London; and so could not come to tell the king by word of mouth. This letter is placed in the

No. CIV. Appendix.

Sarcerius
the Prince
of Nassau's
chaplain.

While Mount and Paynel were at Frankford, they met at Melancthon's apartment with Erasmus Sarcerius; who was chaplain to Prince William of Nassau, and came thither upon his command. They asked him, if he were that Sarcerius, that had writ, "A Method upon the chief Places of Scripture." He answered, he was. They told him, that by the king's command his book had been put into English; and that, if he pleased, they would carry a letter from him to the king. And upon this motion, he writing one, they carried it. Which may be read in the

No. CV. Appendix. In this letter he promised to send the

p. 341.

king his Common Places, methodically digested, more enlarged, and his Postils upon the Epistles and Gospels. The king looked for address; and was well pleased, when he had it from such as had a repute for learning. Mount and Paynel knew this well; and therefore excited those Germans that were learned to write to the king, and pay him a deference, as they did Sarcerius; hoping hereby to bring the king to read their books, and to affect their religion.

How far
the Ger-
mans did

But the German orators being now here, fell upon their business in adjusting the points of religion with

the king's divines: and whether it were to recommend themselves the more to the popish bishops, or to shew their disposition to peace with all Christians, and even with those of Rome, they drew up at this time a copy of such things as Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, with certain cities and princes of Germany, their adherents, had admitted; which were these that follow: (the reader must excuse the ill English, which I write as I find in the MS.)

1539.
go in ac-
cord with
the Roman
faith.
Cleopatra.
E. 5.
p. 228.

“First, We confess that there ought to be a policy in the church, and a regime. In the which there must be bishops: who shall have the power of the examine, and ordinance of the ministration of the same, for to exercise the jurisdiction of the same; who shall diligently see, that the churches committed unto them may be truly instructed with pure and sincere doctrine.

A policy in
the church.

“We admit, that it is good and convenient, that in the church there be a Bishop of Rome, that may be above other bishops; who may gather them together, to see the examination of the doctrine, and the concord of such, as do teach discrepancies in the church. But we admit not the pomp, riches and pride of the Bishop of Rome; who would make realms subject unto him. The which things do neither help nor promote the gospel; because the kings that have right thereto, may and owe to rule the same.

A Bishop
of Rome.

“We confess, that as concerning choise of meats, holy days and ceremonies, there might an agreement be made easily, if there could be a concord in the doctrine of the church, and not such discrepance as there is. For if there were a concord of doctrine in the church, we should not think reasonable to divide us from the church, seen that it is not possible that the world might stand without ceremonies and man's constitutions: seen that all innovations without necessity ought to be excluded; and that there is no peril, to us I mean, in the observation of the said cere-

Ceremo-
nies.

1339. monies, and men's constitutions : for that the doctrine be purely handled.

Confession “ We judge to be profitable, that *confession* and rehearsal of sins be made in the church. For taking the same away, the doctrine of remission of sins, and of the power of the keys should be offuscate and taken away : seen that in the confession, among other things the people ought to be taught, whence cometh the remission of sins. Provided, that there be honest fashion to instruct the persons that be shriven, and that the consciences be not overlayd with rigorous and exact rehearsal of all sins.

Justification. “ We believe that *justification* is made by faith. Because there be no works whereby we may satisfy, or obtain remission of sins. Yet nevertheless the same faith that justifies us, ought not to be idle, but adorned with good and godly deeds.

p. 342.
Free-will. “ We confess that *free-will*, holpen with the Holy Ghost, may do somewhat, whensoever we will withdraw from sin.

Departure of the Holy Ghost. “ We confess, that after the remission of sins, the Holy Ghost is given to the man ; from the which he departeth again, as soon as he committeth any deadly sin.

Use of the mass. “ We use the fashion accustomed in the office of the mass. For what should avail a change of ceremonies without necessity? But we admit not the privie masses, because they have occasion of sundry abuses. Because there is an open fair or market made of celebration of masses.

The real presence. “ We believe thus concerning the supper of the Lord. That like as Christ, in his last supper did give unto his disciples his true body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken ; and so he gives dayly to us his disciples, and loyal men, as often as we keep the supper, according to the form commanded, *accipite et comedite*, &c. the true body and blood to be eaten and drunk. This is the mind of the three evangelists and St. Paul. And so their words do sound clearly.

Wherefore away with all such erroneous interpretations as are made upon the said words. 1539.

“ We be taught that Christ did give to his disciples, his body and blood under both *species* and kinds: and that therefore we owe to observe the same; as we do indeed. But because one of the *species* hath by men’s constitutions been forbidden by the Bishop of Rome, there might be a remedy found without peril or danger: so that he that would, might have both *species*: and that there should be a prohibition made, that the one should not insult against the other. Both kinds

“ Seen that it appeareth by the holy doctors, that the holy days and feasts of saints have been accustomed to be observed; and as we see as yet some holy canons of that matter, but it appeareth not that there is made in the same a mention of their *invocation*: but it appeareth only by the same, that they be proposed unto us for an example, to learn to follow their lives and conversations: yet, nevertheless, seen that by some custom the intercession of saints ought to be admitted, then there should be prayers made unto God, that it might like him to hear them by the intercession of some saints: we affirm for a certainty, that the saints do continually intercede for the church: albeit the Christen men owe to be taught, that they shall not convert the same hope to the saints, which they ought to have unto God. Invocation of saints.

“ We do not reject the *images* of Christ and of saints, but the adoration made to them; whereof idolatry is sprung. Images.

“ Also we dampne not the *monastery*, or life of such as be closed in the cloisters; but only the trust that some men have put in the *regular* observation. Also we reject the vows which have been made upon such things as men cannot observe. Yet nevertheless we will not the monasteries be put down for the same, but that they may be turned to schools: in which good doctrine should be taught. And that the pope may dispense with vows: so that it were free Monkeny.

1559. for every man to keep, or not keep them. And so the same should be to the quiet and tranquility of mind, and the vows should not be the snares of malice.

p. 343.
Priests'
marriage.

“Then, the marriage of the priests should be in the pope’s hands, who might admit the same; and the concubinate of many should be forgiven, for we see few chaste. But if the law to contract should not have place, then, for to avoid slander, there should be none advanced to the dignities ecclesiastical (but) grave persons, and of full age.

Purgatory.

“We think it best to dispute of *purgatory* and *pardons* in the schools rather than in the pulpit; to dispute of the same publicly, without any profit: so that the markets and bargains thereof should be avoided. For we do reject in those things and others, wherein we do not agree, the abuse rather than the thing (it) self. The which nevertheless may be discussed and emended by councils lawfully assembled.

Zwinglians.

“The Zwinglians and Oecolampadians have not yet received those articles, but the simple people shall be easily reduced, and we trust they shall shortly do conformable thereto.

Luther.

“Luther hath revoked all the books, wherein there be many things contrary to those articles, and hath retracted them with his own hands, and knowledged his faults. In March 3, MD XXIX.”

This Ger-
man em-
bassy suc-
ceeded not.
And why.

But these steps to a good concord between the king and the Germans came to nothing. The king taking some misconceit against the Duke of Saxony, because it was said he rather inclined to have his sister-in-law, the Lady Anne of Cleves, married into Germany, than to him. This Winchester made use of as an handle, to alienate the king’s mind from the duke. He also put the king in fear, if he should join with the protestants, of drawing against him the emperor, the French king, the Scot, the pope, and other foreign power; and especially civil tumults and insurrections at home.

CHAP. XLVI.

Injunctions concerning books and sects. Monasteries dissolved.
New bishopricks erected out of them.

ABOUT this time, Crumwel's interest was not so absolute but Winchester sometimes got the ascendant of him with the king; as he had now, or somewhat before, when there came forth a book of injunctions against good books, and in favour of some superstitious ceremonies. The said Bishop of Winchester had complained to the king of the creeping in of the heresies of the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists, and of many books in English, imported and sold by them: and so, under the cloke of heresy, prevailed with the king to exterminate all good books, and with them the holy scripture, and to take opportunity to persecute many honest professors of the gospel. And these injunctions being resolved upon, several other injunctions were also added. I mention them, because I do not find our latter church-historians taking notice of them: they were intituled, "Certain Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King against English Books, Sects, or Sacramentaries, also with putting down the Day of Thomas Becket;" which last seems to have been a stroke of Crumwel's pen, to make some allay for the rest. They are in number ten, and extant in Fox, whether I refer the reader. Only take here the sum of them:

1539.
Severe in-
junctions
from the
king.

Bp. of
Winches-
ter's insi-
nuations.

p. 344.

The first was, "That none without special license of the king transport any English books, nor sell or vend them, upon pain to forfeit all their goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure.

"Secondly, None to print, or bring over, any English books, with annotations or prologues, unless the books be examined by the king's privy council, or others appointed by his highness. Nor to print any translated book, without mentioning the name of the

1539. translator; else the printer to be reckoned the translator, and to suffer the fine and imprisonment thereof.

“Thirdly, None to print or utter any English book of scripture, unless it be first viewed and examined by the king’s highness, or one of the privy council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall be expressed therein, upon pain of his high displeasure, and loss of goods and chattels, and imprisonment.

“Fourthly, That Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any other that sell books having such opinions in them, the books and persons shall be detected immediately unto the king’s majesty, or unto one of the privy council: to thintent the person so detected, to be punished without favour, and with all extremity of law.

None to
dispute
upon the
sacrament.

“Fifthly, None to reason or dispute upon the sacrament of the altar, upon pain of loosing their lives, goods, and chattels: only the learned in divinity to have their liberty in the schools.

“Sixthly, The holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping to the cross on Good Friday and Easter Day, setting up lights before Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on Candlemas Day, &c. to be observed, till it please the king to change and abrogate them.

“Seventhly, That married priests, known to have wives, or that hereafter do marry, be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any duty of a priest, and have no commodity pertaining to the clergy, but shall from henceforth be reputed as lay persons; and those that, after this proclamation, shall marry, shall run into his grace’s indignation, and suffer imprisonment.

“Eighthly, A charge to all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, curates, &c. within their cures, diligently to preach and set forth the glory of God and truth of his word; and, considering the superstitions crept into the hearts and stomachs of many, to preach the word of God sincerely and purely; declaring the difference between things commanded

by God, and the rites and ceremonies used in the church. 1539.

“ Ninthly, That considering Thomas Becket stubbornly withstood the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, and fled into France, and to the Bishop of Rome, to procure abrogation of those laws; and that his death, untruly called *martyrdom*, happened upon a rescue made, and that he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen which counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and called one of them *bawd*, and took another, (viz. Tracy) by the bosom, and violently shook him, and had like to have thrown him upon the pavement: in which fray one of the company struck him, and so in the throng he was slain: and considering that his canonization was made by the Bishop of Rome, because he had been a champion to maintain his usurped authority: therefore the king, by the advice of his council, declared, that there appeared nothing in his life and conversation whereby he should be called a *saint*, but rather be esteemed a rebel and a traitor; and therefore the king required and commanded, that henceforth Becket shall not be called a *Saint*, but Bishop Becket; and that his images and pictures, throughout the whole realm, shall be plucked down out of churches and chapels, and his days used to be festival shall not be observed; and all services and offices, antiphons, &c. shall be razed out of all books, and that his holy days shall not be solemnized. To the intent, that his grace’s subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past. p. 345.

Thomas
Becket not
to be called
Saint.

“ Tenthly, Charge and command is given, that the king’s subjects do keep and observe all the injunctions made by his majesty, upon the pain therein contained.”

This year the greater monasteries were suppressed and dissolved. The common people well liked them, and generally were very fond of them, because of the hospitality and good house-keeping there used. The Monasteries dissolved.

1589. inhabitants of these cloisters relieved the poor, raised no rents, took no excessive fines upon renewing of leases; and their noble and brave-built structures adorned the places and countries where they stood. The rich also had education here for their children. Therefore, to make way among the people for the taking them away, and to make them the willinger to see them destroyed, it was given out and pretended by the great instruments employed herein, "That the king's exchequer should be for ever enriched; the kingdom and nobility strengthened and encreased; the common subjects acquitted and freed from all former services and taxes; and that the abbots, monks, friars, and nuns, being suppressed, in their places should be created forty earls, sixty barons, and three thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers with skilful captains, and competent maintenance for them all for ever, out of the antient church-revenues. So as in so doing the king and his successors should never want treasure of their own, nor have cause to be beholden to the common subject: neither should the people be any more charged with loans, subsidies, and fifteens. Since which time (if you will believe my author) there have been more statutes, laws, subsidies, and fifteens, than in five hundred years before."

Howes
Pref. bef.
Stowe's
Chron.

The good
promised
thereby,
not done.

p 346.

Bale in his
Image of
both
Churches.

And, to please those of the new learning, it was given out, that by these revenues of the monasteries, better provision should be made for the poor, and preachers should have salaries to go about and preach the knowledge of Christ. But nothing of this came to pass; for neither was there provision made for the poor, nor yet order set for preaching the gospel. And in fine, "a great part of it was turned to the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banqueting; yea, I would I could not by just occasion speak it (saith one that lived in those days), bribing, whoring, and swearing: the town's people and households miserably decayed." But vast were the treasures that came in to the king by this dissolution.

But good men, that desired the reformation of re-

ligion, were well enough pleased to see this end of the monasteries: because hereby the religious sects of monks and friars were come to an end and abolished in England; swarms not only of useless men, but the great pillars of superstition and popery. Archbishop Cranmer, in his homily of *Good Works* (for I suppose him the compiler of it), thanked God that had made King Henry the instrument of so good a work. “Honour be to God, who did put light into the heart of his faithful and true minister of most famous memory, King Henry VIII. and gave him the knowledge of his word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory, and to put away such superstitious and pharisaical sects, by antichrist invented and set up, against the true word of God, and the glory of his most blessed name.” The evil of these *religious* you may take a prospect of in the foresaid homily, which the archbishop set forth in these words: “Meek and fained religions were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodlily abused, than of late days they have been among us. Which sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works in their state of *religion*, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran all over, able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all others their benefactors, brothers and sisters of religion, as most ungodlily and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people; keeping in divers places, as it were, marts or markets of *merits*, being full of their holy relicks, images, shrines, and works of overflowing abundance, ready to be sold: and all things which they had were called HOLY; *holy* cowles, *holy* girdles, *holy* pardons, *holy* beads, *holy* shoes, *holy* rules, and all full of holiness. And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar’s coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence; or when they dye, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, in hope thereby to be saved? Which super-

1539.

Monks and
friars at an
end in
England.Hom. of
*Good
Works.*

1539. stition, although thanks be to God it hath been little used in this realm, yet in divers other realms it hath been, and yet is, used among many, both learned and unlearned. But to pass over the innumerable superstitiousness that hath been in strange apparel, in silence, in dormitory, in cloister, in chapter, in choice of meats and drinks, and in such like things, let us consider what enormities and abuses have been in the three chief principal points, which they called *the three essentials*, or *the three foundations*, of religion; that is to say, Obedience, Chastity, and wilful Poverty.

The three
chief vows
of religion.

I. “First, under pretence or colour of *obedience* to their father in religion (which obedience they made themselves), they were made free, by their rules and
p. 347. canons, from the obedience of their natural father and mother, and from the obedience of emperor and king, and all temporal power whom of very duty by God’s laws they were bound to obey: and so the profession of their obedience not due, was a forsaking of their due obedience.

II. “And how their profession of *chastity* was kept, it is more honesty to pass over in silence, and let the world judge of that which is well known, than with unchaste words, by expressing of their unchaste life, to offend chaste and godly ears.

III. “And as for their wilful *poverty*, it is such, that when in possessions, jewels, plate, and riches, they were equal or above merchants, gentlemen, barons, earls, and dukes, yet by this subtle sophistical term, *proprium in commune*, that is to say, *proper in common*, they mocked the world; persuading, that notwithstanding all their possessions and riches, yet they kept their vow, and were in wilful poverty. But for all their riches they might never help father or mother, or others, that were indeed very needy and poor, without the licence of their fathers, abbots, priors, or wardens: and yet they might take of every man, but they might not give ought to any man; no, not to them whom the laws of God bound them to help.

And so, through their traditions and rules, the laws of God could bear no rule with them." 1539.

The unchaste behaviour of these religious men, and their abominable dissolute courses with the wives and daughters of the laity, and withal, their imperious carriage towards the gentry, begot them hatred, and hastened their fall. And here allow me to set down a story to illustrate this matter, happening between the monks of Sawtry, in Huntingtongshire, and one Mr. Edmond Loud, a gentleman of good quality, living near their monastery, being set down and attested by one Loud, living in these times, and as it seems of the same family; which Edmond was murdered by the said monks and priests of Sawtry Abby, about the 13th of Henry VIII. anno 1522.

The monks
ill beha-
viour.

Edmond, the son and heir of Mr. Thomas Loud, of Hunningham Castle, Creetingham, and Sawtry, a mile from Sawtre Abby, descended of noble parentage (for his mother, Anne Loud, was the daughter and heir of Sir Edmond Molso; his grandmother, Katharine Dudley, married to Lionel Loud; his great grandmother was Mary of Henault, married to Roger Loud, and cousin to Lionel, Earl of Ulster and Duke of Clarence): the said Edmond was an enemy to the wanton monks of the abby, and to two lewd parsons of Sawtre; for they haunted most shamefully the wives of Mr. Thomas Loud's tenants in the town; whereat both Mr. Loud, the father, and the said Edmond his son, especially found fault with this misrule of the monks and priests; and sometimes, when the houses by them were watched, and the monks with their tenants' wives, the monks would beat down the walls of the house and slip away to the abby; and sometimes there were hot skirmishes among them. At one time they caused the peace to be taken of the said Edmond; and for breaking of it, got him in Cambridge Castle. Unto him there resorted one Richard Wine, an abby lubber of Ramsey and Sawtre; he was an attorney; who said to Mr. Loud, then the king's prisoner, O! Mr. Loud, had it not been better for you

Mr. Loud
and the
monks of
Sawtry.
Foxii MSS.

1539. to have lived quietly at Sawtrey, and to have hunted
 p. 348. and hawked at your pleasure, than here to remain a
 prisoner against your will? No, said Mr. Loud, I
 am here but for striking a lecherous knave; and I
 count it better to be here for so small a cause, than
 to be set in the stocks as thou wert, for stealing silver
 spoons at Ramsey Abby, and with that reached Wine
 a blow with his fist, and dashed out all his fore-teeth;
 by which blow he lisped as long as he lived.

This blow was declared to the chaste clergymen
 in the country, and by them to the mighty clergy at
 the court; and by them, in the most grievous man-
 ner aggravated, to the king: thinking this had been
 enough to rid him out of their way at Sawtre. But
 the king laughed heartily at the petty lawyer's deform-
 ity, and thought it a condign reward for such a
 sawcy fellow, saying, "Do you think it was well
 done of him, to upbraid a prisoner, being imprisoned
 by his means? He was served well enough. I per-
 ceive Loud is a tall gentleman: we do pardon him of
 his fault and imprisonment." So Edmond Loud
 came home again, after he had been there a while
 making merry continually with Mr. Bennet Molso,
 and divers other gentlemen, students in the univer-
 sity, who being of kin to him came daily to make
 merry with him.

One kisses
 his daugh-
 ter.

In short time the monks and priests of Sawtrey,
 like swine turning again to their dirty puddles and
 former stinking life; and Edmond bearing himself
 bold with the king's late saying, and of his friends in
 the court, by reason of his blood, warned and threat-
 ned them beating if they would not forbear to resort
 to his father's tenants and his. And see the chaunce:
 one of these persons, the parson of St. Andrews,
 had been at Walsingham; he was a notable whore-
 master, and coming home kissed many wives, and
 among them Katharine Loud, daughter to the said
 Edmond, openly in the church-yard of Alhallows;
 for then it was thought an holiness for maids and wo-
 men to be kissed by persons coming from thence; and

the lecherous catholick had opinion that Mr. Edmund Loud would not be offended at his doings. But it came no sooner to Mr. Loud's ears, but he, after his wont, took his molespade in his hand, and by chance quickly met with the priest. The good parson liking not his looks, down he fell upon his knees, off went his cap, praying him not to beat him, for he was within holy orders. O! thou bawdy knave, said Mr. Loud, darest thou kiss my daughter? Wilt thou not leave this women's company? And seeing his new broad-shaven crown, he took up the cow's dung with his spade and clapped it upon his crown; adding these words: You, said he, all the sort of you, will, ere it be long, be glad to hide your shaven pates, rather than they should be seen.

1539.

Besides this, the said Edmond conceived such an hate against that religion, and that holy priest, that he came once into the church, and plucked the fellow from the altar as he was about to make his God.

Shortly after the clean-fingered clergy, having encouragement enough both above in the court and in the country, contrived how he should be made away. He used to walk a quarter of a mile to a great pasture he had, called Woodfield Close, containing six hundred acres within an hedge, assigned him for his wife's jointure, who was Edith, the daughter of John Stukley, Lord of Stukley nigh Huntingdon, and he had with him in his arms John Loud, his youngest son, of the age of three years and more. Suddenly rushed out behind the hedges and bushes the two Skeltons, father and son, tenants to the abbey, and four more, well weaponed. Mr. Loud knew they came to dispatch him, and they said no less. Yet, said he, do no harm to my little boy. With that they fearlesly laid at him, and he at them. At last cometh the good catholick priest, with holy water, in his surplice. And the constable heard of this tragical murder prepensed, and thought to shew himself not too slack in doing his duty, and came to the finding Mr. Loud nothing hurt. But he had basted the

A fray between Loud and some employed by the monks.

p. 349.

1539. catholic men, so that they prayed peace of him: and he to take breath was contented to hold his hand. The constable commanded the peace in the king's name to be kept. They all agreed to obey, so that Mr. Loud would deliver his forest-bill to the constable, which he was loth to do, but for the constables fair promises. They gave place to Mr. Loud to go afore them, and the constable next. But when he was upon the stile to go over, Skelton, the father, caught him by the arms, and Skelton, the son, stroke him on the head, and so he fell off the stile. The club was gotten in Monks Wood, half a mile from Sawtrej. So the priest came too soon with his holy water: for Mr. Loud was alive at his coming, yet he was carried home, and was speechless. For the film called *pia mater*, was perished with the blow. He lived about seven days after, and making all things strait in the world, forgave all his enemies. His wife sued an appeal of murder; but many delays were made, and nothing done. Her husband was taken for an heretick, and the clergy was mighty. But see the vengeance of God. Skelton with his son ran away: and the father was afterwards hanged, and the son was drowned: and the priests could never get their pardon of the king. And now after this digression, let us return.

Who barbarously
kill him.

The discharged
religious
men, their
employ-
ment.

Im. of both
churches.

The monks and friars, after they were thus discharged their religious houses, bore a favour still to their old superstitions: and being scattered about the nation, did what they could to infuse into the commons their prejudices for the old religion, and against the new learning. And though some of them seemed to comply with the king's supremacy, and other his injunctions, yet they secretly disliked them, and hindred the people's obedience to them, as much as they could. For "though their cowles, coats and rockets were off, as one writes in those days, yet had they still the same popish hearts, and the same superstitious frowardness, that they were wont to have." One Mr. Wharton was employed, as it seems, by

Crumwel, as his visitor about Suffolk, and those parts; who took divers of these cashiered friars to be his assistants: but about Bungay they played their false tricks. Which Bale styles, *their calking for Crumwel*; meaning, I suppose, their endeavouring to replant popery among the people, who in those parts were good gospellers. 1539.

But the king did some real good for religion and learning with all this treasure, that flowed in upon him from the religious houses, which is still remaining: and all of it, that was otherwise employed, is utterly lost and gone. For he erected six new bishopricks, Westminster, Oxford, Peterburgh, Bristol, Chester, Gloucester. And insted of monks in divers of the old cathedral churches, abolishing them, he placed canons in their rooms: the revenue, bestowed upon all these by the king, amounting to £8000 per annum, according to the Lord Herbert. The benefit that accrued to the church hereby, was very great. For the church having more bishops, the flock of Christ might be the better regarded. And the canons in each cathedral, being a society of learned men, well seen and grounded in religion, were to assist the respective bishops, the heads of the diocese, in all good and wholesome consultations, and to preach the gospel, and convince errors and heresies, and to keep hospitality. For the founding therefore of these, the king got great renown. And this Edmond, bishop of one of these new foundations, viz. that of Peterburgh, told Queen Elizabeth long time after in a letter: "For this his majesty's most famous work, of erecting cathedral churches, insted of monkish and superstitious houses, was and is the beauty of his reformation and religion, and the greatest benefit next to the doctrine of the gospel itself, that the church of God in his realm, received at his most royal hands; far exceeding all other acts, that were done by any of his progenitors before him, and surmounting all that is like to be done in any time to come."

New ca-
thedrals
founded
out of
these
houses.

p. 350.

Life of
K. Henry,
p. 508.

E MSS. D.
Gul.
Hickes.
Eq. aur.

1539.

The king's
care about
contriving
new
bishop-
ricks and
deaneries.
Cleop. E. 4.

But before this was effected, it is worth shewing the contrivance, study and care the king was exercised in, to bring it to pass. For this there were drawn up, for the king's consideration, two tables with several columns; in which to insert what he thought good. One of them contained the names of towns and places, thought fit to give nomination to the new intended sees; which were about twenty in number: and in another column is specified in what counties those towns were. As for example: Waltham to be made a bishoprick, standing in the county of Essex: St. Albans in Hertfordshire, &c. as though those counties were intended to be the extent of the jurisdictions of those bishopricks. At the top of which table, is this writing of the king's own hand, (shewing his good design, upon his dissolution of the monasteries) *bishopricks to be made*. And all the whole table that follows is written by the king. In the same table the title of a third column is thus, of the king's writing also: "Placys to be alteryd according to our devyse, which have sees in them." The other table, drawn up also for the king's use and perusal, contains the names of divers deaneries and colleges to be founded, out of some rich bishopricks and colleges: in one column whereof are set down the revenues of each: and in another, what portion thereof was allotted for the respective bishops. And the first column was left blank for the king to nominate the persons for those new deaneries: the names of them are set down there by his own pen. These two curious tables I esteem worthy to be preserved, and read, for the better knowledge of those great transactions. But alas! these many new bishopricks and deaneries, at first so well intended, dwindled away at last to six bishopricks only, as was shewn above.

No. CVI.
CVII.

The king's
own pre-
amble to
the act for
the new
bishop-
ricks.

And accordingly an act of parliament was made for the erecting those new bishopricks. The preamble to which was of King Henry's own handwriting: the copy of the rest of the act, was only

interlined with his hand in divers places: as it remains still in the Cotton Library. That part of the act that is of the king's writing is this that follows: 1539. p. 351.
 " Forasmuch as it is not unknown, the slowghfull and ungodly lyff which have bene usid among all those sects that have born the name of *religious folk*: and to thentent that henceforth many of them myght be tornyd to better use, as hereafter shall follow; whereby God's word myght better be set forth, children brought up in learnyng, clerks noryshed in the universities; old servaunts decay, to have lyvynges; almys howses for poor folk to be ayd; reders of Greke, Ebrew and Latyne, to have good stipend; dayly almes to be mynystrate; mending of high wayes; exhibition for mynysters of the chyrch: IT is thought therefore unto the kyng's highness expedient and necessary, that mo bishoprickes, collegial and cathedral chyrches shall be establyshed, instead of those foresayd religious howses: within the foundation whereof these other tytyls afore rehearsed, shall be stablished."

This that follows is another hand, being a copy of the act, but interlined throughout with the king's pen: " Bee it therefore enacted by authority of this present parliament, that his highness shall have full power and authority from tyme to tyme, to declare and nominate by his letters patents or other writings to be made under the great seal, such number of bishops, such number of cities, sees for bishops, cathedral churches and dioceses, by metes and bounds, for the exercise and ministration of their episcopal offices, &c. as it ran in the printed act, anno 31. Henry VIII."

CHAP. XLVII.

The Act of Six Articles. Sadly resented. Shaxton and Latymer leave their bishopricks. Many burnt upon this act. A book of ceremonies framed in convocation. The English Bible allowed. The German agents depart.

1539.
Six ques-
tions pro-
pounded
in convo-
cation.

THE king about these times was very wavering in matters of religion: and sometimes favoured a reformation of it, and sometimes again was against making any alterations: thinking it unsafe for his crown so to do. And of this the Bishop of Winchester did most studiously endeavour to possess the king's mind: a convocation therefore was now called: wherein these six questions were propounded:

I. Whether the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration?

II. Whether it were necessary by God's law, that all men should communicate in both kinds?

III. Whether priests, that is to say, men dedicate to God by priesthood, may, by the law of God, marry afterwards?

IV. Whether the vow of chastity or widowhood, be by the law of God to be observed?

p. 352. V. Whether private masses stand with the law of God, and be to be used and continued in the Church of England; as things whereby good Christians may receive godly consolation, and wholesome benefits?

VI. Whether auricular confession is necessary to be retained, continued and used in the church?

Enacted in
parlia-
ment;

All these articles were resolved by the convocation the old popish way, and by the parliament, that began in April 28, made an act: which was intituled, "An Act for abolishing of Diversity of Opinions:" and because of the rigorous penalties, and the blood that was shed thereupon, was called, "The bloody Act of Six Articles."

But with
difficulty.

But great striving and struggling there was in the

house about the passing these Articles. Besides the Archbishop of Canterbury, other divines and lawyers argued well against them, appearing to be not only against the truth, but against the common judgment: insomuch, that they would not have passed, had not the king come himself in person into the parliament house, and that the parliament perceived his peremptory resolution to have them made an act: as appears by what Archbishop Cranmer wrote in his answer to the second demand of the rebels of Devon in King Edward's reign. 1539.

But very sad and amazing were the resentments of the sober and religious side, while this was transacting, and hardly yet compleated. Simon Heynes, D.D. a learned man, and that had been employed abroad by the king, and who was the first prebendary put into Westminster church, when the king founded it for a bishoprick, anno 1540, this man being now at Eaton, had heard a priest make a mighty clamorous triumph, that transubstantiation was now determined to be believed by all, as an article of faith, and two other articles. For it seems at first three articles were only spoken of; to which three others were added, when their hands were in. This made this grave man write a letter to some certain man of the court, as it seems of great authority: "Admiring, how the king could pretend authority of scripture for those articles, there being not any express word of God written for them: unless men use scripture, said he, for proving these, as the Bishop of Rome quoteth the scripture to prove his authority. That the determining these articles to be of faith, without plain authority of scripture, will, instead of *making quietness*, (for that was the pretence, as appears in the preamble of the act,) create disquietness. That this would reflect upon the king's honour, who had before set forth the gospel within the realm. That if these matters should be declared to be *jure divino*, the emperor and French king had the same authority in their dominions, as our king in his; and so might

Sadly re-
sented.

1539. determine other things (probably meaning the pope's authority over princes,) to be *jure divino*, by scripture misunderstood; and so might the pope too." But I will not forestal Dr. Heynes his letter, which
No.CVIII. who will may read in the Appendix.

Bishop
Shaxton
and Bp.
Latimer
leave their
bishop-
ricks.
p. 353.

Fox, p.
1557, 1558

Latimer's
second ser-
mon before
the king,
fol. 36.

Shaxton, Bishop of Sarum, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, upon this act were imprisoned, and resigned their bishopricks; and returned to a private life. But Shaxton, not long before the king's death, notwithstanding all his zeal for religion before, returned to the old religion, and preached at the burning of Anne Ascue. I find nothing of him in King Edward's time, but in Queen Mary's I find him a busy man against the protestants; and Thirlby, the Bishop of Ely's suffragan, in the year 1555. And in 1557, he was with Dr. Christopherson, Dean of Norwich, and John Fullers, the Bishop of Ely's chancellor, an examiner of hereticks. And these sitting upon Pygot and Wolsey, martyrs, he used these words: "He bad them remember themselves, and become new men; for I my self, said he, was in this fond opinion, that you are now in, but I am now become a new man." He was now old, and I suppose lived not long after. Latimer continued firm to the last gasp, and came to the glorious end of a martyr. Soon after the laying down his bishoprick, as near as I can conjecture, a bishop, probably Winchester, sent for him, and marvelled that he would not consent to such traditions as were then set out. He answered him boldly and bravely, "That he would be ruled by God's book, and rather than he would dissent one jot from it, he would be torn with wild horses." He chanced in this communication to name the Lord's Supper. Tush, said the bishop, what do ye call the Lord's Supper? What new term is that? There stood by him one Dr. Dubber, and said, this term was seldom read in the doctors. Latimer made answer, that he would rather follow Paul in using his term than them, though they had all the doctors on their side. Why, said the bishop, can we not with-

out the scriptures order the people? How did they before the scriptures were written and copied out? God knows, full ill yet, would they have ordered them, said Latimer again. 1539.

The Lord Crumwel did his endeavour to protect the gospellers from burning, the punishment appointed in this act; but could not: yet the penalty of these articles did not so much take place during his life, who died about a year after: but after his death, a cruel time passed. Commissioners were appointed in every shire, to search out and examine such as were refractory. And few durst protect those that refused to subscribe to the articles; so that they suffered daily, as we shall see under the next year. But it was the Lord Herbert's observation, "Their punishment did but advance their religion; and it was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible otherwise that they should so rejoyce in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruel death."

Many
burnt upon
this act.

Life of
King
Henry,
p. 550.

The severity of these times, as it light upon several, so to prevent the danger thereof, many betook themselves into other countries, and turned exiles for religion. Of these were Hooper and Rogers, who went into Germany and Helvetia, where the true religion was professed; insomuch that now, and after, these places were replenished with English. Many also came to sojourn in these parts that were young gentlemen, and others that were students; to furnish themselves with good learning and knowledge in religion: where they might freely read and study divinity, as they might not with safety do in the countries under the papal tyranny. Among these noble young men and scholars, there came one John Butler, of a noble family, who lived abroad in great state and plenty: having travailed about Germany, and thence into France, and afterwards into Italy, he seated himself at last in Zurick. There, about the latter end of King Henry, and beginning of King Edward, he became greatly acquainted with John

Others fly
beyond
sea.

p. 354.

John But-
ler at Zu-
rick.

1559. Wolphius, the learned printer; who seemed to have been the director of his studies, and to whom Butler was in compensation very munificent. To whom Wolphius, in the year 1552, dedicated the second edition of P. Martyr's tract of the Sacrament, consisting of some of his readings at Oxon, as a present at his return from the Baths, where he had lately been.

A book
of cere-
monies.

In a convocation this year, as near as I can guess, was a book of ceremonies hammered out and presented. The main drift whereof, was to make as fair a representation as might be, of all the old corruptions and superstitions crept into the church. The Bishop of Winchester and his party had the great hand in this business, hoping in this juncture, when popery seemed so much to prevail, to get them received. But they were not. This, if I mistake not, was the book of eighty-eight articles, which Fox tells us Archbishop Cranmer gave a full answer to; and I suppose got them quashed by the king. I have set this long book in the Appendix, that he who is minded may peruse it.

No. CIX.

Letters pa-
tents for the
English
Bible.
Hist. Re-
for. P. I.
Collect. xv.
B. III.

Notwithstanding the oppositions that were thus made against the gospel, yet the English Bible had the king's countenance. For in November, the Lord Crumwel obtained from the king his letters patents: wherein he acknowledged, "That by the knowledge of God's word, the people would the better honour God, and observe and keep his commandments, and do their duty to their prince; and therefore granted them the free use of the scriptures in their natural tongue. But for the diversity of translations, he appointed the Lord Crumwel to take special care, that no manner of person should attempt to print any Bible in the English tongue of any volume, during the space of five years, but only such as should be deputed by the said Lord Crumwel." This was obtained in favour of Grafton, who was now printing the large Bible.

But the people, as they greedily bought up and

read the holy scriptures, so some of them provoked the king much, by taking upon them to expound and teach them, and by quarreling and calling one another Papist and Heretick: and by reading the Bible in the church, during the time of service, with a loud voice, to the disturbance of the priest and others, and disputing of it in alehouses and taverns. These were complaints before the Act of the Six Articles came out. Therefore the king being offended, set out a proclamation, intituled, “For an Uniformity in religion.” And because I do not find any thing of this in our histories of the Reformation, I shall set it down in the Appendix, from a draught of the Cotton Library, with the king’s emendations by his own hand. This proclamation had the force of a law, being, as it seems, the first proclamation the king issued out immediately after the parliament now sitting had, by an act, enjoined his proclamations, made with the advice of his council, to be obeyed and kept, as though they were made by act of parliament. For in this very proclamation it is mentioned, how in the beginning of that parliament, then sitting, by authority thereof, this was granted to his highness and his successors.

1539.
A proclamation for reading it.

No. CX.

p. 355.

In this proclamation, which came out about the beginning of May, being now equal with the law, the king commanded, “That none should call one another Papist or Heretick, unless they could prove the same, upon a great penalty. That none should teach or preach the Bible, but curates or graduates, or such as were licensed by the king, or the lord vicegerent, or the bishop of the diocese. That none should read the scripture openly in the church or elsewhere, to disturb divine service or mass. But, however, the king allowed all that would, or could, to read both the Old and New Testament secretly by themselves, for their own edification. And that if they should doubt of any thing they read, they were not to make their own expositions, but to resort for instruction to such as were learned in the holy scriptures. And

The contents thereof.

1589. finally, he gave them to understand, that he was not bound by any law of God, to set forth the scripture in English, but that it was his own pure liberality and goodness, to bring his people from their old ignorance to vertuous living."

This proclamation came forth a little before the Six Article Act. For herein was an intimation of that act, namely, "That the king was proceeding to a full order and resolution to extinguish all diversities of opinion by *terrible* laws to be made." That word was used in the first draught, most truly to express those bloody laws; though the king thought fit by his own pen to change that word into *good* and *just*, as may be observed in the said proclamation.

The king's
discourse
at parting
with the
German
ambassa-
dors.

The counsellors of the Prince Elector, that is, the agents before spoken of, having seen the marriage with the Lady Anne, of Cleves, consummated, which was January 6, returned home, and told the prince the happy news of it. They also told them, what familiar communication the king held with them concerning other matters: viz. "That he was willing to enter into a league in honest causes with the Elector and Landgrave of Hesse, as he had made a league with the Duke of Juliers; and afterward, he would treat with them about entring into a league of religion. That as to that severe law of the Six Articles, they reported how the king did moderate it, and that it was more sparingly put in execution; that he protested how earnestly he desired the churches might flourish in true doctrine. That as to some articles wherein the king agreed not with them, he desired that they would prove them upon good grounds, and send them to him, that he might the better consider them, and consult with the learnedest of his bishops and divines about them. And the truth being known, he would execute his office, and prefer heavenly doctrine before the traditions of men."

The
prince's
letter to
the king.

The prince soon after signified by letter unto the king, "That he, with others the confederates, thought well of him, but were astonished at the Six Articles.

That having extinguished the power and authority of the Bishop of Rome, they thought he would not have suffered others to have established errors brought into the church by the covetousness and ambition of those bishops. But they understood it was done by the conspiracy and craft of certain of his bishops. That in compliance with the king, they had employed certain of their learned men to gather authorities out of the fathers for confirmation of four articles, viz. concerning the Mass; of the Use of the Sacrament; of the Marriage of Priests, and of Vows: and that with their letters they had sent, what their divines had writ upon these subjects. They offered also to send their divines to meet the English to confer together, to Geldria or Hamburgh, or Breme, or any other place the king should appoint: or, if he had rather discourse with some of their learned men face to face, they would send good men and learned to him. They rejoiced, they said, at their affinity with him by the marriage of the queen, wished him all happiness by it. They certified him, that the Bishop of Rome, and some others of his party, did attempt certain things against him. And so the Landgrave had signified to him once before. For the preventing whereof, and for the more prudent watching himself, they told him, the Germans might be profitable to him.”

This letter was sent from the prince, being assembled with the orators of other princes and states of the empire, confederates with him for the reforming of religion; to which the emperor had given them some encouragement. This they thought convenient to acquaint the king with, that no false rumours concerning it might be spread, to occasion any jealousy in the king concerning their present meeting. But I refer the reader to the perusal of the letter it self, as I have repositied it in the Appendix.

No. CXI.

CHAP. XLVIII.

A commission to certain bishops and divines, to examine the doctrines and ceremonies retained in the church. Errors spring up. The king dissatisfied about his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

1540.
The vice-
gerent's
speech be-
fore the
lords con-
cerning a
commis-
sion.

IN the year 1540, the king granted a commission (and got it confirmed by act of parliament) to several bishops and other divines, to examine the doctrines and ceremonies then retained in the church. Some of them were to draw up an exposition of such things as were necessary for the institution of a Christian man. And others to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the use of them. The reasons of this commission, the lord vicegerent, April 12, when the parliament opened, did specify in a speech to the house, namely, "The king's desire of an union; and the rashness and licentiousness of some, and the superstition and stiffness of others; and some called papists, and some hereticks; and that though the scripture were now in the people's hand, yet they were grossly perverted by both sides. That the king leaned to neither side; but set the pure and sincere doctrine of Christ before his eyes; and therefore was resolved to have it set forth to his subjects without any corrupt mixtures, and to have dissent not continued, and abuses cut off, and the true use of ceremonies taught."

p. 357.

Their ap-
probation.

Vol. I. p.
274.

The lords approved of this, and of the persons named; whose names may be seen in the History of the Reformation: and they ordered their days of sitting: which were three whole days in the week, and three half days. And in July, a bill was brought in, and agreed to, that whatsoever these bishops and divines, commissioned by the king, or others by him appointed, should determine concerning the Christian faith, or the ceremonies, should be believed and obeyed by all the king's subjects.

The divines the king appointed in this commission, the statute calls, "The best learned, honestest, and most virtuous sort of doctors of divinity, men of discretion, judgment and good disposition." And concerning the king's intention by this commission, the same statute saith, "That according to the very gospel and law of God, without any partial respect of affection to the papistical sort, or any other sect or sects whatsoever, (these commissioners) should declare by writing, and publish as well the principal articles and points of faith, with the declaration, true understanding and observation of such other points, as by them, with his grace's advice and counsel, should be thought needful and expedient; as also the lawful rites, ceremonies and observation of God's service."

1540.
The divines
of this com-
mission,
and their
business.

Much of what was done by the bishops and divines, hath been declared, partly in the History of the Reformation, by Bishop Burnet, and partly in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. There, such as consult them may see the judgments of divers of these commissioners, under seventeen questions, relating to the sacraments, and in several points of faith. And divers other discourses framed by the said commissioners I have seen. The good way they took was by Crumwel's and Cranmer's direction; who foresaw, that in these conferences between men of such differing judgments, there would happen nothing but verbose janglings and endless disceptations, and little would be concluded: therefore they ordered, that each person, having certain proper questions given him in writing, concerning the points to be debated, should in writing also give in his answers plainly and succinctly thereunto. The matters of *faith*, some whereof I shall set before the reader, were drawn up as a form of doctrine, which should be esteemed as the publick judgment, and the professed doctrine of the Church of England; as is plain from the phrases used in those writings, viz. *Docemus; credimus*: We teach; we believe. Some

What was
performed
by them.

Matters of
faith.

1540. of these I meet with in the Cotton Library; which I
 Cleop. E. 4. have digested into six articles: I. Of the Church.
 II. Of Institution. III. Of the Eucharist. IV. Of
 Baptism. V. Of Penance. VI. Of the Use of the
 Sacraments. Which may all be seen at length in
 No. CXII. the Appendix, under this title, which I have prefixed
 to them, "Quidam Doctrinæ Christianæ Articuli
 pro Ecclesia Anglicana."

The king
 used to
 make re-
 views.

p. 358. It is to be noted, that in the article of *the Church*,
 which is the first, there be added some corrections
 under the king's own hand; but so have none of the
 rest. The reason whereof, I suppose, was this: it
 was the king's practice to review all draughts of writ-
 ings intended for the publick, whether they were
 proclamations, or acts of parliament, or state books;
 and so he did in like matters relating to religion,
 being himself a man of learning. And then his cus-
 tom was to alter, correct and add according to his
 own judgment, as he was minded they should pass
 into the publick. And this article of the *Church*
 the king had already run over, according to that his
 custom, with his own eye and pen: and so possibly
 intended to do by the rest, as his leisure served.

Errors now
 sprung up.

Notwithstanding the care of the king about religion,
 and the severity of some of his acts against some sup-
 posed errors, yet divers greater and real errors, and
anabaptistical opinions crept in about these days,
 into the realm: but the king being resolved to leave
 such as held them unto his laws, excluded them his
 general pardon at the conclusion of this parliament,
 in July this year. The errors were these: "That
 infants ought not to be baptized: and if they were
 baptized, that they ought to be rebaptized, when
 they come to lawful age. That it is not lawful for a
 Christian man to bear office or rule in the common-
 wealth. That no man's laws ought to be obeyed.
 That it is not lawful for a Christian man to take any
 oath before a judge. That Christ took no bodily
 substance of our blessed Lady. That sinners, after
 baptism, cannot be restored by repentance. That

Statute
 Book, 32.
 Hen. 8.
 cap. 49.

every manner of death, with the time and hour thereof, is so certainly prescribed, appointed and determined to every man by God, that neither any prince by his word can alter it, nor any man by his own wilfulness prevent or change it. That all things be common, and nothing several." 1540.

This year, April the 14, the convocation began their sitting; and Polydore Virgil, Archdeacon of Wells, presented Richard Gwent, Dr. Decretorum, Archdeacon of London, for prolocutor. And May the 5th was presented at the synod the Lord Crumwel, Earl of Essex, vicegerent, who expounded them certain articles; and a subsidy was granted by the prelates. Prorogued till May 11. The day following, the king's vicegerent sat, with the archbishops and other bishops; before whom the prolocutor spoke concerning the payment of this subsidy, viz. being 4s. in the pound; besides the tenths yearly payable to his majesty. And that for their parts, they had appointed six persons of their own body to transact and conclude with the lords. These were, the Prolocutor; Thurlby, Archdeacon of Ely; Incent, one of the clerks for Winton; Draycot, for Lincoln; Brerewood, a Canon of Exon; and David Pool, Chancellor of Litchfield, and Archdeacon of Salop. Convoca- tion.

Session 13. there came upon the stage the king's great and weighty business, about the Lady Anne of Cleves. The clergy of both provinces being called together, the king sent them a letter missive; which being received and read in full convocation, July the 5th, the Bishop of Winchester expounded and declared the specialities or parts of the causes of the invalidity or nullity of the matrimony pretended, publicly there and then to the whole company, *luculenta oratione*; and, consequently, for more compendious and commodious expedition, and search into the merits and circumstances of the said business, with the common consent of the synod, it was decreed, that the whole business should be referred to the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Durham, Win- The busi- ness of Anne of Cleves be- fore the synod. Extr. of Con. p. 359.

1540. chester and Wigorn; who, together with the Prolocutor; Thurlby; Incent, Dean of St. Paul's; Richard Layton, Dean of York; Thomas Magnus, Archdeacon of the East Riding; Edward Legh, Thomas Robertson, and William Rivet, should receive, in the name of themselves and whole congregation, and sacred synod, all and singular the kinds of proofs which were in fact; and should with care and study examine, discuss, and with an equal balance weigh them: and them, so examined and weighed, publicly to declare and lay open to the said synod. What the issue of this finally was, our historians declare at length.

A convocation about Anne of Cleves' marriage.

While the parliament was sitting, the king's marriage with his present queen, that was brought to him from Germany about six months ago, was declared to be null and void; so that both the king and she were at liberty to marry again. This the learned bishops and clergy of both houses defined July 9, at the said convocation, held at Westminster, upon account of a precontract with the Duke of Lorain's son, and because the king had never given his full consent to this marriage, nor consummated the same by knowing her carnally. This is one of the memorable lines of King Henry's life, and for which he is wont to be charged. The particulars are at large set down by Bishop Burnet in his History. But having under my hand the whole process of this business, in an authentick MS. in parchment, I will here relate chiefly, how this was managed in the convocation house, wherein the foresaid historian is but brief, and some other matters by him omitted.

Inter MSS. D. G. H. Eq. Aur.

The king dissatisfied about the Lady Anne.

The Lady Anne of Cleves came to Rochester on New Year's Eve last past at night. On New Year's Day, being Thursday, the king privately visited her there: but he spake not twenty words to her. For she answered not the character of beauty, that was reported of her to the king. At which he was much troubled, and signified as much to those about him:

yet he acknowledged she was well and seemly. On Friday the king returned by water, having first sent a present of sables to her by the master of his horse. On Saturday she made her entrance into Greenwich, where the court was, and the king waited upon her to her chamber. And that day the king's counsellors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Crumwel, and the Bishop of Durham, met with the agents of Cleves, and treated with them about their commission, and the performance of the covenants which the king had sent before to Doctor Wotton, his ambassador at that court, to have been concluded there; as also, how the matter stood for the covenants of marriage between the Duke of Lorain's son and the Lady Anne; concerning both which, the said agents having no satisfactory answer to make, were much astonished and abashed, and desired time to make answer till the next morning. On Sunday morning the counsellors and the agents met accordingly, and they then could give no good answer to either; but only as to the contract, there had been a revocation made; and that they were but spousals. When Crumwel had told the king the issue of this conference, he said, he was not well handled, and that were it not that she were come so far in his realm, and the great preparations that his estates and people had made for her, and fearing a ruffle in the world, he would never marry her. But considering these extremities, the king advised that the lady should, before his council and certain notaries, protest that she was free from all contracts. And this was done accordingly by her. And on Monday, (according to Crumwel's letter to the king,) or Tuesday, (according to the Duke of Suffolk's deposition,) the king was wedded to her, she being conducted to the church by the Earl of Essex, (Bourchier,) and another earl that came with her. But as the king was going, being yet in his chamber of presence, he told the

1540:

p. 360.

But yet
marries
her.

1540. Lord Crumwel, "That were it not to satisfy the world and his realm, he would not do that he must do that day, for none earthly thing."

Complaints
to the Lord
Crumwel.

On Munday (or rather Tuesday) night he bedded her; and on Tuesday (or rather Wednesday) morning, he declared to Crumwel his further dislike of her. For he had, he said, felt her belly and her breasts, and, as he should judge, she should be no maid; and added, he left her as good a maid as he found her. And afterward he told Crumwel, and she her self, by certain expressions to some ladies about her, signified that he never knew her carnally. And the king, both in Lent, and at Easter, and at Whitsuntide, lamented his fate to the Lord Crumwel, that he should never more have any children for the comfort of the realm, if he should so continue in marriage with this lady; and assured him, before God, that he thought she never was his lawful wife. Crumwel then said to the king, that he would do his utmost to comfort and deliver his grace of his affliction. And since Whitsuntide the king told Crumwel, that he had done as much to move the consent of his heart and mind as ever did man, and that he took God to witness the obstacle would never be out of his mind.

The case
committed
to the con-
vocation.

The parliament, seeing it so near to touch the succession, and observing with alhow this marriage was in many respects doubtful, by their desire and the king's allowance, and the queen's consent too, the matter was brought before the convocation. To whom the king gave out a commission to meet and examine this business, charging them to judge according to the best of their understandings, without any inclination to one part or other, and according to justice and equity; and "That having God only before their eyes, they should by authentick writing declare to him what in this matter was just, honest, and holy: requiring this one thing of them, that as faithful and good members of the church, they would in this great

cause do according to justice and truth." This commission of the king was dated July 6, and may be found in the Appendix. 1540.

No CXIII.

Accordingly on Wednesday, July 7, in the Chapter House of St. Peter's, Westminster, assembled the Most Reverend Fathers in Christ, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward Archbishop of York, and the Reverend Fathers of both provinces,

The convocation sit.

Edmund,	Bishop of	London.
Cuthbert,	. . . . .	Durham.
Stephen,	. . . . .	Winchester.
John,	. . . . .	Lincoln.
Robert,	. . . . .	Carlile.
William,	. . . . .	S. David's.
Robert,	. . . . .	Landaff.
John,	. . . . .	Hereford.
John,	. . . . .	Wigorn.
Robert,	. . . . .	S. Asaph.
Nicolas,	. . . . .	Rochester.
John,	. . . . .	Bangor.

There met also the venerable and eminent men, p. 361.
Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, Official of the Court of Canterbury, and Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and the Reverend Father Thomas Thirleby, Doctor of Laws, Archdeacon of Ely, designed Bishop of Westminster; accompanied with

John Incent,	Dean of	S. Paul's, Lond.
Peter Vane,	. . . . .	Sarum.
John Taylor,	. . . . .	Lincoln.
Hen. Williams,	. . . . .	Litchfield.
Simon Heynes,	. . . . .	Exeter.
Rich. Layton,	. . . . .	York.

And these archdeacons :

Edmund Cranmer,	Archdeacon of	Canterbury.
Richard Rawson,	. . . . .	Essex.
Richard Coren,	. . . . .	Colch. & Oxon.
Thomas Baghe,	. . . . .	Surrey.
Edward Leighton,	. . . . .	Sarum.
Maurice Griffith,	. . . . .	Rochester.

1540.	John Worthial,	Archdeacon of	Cicester.
	Polydore Virgil,	. . . . .	Wells.
	Richard Strete,	. . . . .	Darby.
	David Pole,	. . . . .	Salop.
	Thomas Winter,	. . . . .	Cornwal.
	George Hennege,	. . . . .	Taunton.
	Griffin Leyson,	. . . . .	Caermerden.
	Thomas Runcorn,	. . . . .	Bangor.
	Thomas Westby,	. . . . .	York.
	Thomas Magnus,	. . . . .	East Riding.
	John Langriche,	. . . . .	Cleveland.
	Robert Davel,	. . . . .	Northumberland.
	William Holgill,	. . . . .	Carlile.

Together with the clergy of both provinces in great multitude. And first, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared the cause of their meeting or council. Then did Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, present to the archbishops and bishops, and the rest of the clergy, the king's commissional letters, which were read by Anthony Hussey, notary publick, in the presence also of Thomas Argal, notary publick.

Bishop
Gardiner's
oration to
the house.

The case
referred to
a commit-
tee.

And then Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, managed the business on the king's part, and in an oration expounded and declared to the whole company the particular causes of the invalidity or nullity of the pretended marriage. Next, for a more compendious and commodious dispatch and search into the merits and circumstances of the said matter, by the common consent of the synod, it was decreed, that the two Archbishops, Edmund Bishop of London, Cuthbert of Durham, Stephen of Winchester, and John of Wigorn, and the venerable men, Richard Gwent, Thomas Thirleby, John Incent, Edward Leighton, Thomas Robertson, and William Rivet, Doctors of Divinity and Law, and Thomas Magnus, should, instead and in the names of all the rest, take all and singular the proofs of fact touching or concerning the merits of the said matter, and should examine, discuss, and in an equal balance weigh and consider them; and so to report and declare them, as the na-

ture and quality of the business, and the necessity and use of the thing required: and them so nominated, ordained, and appointed, to do and dispatch all and singular things in that behalf necessary, or any ways seasonable. 1540.

Which being done, the clergy of the Lower House departed from the Chapter House, the Prolocutor, the Elect of Westminster, the Dean of York, the Dean of St. Paul's, Richard (Edward) Leighton, Thomas Robertson, and Thomas Magnus, remaining. Their proceedings. And the said archbishops and bishops and venerable men, consulting together upon the manner and form for the quieter dispatch of this affair, at length unanimously agreed, that the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and the Prolocutor, the Elect of Westminster, and the Dean of York, in the stead and names of them and the whole synod, should call what witnesses they would, and give them their oaths and take their evidence, and certify the rest of the bishops and clergy of the depositions. p. 362. Then the synod was adjourned by the Bishop of Canterbury, until and between the hours of six and eight in the morning the next day. And the said bishops and clergy were warned to be present that day, to proceed further in this business. This being done, the Bishops of Durham and Winton, the Prolocutor, the Elect of Westminster, and the Dean of York, in the presence of John Rhese, Register to the King's Majesty for Ecclesiastical Causes, and Richard Watkins, by the king's authority Prothonotary, and Anthony Hussey, Principal Register to the Archbishop of Canterbury, between the hours of one and six in the afternoon, repaired to the king's palace near Westminster, and there took the depositions of the Lord Awdely of Walden, Lord Chancellor; Thomas Duke of Norfolk; Charles Duke of Suffolk; William Earl of Southampton, Keeper of the Privy Seal; John Lord Russel, Great Admiral of England; Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse: Knights of the Garter, the Lord George Cobham, Sir Thomas Heneage, Sir

1540. Thomas Wriothesley, the King's Secretary, Anthony Denny, Esq. and William Butts, Doctor of Physick, and John Chambers, the King's Physician: his deposition was taken at his house in Chanon-row. And the next day Mr. Phillip Hoby was deposed before the Elect of Westminster. Which depositions may

No. CXIV. be found in the Appendix.

The decree.

The said day, being Thursday, the said commissioners and clergy of both provinces, according to the foresaid appointment, met again in the presence of all the notaries publick in the Chapter House; and then and there, that the business might be the more diligently and maturely finished, they joyned to the foresaid eight, John Tregonwel, John Oliver, William Peter, and John Hughes, Doctors of Law. Now were brought in the depositions, by the Bishop of Winchester, and some other publick instruments having reference to the aforesaid cause. Then the archbishops, bishops, and the rest, who were specially deputed to examine and discuss the merits and more secret matters of that cause, compared the proofs and merits thereof. Then, after some space of time, all the prelates and clergy being together assembled in the said Chapter House, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the consent of the rest, adjourned the said synod until three of the clock of the afternoon of the same day: at which time all assembling, after they had maturely handled and digested among themselves the merits of the said cause, they did publickly and unanimously, not one disagreeing, assert and affirm, that they found by the proofs and arguments concerning the premisses, That the king's majesty "*Neutiquam matrimonio prætenso cum dicta Dom. Anna, ut præmittitur, contracto et solemnizato alligatum esse, sed ad aliunde matrimonium cum quavis alia persona idonea, divino jure haud prohibita, liberum esse,*" &c. *i. e.* "Was not bound by the pretended marriage contracted and solemnized with the said Lady Anne, but was free to marry elsewhere with any other fit person, not forbid by God's law;

and that the Most Serene Lady Anne, in like manner, was not at all bound by the said pretended matrimony, not to contract marriage elsewhere with whatsoever fit man she would, not prohibited by God's law, notwithstanding the pretended matrimony contracted and solemnized *de facto* between her and the king." 1540.

And then further decreed, that letters testimonial or certificatory should be drawn up and sent to the king concerning the same, shewing their decision and the causes thereof. And that these letters might be the better and more plainly composed, the care thereof was left to the said six archbishops and bishops, and the twelve other persons above mentioned. And then the archbishop adjourned the synod till eight of the clock the next day, being Friday; and that day they meeting, the archbishop again adjourned them till three in the afternoon: at which time the letters testimonial or certificatory, containing the judgment of the whole synod upon the invalidity of the marriage, being drawn in parchment, in form of a publick instrument, were subscribed by them, as well by themselves as by the proctors of some of the prelates and clergy that were absent; and were sealed with the two archbishops' seals, in the presence of Tre-gonwel, Oliver, Peter, and Hughs, being witnesses. I shall give no further account of this letter, it being exemplified in Bishop Burnet's History.

The letters
thereof to
the king.

Vol. I.
Collect.
p. 197.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Lord Crumwel's end. His merits. Persecution upon the Six Articles.

THE affairs of the religion received this year a very fatal blow by the taking off the Lord Crumwel, Earl of Essex, and Lord Vicegerent: brought about by the means of the Bishop of Winchester, and the popish faction. His high honours and offices were

Crumwel's
death and
character.

1540.
Sir W. Cec.
MS. Jour-
nal.

these among others, as I collect them from a MS. journal of Cecil's. He was created Lord Crumwel, April 18, 1539. The Lord Herbert notes it to be July 9, that year. The next year he was created Earl of Essex; and was Lord Vicegerent, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Chequer, Justice of the Forests. He was a man, whose merits raised him from a very low degree. And as he was a sincere favourer of the gospel, so he was very zealous, and very honest in doing the king his master's work, and sometimes his drudgery: as in the dissolution of religious houses, and the severe execution of such as complied not with the king's divorce and his marriage, and the rejection of the papal supremacy: which begat him many enemies, by whom he was overwhelmed at last. He retained many persons of great quickness and abilities, and preferred them to the king; who employed them in his frequent messages and dispatches abroad into other kingdoms.

p. 364.

Worthy
men pre-
ferred by
his means.

Among other remarks of the Lord Crumwel, this may be one, that he preferred more men of worth and integrity, whether lay or clergy, in his time, than any other in great place and favour at court had done. Of which Latymer, Bishop of Worcester, upon some such favour shewn by him to two gentlemen, takes notice in a letter to the said Crumwel, in the year 1538, to this tenor:

Bp. Laty-
mer to
Crumwel.

Right Honourable, *Salutem in Salvatore*. "Sir, I have to thank your good lordship for many things; and now a late, for your singular goodness shewed, as I understand, to Mr. Lucy, a right good gentleman; and also towards Mr. Acton, another of the same sort. But of this my duty more at more leisure. And yet thus much now I will say; and not say it alone, but with many, that your lordship (one man) have promoted many more honest men, since God promoted you, than have many men done before your time, though in like authority with you. 'Tan-
'quam non tibi natus soli, sed multorum commodo.

‘Efficiat, qui omnia facit ut in eandem fidem diutissimè vivat dominatio tua, ut sic inter nobiles nobilissimus evadas. Quod quidem nihil esse possit nobilius, quàm bonos viros evehere, malos autem reprimere. Id quod tibi hactenus usu venit, plus omnibus facere.’” 1540.

Among the rest I will mention one, who is scarcely taken notice of by our historians. It was Thomas Barnaby, a merchant. He first became known to Crumwel by soliciting his own case at the court, about two of his ships, that had been taken by some French pyrates; notwithstanding he had the king’s safe conduct of trading into all parts, and in all commodities, himself, his servants, and attorneys. Crumwell observing him a man of parts, and fit for dispatch of business, and particularly well acquainted with France, and the ports and havens thereof, made use of him at first, to send over thither with messages to the ambassadors, to be dispatched by them back again: and recommended him to the king. And in these services of the prince, to and from the courts of France, Spain and Italy, he made eight and twenty voyages. In the year 1524, he married a wife in France: and was alive in 1552. By this long acquaintance with France, he knew every port, haven, and bay, between Bulloign and Bourdeaux. Once in discourse with the said Lord Crumwel about France, he mentioned a way to him to distress that realm, namely, by getting New Haven from them (now called Havre de Grace); a town in which, as he said, in his remembrance there were but three houses; two of them to lay cables and anchors in, and the other a victualling house. But the French king knew what a place of import it was, being the gulph, gullet and mouth of the sea; which made him labour all he could to people and fortify it. So that it soon became exceedingly populous, and lived much upon piracy. Which the French king winked at, and called them, *his mariners* and *his thieves*. It lay so, the channel laying on that side of his land, Thomas Barnaby, Crumwel’s servant. New Haven.

1540. between Polhed and that haven, that no merchandizes, but of what realm soever it came, but must come that way, and nothing could come out of those parts of France, the commodities of Roan, the wines of Paris, Orleans and Bayon, to go to any other parts, but must pass that way. And that no army, that the French king could send to Scotland, or to victual his armies for the sea, but all was set forth there. There was one of the wittiest heads in all Christendom of a merchant shewed Barnabie, once standing there together, that the English needed no other rod to scourge Normandy and France, but only that. All this Barnabie discoursed to Crumwel. Who thereupon sent him thither upon the king's cost, and he drew a platform of it, and brought it to him. The French king was there at the same time, and the Admiral Biron, and the constable, for nine days, to view it, and to cast its ditches. And moreover they made a proclamation, that whosoever would come and build there at New Haven should have his foundation, and cost him nothing. After his coming home, Crumwel conferred the matter with him, and the Lord Fitz Williams, then Lord Admiral, better than three or four hours, viewing the platform; and said, that if he lived, and that wars should happen, that should surely be remembred. And so preferred him to the king, and his business. Which he performed faithfully, or else had never been employed so often as he was.

Well acquainted with France.

He was employed all the while the Bishop of Winchester and Sir John Wallop were ambassadors in France; and likewise afterward, when the Bishop of London and the Lord Paget were ambassadors. Few men were so well acquainted with the French court, being dispatched thither by the English ambassadors for any by-matters, when the king's privy affairs obliged not the ambassadors to wait upon the court themselves. Hereby he came to know well the Chancellor, the Cardinal of Lorain, the Cardinal of Paris, the Admiral, the Constable.

He stuck close to Crumwel, who sent him divers times to the Bishop of Winchester and Wallop, ambassadors in France, (as was said afore) but they could not endure him, knowing him to be Crumwel's creature: and once they told the constable of France, that he was Crumwel's spy. This constable was a notable favourite in the French court in those times: one of the doublest, and most dissembling gentlemen in the world; and no more assurance to be taken of his words, than to hold an eel by the tail. He would speak fair and promise fair, and work the contrary. And because he was very popish, Winchester and Wallop loved him well. This Barnabie often brought matters to Winchester, while ambassador, concerning the king's proceedings in religion: which he could not well away withal, nor his secretary, Jerman Gardiner. When Crumwel dyed, he had many a heavy look of Wallop; who said to him, that his great God was gone, and that there were none belonging to him, but spies and hereticks.

1540.
Hated by
Winches-
ter for
Crumwel's
sake.

This Barnabie was alive in the days of King Edward; and in the year 1552, in a letter to Secretary Cecyl (whence I have extracted most of the former relation) did very earnestly lament the neglect of shipping in England, and that we were so much outdone by France. Whereby all our ports became neglected; and did propound very ingenious ways for the furthering of trade, as we shall read, when we come to the *annals* of that year.

Laments
the neglect
of shipping
in Eng-
land.

August the 10. (the next month after Crumwel's death,) the xxxii of the king, that is, in this year 1540, an order was set down for the number of counsellors, and in what precedency they were to sit. I have it out of a journal of Sir Will. Cecil's own keeping, viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Awdly, lord chancellor; the Duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer; the Duke of Suffolk, great master and president of the counsil; the Earl of Southampton, lord privy seal; the Earl of Sussex, great chamberlain; Edward, Earl of Hertford; Lord Russel, lord admiral;

p. 366.
The names
and order
of the
privy
counsellors.

1540. the Bishop of Duresm; the Bishop of Winton; Lord Sandes; Lord Chamberlain; Sir Tho. Cheney, treasurer; Sir William Kingston, comptroller; Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; Sir Anthony Wyngfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir Thomas Wrythsley, secretary; Sir Ralph Sadleyr, secretary; Sir Rich. Rych, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir John Baker, chancellor of the augmentation.

Prosecu-
tion upon
the Six
Articles.

Upon the six articles, commissions were granted out by the king to the bishops, and their chancellors and officials, and to all justices of peace, maiors, and sheriffs in every shire, and others named in the same commissions: to enquire diligently upon all heretical books, and to burn them; and upon all persons suspected of such felonies, contempts or transgressions against the act of the Six Articles.

Commis-
sioners for
London.

To London, and the diocese thereof, was a particular commission sent for this purpose. The commissioners were, the Bishop of London; Roche, the maior; Allen, Warren, Richard Gresham, knights and aldermen; Roger Chohnley, knight, sergeant at law; John Gresham, Michael Dormer; the Archdeacon of London, the bishop's commissary; Chidley, Crayford, Edward Hall, Brook, Morgan: and that these might be sure to do their office, a letter was procured from the king to Boner, the bishop, or his commissary, to give all these their oaths for the execution of the said act: the form of which oath was prescribed in that act. The bishop accordingly, at Guild Hall, administered the said oath to them. And then the jury were sworn; when the bishop admonished them to spare none. So in all parishes throughout London almost, some were summoned and accused, and brought into trouble, to the number of near two hundred. Several also of Calais, and of divers other quarters, were brought into trouble. So that all the prisons in London were too little to hold them; insomuch, that they were fain to bestow them in the halls of London. But by the means of the Lord Awdley, lord chancellor, they were bound

for one another to appear in the *star chamber* the next day after; being by this means rescued from the hands of the bishop and commissioners. And then none appearing against them, they were all discharged. This must be recorded for one of the good deeds of that chancellor.

1540.
Fox.
p. 1100.

Of these prisoners were Grafton and Whitchurch, the printers of the Bible, and divers parsons and curates: one nameless, a Scotch friar, driven out of his countrey, curate of S. Catharine Colman; the parson and curate of S. Antholins; Thomas Cappes, priest of the church of S. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish-street; for saying, "That the sacrament of the altar was a memory of the Lord's death:" Hardiman, priest, parson of S. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, for preaching, "That confession was confusion and defamation, and that the butcherly ceremonies of the church were to be abhorred; that in making the sacraments of such virtue, they take the glory of God from him; and, that faith in Christ is sufficient without any other sacraments, to justify." Richard Bostock, of Algate, for saying, "Auricular confession had killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters had done, since King Henry was King of England; and that water in the Thames had as much virtue as the water the priests did hallow." Thomas Lancaster, of St. Katharine's, priest, for compiling and bringing over books prohibited: Ward, a friar, for marrying a wife: Wilcox, a Scotch friar, for preaching against confessions, holy water, praying to saints, purgatory, &c.: John Taylor, D. D. of St. Peter's, in Cornhill; William Tolwin, parson of St. Anthonie's; Robert Wisdom, parish priest of St. Katharine's, in Lothbury; Thomas Becon; George Parker, parson of St. Pancrase; John Birch, parson of St. Buttolph's Lane; Alexander Seton, a Scotch man, and famous preacher; he was the Duke of Suffolk's chaplain, and preached sometime at St. Anthonie's. To these I add Dr. Crome, of Aldermary; and South, parish priest of Alhallow's, Lumbard-street; and Some, a priest.

Prisoners
upon the
act.

p. 367.

1540.

Endea-
vours from
Germany
to mitigate
that san-
guinary
law. Hist.
Luth. per
Seckingd.

By the severity of this act of the Six Articles, much rigor was used towards such as espoused principles more agreeable to the gospel. The Germans had a great compassion for them; as appeareth by what followeth: Martin Bucer, a learned divine, of the first rank in Germany, and professor of divinity in Strasburgh, being intreated by his friends in England, did earnestly deal with the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave of Hesse, that Melancthon might go into England, (whose presence the king had so earnestly before desired,) in hopes that the king might be prevailed upon by his means, to abrogate or mitigate that sanguinary law. But the elector, in the month of October, answered, "That he was certain in his conscience, that for 4 or 5 years he omitted nothing that might help the cause of religion in England: that he maintained at Wittenburgh the Bishop of Hereford (*i. e.* Fox) at his great charge. And that he (that Bishop) was sufficiently instructed in the heads of the faith; and that he carried all to his king; but yet there came no answer. That in the year 1538, he sent Burcard and Boynberg; and again, 1539, him and Baambach; but obtained nothing. That the king continually delayed: and after so many delays, privately had a synod with his bishops; and made a defect from his purpose of reformation with great precipitancy, they, the protestants, not being privy to it." And he thought it to no purpose now to send Melancthon, things being come to that extremity.

Dr. Barnes
burnt.

In this year, July 30, without any tryal, or sentence of condemnation, or calling him to answer, and two others with him, was Dr. Barnes burnt at Smithfield, once prior of the Augustines in Cambridge: a learned man, well known to the king, and much employed by him and the Lord Crumwel in embassies abroad, especially to Germany. He was the great restorer of good learning in Cambridge, about the year 1525 and 26, putting those students of his house, upon reading good classick authors, instead of

the school-men. Bilney converted Barnes wholly unto Christ. Mr. Stafford, a pious learned man, and publick reader of divinity, answered Barnes for his form to be made bachelor in divinity. By the means of this man, and some few others in that university, many became godly learned: who shewed themselves, and flocked together in open streets, in the schools and at sermons in St. Marie's and at St. Austin's, and at other disputations. They were chiefly of Pembroke Hall, St. John's College, Peter House, Queen's College, King's College, Gonwel Hall, and Bennet College. The names of some of them (for their names deserve to stand in record) were these, besides Barnes and Stafford and Bilney aforesaid, Dr. Thixtel, or Thissel, Thomas Allen, of Pembroke, Dr. Farman, of Queen's, Mr. Took, Mr. Loude, of Bennet, Mr. Cambridge, Field, Colman, Coverdale, bachelors of divinity; Parnel, of St. Austin's, under Barnes; Thomas Arthur, Dr. Warner, Segar Nicolson, uncertain of what college; Rodolph Bradford, of King's; Dr. Smith, of Trinity Hall. To which we must add Latymer, of Christ's College.

1540.

p. 368.

Learning
and piety
brought
into Cam-
bridge by
his means.

These and a great many more met often at a house called the White Horse, to confer together with others, in mockery called Germans; because they conversed much in the books of the divines of Germany brought thence. This house was chose, because those of King's College, Queen's College, and St. John's, might come in at the backside, and so be the more private and undiscovered. Warner, before mentioned, was an acquaintance of Bilney's at Cambridge, and being parson of Winterton, was present with him at his burning at Norwich; whom he chose to be with him then to comfort him.

These
gospellers
meet toge-
ther.

And that I may here take in (though it be a digression) what progress the other university of Oxford made about the same time also in religion; Thomas Garret, curate of Honey-lane, London, and who was burnt in the same fire with Dr. Barnes, was the great instrument thereof there. Who brought

Gospellers
in these
times at
Oxon.

Garret.

1540. thither sundry books in Latin, treating of the scripture, with the first part of *Unio Dissidentium*, and Tyndal's first translation of the New Testament; which was about the year 1525 or 1526, which books he sold at Oxon, and dispersed them among the students. Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of London had intelligence of this man, and that he had a number of these heretical books, as they called them, and that he was gone to Oxford to vend them; and a privy search was intended to be made for him in that university. But one Cole, of Magdalen College, afterwards cross-bearer unto the cardinal, gave secret warning of this to a friend or two of Garret's, and advised them to persuade him to be gone. And now a great many in Oxon became suspected in religion: as they might well be; for they fell very hard upon reading these books, and gathered much light in religion from them, namely, Delaber, of Alban Hall; Clark, Sumner, Bets, Taverner, Radley, Frith, Cox, Drum, and others of St. Frideswyde's College, or the Cardinal's College, now Christ's Church; Udal and Diet, and others, of Corpus Christi; Eeden, of Magdalen College; others of Gloucester College; two monks of St. Austin's, of Canterbury, named Lungport, and John Salisbury, of St. Edmond's Bury; two white monks of Bernard College; two canons of St. Marie's College, one whereof was Robert Farrar, afterwards a bishop and a martyr, and divers more.

p. 369. Insomuch that a commission was sent down hither to make diligent search for books, and for such as read them, or favoured the gospel. The chief of these inquisitors were Dr. Cotisford, master of Lincoln College, commissary then of the university; Dr. London, warden of New College; and Dr. Higdon, dean of St. Frideswide. In fine, such as were taken were made go in possession, and to make their recantation: and as they passed by Carfax, were made to cast a book into a fire there kindled in token of their repentance.

Fox p.
1092.

But to return to Barnes: it was not enough to take

away his life, but one Standish, a fellow of Whittington College, wrote a scurrilous book against him, refuting what he had said immediately before his burning: which his friend and old acquaintance, Coverdale, answered, and justified the deceased martyr.

1540.
Barnes
vindicated
by Coverdale.

Among divers of the clergy of London taken up this year, Robert Wisdom was one, as afore was said. This man was a very painful setter forth of true religion; of whom we have spoken somewhat in the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer; to which in this place we will add somewhat more. He wrote an Exposition upon the Ten Commandments. For divers passages in which book he was put into Lollard's Tower by the council. And being convented before them, they laid to his charge certain texts of scripture in that book. One was, "Babes, keep yourselves from images." Hence they said, he was guilty of heresy, because by that text, he shewed he was for destroying all images. Another thing they layd against him was, that he said, "That at the day of judgment Christ would reward only of mercy and not of merit. That all traditions of men should be plucked up by the roots. That man hath no free will to do good." He spake against invocation and praying to saints, and against censuring in the church, and other ceremonies: against trental masses, and that they profited not souls departed. That he advised his parishioners to take the scripture into their hands, when they met together on Sundays and holy days in the alehouse, to talk and commune of it. That he said, he trusted to see the day when maids should sing the scriptures at their wheels, and plow-men at their plows. That he said, we had a living Christ, and not a Christ of clouts. That souls departed do not come again, and walk, and play at bo-peep with us. *Item*, That every one of us ought to bear one another's burthens, as in the body the bones strengthen and maintain the flesh. And that there was no difference of meats.

Rob. Wisdom.

His doctrines.

1540. These were the articles, in number thirteen, laid against him. Which from Lollard's Tower, he declared his sense and meaning of in a letter. I refer
 No. CXV. the readers to the Appendix, where they shall find it at large. Which being so very well penned a discourse, and shewing the good learning and abilities of this reverend man, I was willing to preserve it. Out of it I shall observe at present only one or two things. One was, that he foretold of the reformation under King Edward : where, speaking of the abolishing of the Roman bishop, and the dissolution of monasteries, and the forbidding all pardons from Rome, he added, " That the residue of all the Roman impostures must needs fall, though all the papists should set to their shoulders, and lift and underprop till they burst. And this I say in the word of the Lord, that the day will come when the very root of all popery, even your masses, shall be plucked up." And in the margin he wrote, " Note this, for it will come to pass, and that shortly." Another matter I observe in his letter is, the reason why he advised people, when they were at the ale-house, to take the scripture and talk of it. Which one Leswel, sent down into Essex to hear him preach on Easter Thursday, informed against him, that he then so taught. To which the bishop, rebuking him for so saying, told him, that people, when they are drunk, will handle the scripture unreverently ; and that much mischief may come of it. He answered, " That therefore he exhorted to have the scripture then especially read and heard, that they might, for the fear of that, abstain from excess and drunkenness."

Troubled before. Two years before this, he was again in trouble before the Bishop of London ; and several things are entered in the bishop's register concerning him : that was the time I suppose when he bare a faggot.

And now, two years after, they extracted out of the same register matter against him, though the bishop then swore by his baptism, that Wisdom

should never hear of it more. He lived to better times; for he was Archdeacon of Ely, and one of the famous synod in 1562, and dyed 1568. 1540.

About this time one John Huntingdon, a zealous priest and poet, compiled a poem, intituled, The Genealogy of Hereticks: mentioning only the names of such godly men as had been no friends to the pope; and no other hereticks were once touched at, as if there were no hereticks but such as opposed the pope. By this Huntingdon, and two more priests, was one Seton, a Scotch friar, and an excellent preacher in London, detected and informed against. But Huntingdon was afterwards converted to the same doctrine himself, notwithstanding these his present oppositions. There were many other poets of this strain, that appeared some years before, who vented all their wit against such as professed and loved the gospel, and were enemies to the pope, viz. Thomas Smith, Richard Dallison, William Stawne, Stephen Prowet, friar Adrian, Quarry, the pardoner: whom William Bale calls, *popish poets* and *dirty metrists*. Huntingdon, a priest and poet. Popish poets. Im. of both churches.

In the thirty-third year of the king, which falls in with the year of our Lord 1541, the supremacy was gone through with in the kingdom of Ireland. For then the O'Neals, O'Relies, O'Birus, O'Carols, and other old Irish families, and the English families of the Desmonds, Barries, Roches, Bourks, (whose posterities do still continue zealous Romanists,) did make their submissions by indenture to Sir Anthony Selenger, then chief governor of that kingdom; wherein they acknowledged King Henry to be their sovereign lord, and confessed the king's supremacy in all causes, and utterly renounced the jurisdiction of the pope: as Bramhal, the learned Archbishop of Armagh, extracted out of the council book of Ireland. 1541. The king's supremacy owned in Ireland. Just. Vindic. chap. 5.

p. 371.

CHAP. L.

A new convocation. Bible in folio printed. The Bishop of Winton's interposition in a controversy risen in Cambridge, about pronouncing the Greek. The convocation meets again. Persecution at Oxford. The Necessary Erudition.

1541.
A convoca-
tion. Their
business to
consult
about.

Extr. of
Convocat.
MS. D. Fr.
Episc. Roff.

JANUARY the 20th, 1541, began a new convocation, when the archbishop landed at Paul's Wharf, and went thence on foot, the cross being carried before him to the church of S. Paul's. Bishop Boner said high mass. Dr. Cox, Archdeacon of Ely, preached a Latin sermon: his text, *Vos estis sal terræ*. Gwent, Archdeacon of London, chosen again Prolocutor, was presented by Nic. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. The archbishop confirmed the choice; and then signified unto all, that it was the king's intention that the fathers, the prelates, and clergy, there assembled, should consult *de rebus religionis lapsis et ruentibus*; and to deliberate among themselves of providing fit remedies: and what they should think fit to be reformed and corrected, to correct and reform the same among themselves. Declaring to them further, that many things in the Old and New Testament, translated into the English language, wanted reformation. And further the said archbishop would, that the prolocutor with the clergy should betake themselves to the Lower House, and discourse among themselves concerning examination of the said books; and that some skilful persons should be appointed to turn over the canons and other laws for the shunning and restraining of *simony*.

Matters
proposed
by the
archbishop
to the
synod.

In this synod also the good archbishop treated about making of *homilies*, and likewise of translating the several books of the Bible; and the books were particularly delivered to certain bishops to be translated. In another session he spake also concerning the same, and concerning persons to be nominated to translate their parts; and in the session the next

day (viz. sess. 6.) he moved the translating into English the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and many words inserted, to be examined, how they might aptly be translated into the vulgar tongue. In this synod the archbishop also signified his pleasure of making some statutes or laws against adulterers, perjured persons, and blasphemers of the name of God; and that he would exhibit his conceptions thereof in writing. Discourse also was entered into of some other things to be reformed: as, concerning the Lord's Prayer, the Angel's Salutation, the Creed, the Ten Commandments; namely, of teaching them the people, and ordinary sort. And here at another session the Bishop of Winton read what Latin words were contained in the sacred volumes, which he would have understood according to their true and native sense and meaning, and the majesty of the things expressed, as far as might be, to be kept, or *in sua natura*, *i. e.* in their own nature; or as much as it could be done most accommodately unto the English speech of the word, or in English expression. All these good things, and divers more, were now in hand in this convocation, by the pious zeal of Archbishop Cranmer. But the success answered not in the house.

1541.

p. 372.

Yet now came forth the English Bible in folio, with the king's allowance. In the title-page was the picture of King Henry VIII. with Crumwel and Cranmer; and bore this title: "The Bible in English, of the largest and greatest Volume; used and appointed by the Commandment of our most redoubted and sovereign Prince, King HENRY VIII. Supreme Head of the Church and Realm of England: To be frequented and used in every Church within this his said Realm, according to the Tenor of his former Injunctions given in that behalf. Overseen and perused at the Commandment of the King's Highness, by the Reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, and Nicolas, Bishop of Rochester. Printed by Ri. Grafton, *Cum privilegio ad*

The English Bible printed.

1541. *imprimendum solum*. 1541.”—Nor was this the first time the whole Bible in English was allowed by that king to be printed, having been set forth in the year 1539; and this sentence at the end of the book: *A Dno. factum est istud*. But the marginal notes in an edition before that, giving offence, were now left out.

Cheke at
Cambridge
reforms the
pronounc-
ing of
Greek.

In May this year, the Bishop of Winton shewed his authority in the university of Cambridge, of which he was Chancellor: for Mr. Cheke, being Greek Lecturer, had endeavoured some time before to make a reformation in the pronouncing of Latin, but especially Greek. For as Greek books were not long before brought into study and reading, not without great opposition in the universities, so the way of sounding the vowels and diphthongs, and some consonants, was very odd and untoward. They made no distinction of the sounds of α and ϵ , ω and ϵ , from the vowel ι ω τ α ; and η , ι , and υ , were sounded alike. The consonant π , when it stood after υ , they pronounced as a soft b ; and τ after μ was pronounced as our d . Now Cheke laboured to refine this ill pronunciation: he would have each vowel to have its proper sound; and diphthongs, consisting of two vowels, to have the sound of two. This took exceedingly among the more ingenious men of the university, and great improvements were made in the knowledge of the Greek language daily, and Plato and Aristotle began to be much read. But some of the old Dons made at length a great stir at this new-found way of speaking Greek, and the complaint thereof was carried to the chancellor; who opposed it to that degree as to make a publick decree against it, upon pain of expulsion out of the senate, if one of that house; of being stopt of his degree, if a candidate; or private correction, if an inferior scholar. Which decree may be found

The chan-
cellor op-
poses
Cheke, and
makes a
decree
about it.

No. CXVI. in the Appendix.

Cheke ar-
gues with
the chan-
cellor.

Upon this Cheke wrote an elegant letter to the bishop: therein he said, “That the true sounds of the letters were changed in the last barbarous ages, and that it was therefore better to mend that barba-

rity than to follow it. And for this he appealed to Erasmus (who had writ a book of *the right Pronunciation of Latin and Greek*) and learned men." The bishop replied, "That every change was not to be disallowed; and that the sound of letters was more like to be changed by the learned (than the unlearned), the learned being wont to have so much regard to the euphony, and the gracefulness of the sound of words." Cheke shewed how, by pronouncing the diphthong *oi* as an *iota* (as was then ordinarily done), there would be no distinction between *Λοιμὸς* and *Λιμὸς*. But the chancellor was for no changes: "Utere," saith he to Cheke, "moribus antiquis, verbis vero præsentibus, et multo magis sonis:" *i. e.* "Use antient customs, but present words, and much more sounds." And again, "Oro te, Cheke, &c. Pray, Mr. Cheke, do not you encourage the youth to frame another sound to the Latin or Greek by their own guesses, than what they have received from their ancestors, or than what learned men do at this present retain." And again, "Be not too stoical in examining sounds: and remember, that as words, so also sounds, take their authority from use, not from reason." Again, he told the said lecturer, "That it was a vain persuasion in him, to think that every thing that was writ was to be sounded out; and that he brought an absurd and odd sound to the ears of that present age, which by fallacious conjectures he imagined the antients were pleased with." He challenged Cheke to shew him a difference between the sounding of *η* and *ε*. And if he could not do that, he would not have him boast, "that he could learn that from the mute letters, which he could not express by mute letters."

Cheke's pretence in reforming the sound of the Greek language was, to vindicate truth. But this moved not the chancellor, if that were all the benefit of it, as he replied; and brake out into this expression: "Sed quid non mortalia pectora cogit, VERI quærendi fames?" That is, "But what does not the

Why
Cheke
made this
change.

1541. itch of seeking out TRUTH compel men to do?" As though that were so great a crime. This popish bishop cared not indeed to have truth too narrowly searched after, for fear the old errors of popery should be found out. But to proceed; the chancellor bad him "not to be the author of removing out of its place an evil well placed; especially when that you call evil," said he, "being removed, you have nothing that is good to put in the room thereof." However, he allowed him in his lectures to instruct his auditors, as concerning old words, so concerning the old sounds (if that would serve), to know them, but not to use them, that they became not ridiculous. He complained, that by that progress that Cheke had made in mending the sounds of words, the young men insulted over the old, who spake not as they did, and gloried in an exotic way of pronouncing, and took a kind of delight that they were not understood by their seniors. And indeed, at the celebration of divine service in the colleges, Latin and Greek began now to be read differently after a new way. But this was looked upon as very odd, by the older sort that heard it.

Cheke vindicates himself from rashness in this matter.

And whereas the chancellor had called Cheke rash, bold, and arrogant, for attempting this alteration, Cheke in another letter told him, "That he would not be convicted of rashness, in that he had acquiesced in the judgment of the most learned and antient men; nor of childish boldness, in that he approved of the consent of almost all ages; nor of arrogancy, in being able to diminish, by the authority of wise and knowing men, things unjustly and unprobably crept in. For he had (he said) the authority of the antients, and the perpetual consent of the old grammarians, that this pronunciation was profitable for learning, sweet for speech, and clear in utterance." He added, "That when he began this way, it took greatly among the scholars; and now, after some years, the old way of reading Greek was nauseous, and unpleasant to hear: and the advantage was, that

such as now learned Greek, profited more in the knowledge of that language in a year, than they did before in two; and came much sooner to a facility in speaking and writing it, which took up a very long time before; and this the experience of many years shewed. That it was by the variety of sounds and modulation of numbers, that there was so much delight and sweetness in Homer's or Sophocles's verses, that no singing of musicians, no striking of the harp, could be more various and delightsome." He hinted, that it was affectation of ignorance, and an unwillingness in some, that the learned languages should be known, which was the cause of the discouragements he met with. "When the Latin language (said he) began to be studied and called into the world again, it was not without much opposition and indignation. The Greek language was hateful to many, and still is so; and there be some, who studiously restrain youth from the knowledge of it. Many reprove the study of Hebrew, and it is as much as one's credit and reputation is worth, to attempt the knowledge of it;" as he freely writ to the chancellor.

Dr. Smith (afterward Sir Thomas Smith, and secretary of state) being, about the year 1542, vice-chancellor, waited upon the chancellor, as it seems, concerning this great contest of letters; who, though he were for Cheke's way, yet seeing how resolved the chancellor was to hinder it, told him, "That for his part he could pronounce both ways, the new and the old, that he might offend no body by his pronouncing: for he knew it was matter of praise even to stammer, if so be he that did so could speak fluently when there was need so to do: according to that, *I am debtor both to the fools and to the wise.*"

But though this authority put some stop for the present to Mr. Cheke's commendable purpose, and the reformation of the reading of Greek, yet afterward it prevailed, as truth is said to do, and doth take place to this day.

There passed seven learned letters between the

1541.
The letters
between
the bishop
and Cheke
printed.

bishop and Mr. Cheke upon this argument; which the said Cheke carrying with him, when, after King Edward's death, he passed through Basil into Italy, left in the hands of Cælius Secundus Curio (a learned man of that city, and father-in-law to Zanchy), who printed them in the year 1555, and dedicated them to the learned Sir Anthony Cook; the book bearing this title: "*Joannis Cheki, Angli, de Pronunciatione Græcæ potissimum Linguæ, Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo, Septem contrarijs Epistolis comprehensæ.*"

The vice-
chancellor
required to
punish the
new way
of reading
Greek.

Notwithstanding the severe decree of the chancellor, the new and true way of pronouncing and reading Greek was not laid aside in the university: insomuch that the next year, viz. 1542, Dr. Edmunds being vice-chancellor, the chancellor sent his letter to him, urging him to see punishment executed against such as so pronounced: telling him, "That he would not be deluded nor contemned; and that he intended to use his authority, both towards him and the proctors, if they were negligent herein: but he trusted they would not enforce him so to do. And that for the order he made, he did it seriously, and would maintain it. That to be chancellor of the university was only honour, which by contempt was taken away: and he would beware to give any man cause to contemn him."

p. 375.

Some in
the uni-
versity eat
flesh in
Lent.

In the same letter he signified to his vice-chancellor an information he had, that divers of the regents of that university had eaten flesh last Lent: which he shewed himself much displeased at, and required him to punish; directing him to send privately for them, and induce them to confess their fault and pay a fine to be laid upon them by his discretion. But if they would not submit to this punishment, he was resolved, he said, to proceed to more open inquisition; for punished they should be. And as an example hereof, he reminded his vice-chancellor of what had been lately done at the court, which he was sure he had heard of; namely, how earnestly

some there had been prosecuted for this fault by the king's own command, by the advice of his council. He added in the conclusion of his letter, that the king, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, (as he termed it,) had compounded all matters of religion; which uniformity he required his vice-chancellor to take care of. But the letter of the chancellor may deserve to be perused.

1541.

No.
CXVII.

After an adjournment, the convocation met in March; and April 3, 1542, here the most Reverend treated of the *homilies*, &c. and continued till two afternoon. Then Dr. Cox suspended all the prelates, not appearing, or not licensed to be absent, from the celebration of divine things, and from entrance into the church. And so by several prorogations, till February following: then the most Reverend treated of giving the king a subsidy. And they yielded 4*s.* in the pound in three years. And the *homilies* were presented by the prolocutor, composed by some of the prelates, concerning divers matters. And then he put up a supplication, concerning making ecclesiastical laws, according to the statute in that behalf made. And also of paying tythes, as well greater or *personal*, by the laity, more liberally and more justly. At another session, the most Reverend said, that the king would have some ecclesiastical books to be examined and corrected; and delivered these books accordingly to certain bishops for that purpose. And there he also decreed, that each morning and evening, one chapter of the New Testament should be read in each parish.

1542.

Sessions of
convoca-
tion.
What was
done.

Those books before mentioned, which the archbishop signified it was the king's pleasure they should be examined, were all mass books, *antiphoners*, *portuises* in the Church of England: that they should be corrected, reformed and castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name; and from all *apocryphas*, feigned legends, superstitious oraisons, collects, versicles, and responses: and that the names

Church
books to be
examined.

1542. and memories of all saints, which be not mentioned in the scriptures, or other authentick doctors, be put away. And this for the eschewing of inconveniences, which daily chance to the king's subjects of the clergy, for their negligence in not abolishing such things or names, as by his majesty's injunctions and proclamations had been commanded to be stricken out, cancelled and abolished. Hereupon it was
p. 376. ordered, that the examination and correction of the said books of service should be committed to the Bishops of Sarum and Ely, taking to each of them three of the lower house; such as should be appointed for that purpose. But that the lower house released. (A gentle refusal to have any thing to do therein.)

It was ordered also, that every Sunday and holy day throughout the year, the curate of every parish church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should openly read unto the people one chapter of the New Testament in English, without exposition. And when the New Testament was read over, then to begin the Old.

Petitions
of the
clergy.

This done, a book of subsidies of 6s. in the pound was brought up by the prolocutor. And then the clergy desired the lords to move to the king's majesty these petitions. I. For the ecclesiastical laws of this realm to be made according to the statute, made in the 5th year of his gracious reign. II. For remedy to be provided by his highness against the ungodly and unlawful solemnization of marriages, frequently used, or abused, in the chapel or hospital of Bethlem without Bishopsgate. III. For an act of parliament to be made this session, for the union and corporation of small and exile benefices through this realm, which, for smallness of fruits, be not able to find a priest; and so rest untaken by parson, vicar, or curate. IV. For some good order and provision to be made by his majesty, and established by parliament, for due and true payment of tythes, both pre-

dial and personal, throughout this realm; for quietness of all persons, and discharge of the consciences of the laymen. 1542.

The next year, viz. 1543, died in the Fleet, under much disgrace, John London, LL.D. a great dignitary, and a great champion for the pope; whereby for a long time he continued a fierce prosecutor of the professors of the gospel both in Oxon and Windsor, where he had preferment; and was the great instrument with the Bishop of Winton, in carrying on a plot for the destruction of Archbishop Cranmer, as may be seen in the Memorials of that archbishop. Being Warden of New College, Oxon, he created much trouble to divers men in Cardinal Wolsey's college, newly founded, by sharp imprisonment, when John Frith, among other vertuous young men there, was apprehended; which fell in the year 1527, or 1528. Many others were then detected in that university, and especially in Dr. London's college; namely, Mr. Quinby, John Man, Talbot, all of New College; and Bartholomew Traheron, afterwards library keeper to King Edward. But John Man recanted, whom therefore Traheron called the stony ground, on whom the good seed of God's word took no root. Talbot also started back, and served afterward the Lord Wriothesly, teaching his children: but nevertheless he was expelled by the warden. But as for Quinby, he was imprisoned very straitly in the steeple of the college, and half starved with cold and lack of food, and at length died. He desired his friends that came to see him, that he might receive the Lord's supper in both kinds, but it would not be granted. He was asked of his friend, what he would eat; who said his stomach was gone from all meat, except it were a warden pye. Ye shall have it, quoth they. I would have, said he again, but two wardens baked; I mean, our warden of Oxford, and our warden of Winchester, London and More. For such a warden pye might do me and Christ's church good, whereas other wardens of the tree can do me no good 1543. Dr. London dies. Foxii MS. Quinby, of New College, persecuted to death. p. 377.

1543. at all. Thus jesting at their tyranny, through the cheerfulness of a safe conscience, he turned his face to the wall, in the belfrey, where he lay, and after his prayers, slept sweetly in the Lord. This Dr. London, for his incontineny, afterwards did open penance in Oxford, having two smocks on his shoulders, for Mrs. Thykked and Mrs. Jennyrigs, the mother and the daughter: with one of whom he was taken by Henery Plankney, in his gallery, being his sister's son. This was known to a number in Oxford and elsewhere, many years after living, as well as to Loud, the relator of it, in a letter to Mr. Fox. After this, for perjury, he was adjudged to another publick disgrace, set down in the martyrology, and soon after ended his naughty life in prison.

Dr. London doth penance.

Counsellors made. Cecil's Journ.

The same year, three notable learned men were preferred: that is to say, Octob. 3. Dr. Heth, Bishop of Rochester, was admitted to be one of the king's privy council; William Petre, doctor of civil law, was made a master of requests, and one of the privy council; and William Paget was made clerk of the council. And six days after, viz. Octob. 9. Sir John Gage was made comptroller, in the place of Sir William Kingston, deceased.

The convocation met again.

Review of the Institution.

Another session of a former convocation began April 20, 1543. Now they were concerned, as it seems, in a diligent review of a former good book, called, "The Institution of a Christen Man." For it appears by certain extracts of the register, that in several sessions, after the correction of the translation of the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Mary*, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist: the English interpretation whereof being examined and corrected by the most Reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Winton, Roffe and Westminster, they were delivered to the prolocutor, Dr. Gwent. And the next day, the like was done touching the five first Commandments, and the exposition of them by the said four bishops. And on another day were ex-

pounded, examined, and revised by the most Reverend the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Westminster, Roffe, Sarum and Hereford, the other five latter Commandments, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; and the same delivered to the prolocutor: and then, by adjournment, on the morrow, the like was done in the sacraments of Matrimony, Penance, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction, by the same. And they again the same delivered, by the consent of the said archbishop and bishops, to the prolocutor, to examine the same by their and the other prelates judgments: and then shew their judgments on such a day appointed. 1543.

April 27. The most Reverend, together with the Bishops of Winton, Roffe, and Westminster, examined the exposition of this word, *Faith*, in the vulgar language, and the twelve articles of the faith; which all and singular the bishops approved: and, in the afternoon, a tract was read, *de Justificatione*, and of *Works*, and of *Prayer for the Dead*. All which were delivered to the prolocutor to be examined; and returned on a day appointed. On another day, viz. April ult. the most Reverend expounded the article of *Free Will*, &c.; and to the prolocutor the same was delivered, with intent that he should read over the same tract before the prelates of the lower house: which being read, and approved by them, that, with the residue, was returned to the upper house, with this approbation, that they accepted them, *pro catholicis et religiosis*; and gave great thanks to the fathers, that they underwent such great labours, pains and vigilances for the cause of religion and the common wealth, and for the sake of unity. And so the house adjourned, till May 4, and then prorogued. This produced a second edition enlarged of the *Institution*, and was called, "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man." p. 578.

And this year it came forth in print, with many alterations and additions, by a special commission

1543.
The necessary
Erudition of a
Christen
Man.

from the King to Archbishop Cranmer, and divers other learned bishops, and other divines; and had the foresaid name given it, viz. "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man: set forth by the King's Majesty, &c. Psal. xix. Lord, preserve the king; and hear us when we call upon thee. Psal. xx. Lord, in thy strength the king shall rejoyce, and be marvellous glad through thy salvation." And this all set in the title page. On the next page, on the other side, are set down the Contents of this Book, which are these, I. The Declaration of Faith. II. The Articles of our Faith, called *The Creed*. III. The Seven Sacraments. IV. The Ten Commandments. V. The Lord's Prayer, called the *Pater Noster*. VI. The Salutation of the Angels, called the *Ave Maria*. VII. An Article of *Free Will*. VIII. An Article of *Justification*. IX. An Article of *Good Works*. X. Of Prayer for Souls departed." Where it is to be observed, the article of *Purgatory* is left out, as not now approved; which was in the book, called *The Institution*, &c. It was printed by Thomas Berthelet, the king's printer, the xxixth day of May, MDXLIII. This book was received in the parliament, that sat this year, as the Lord Herbert shews.

Life Hen.
viii. p. 559.

Set forth
by the
king's au-
thority.

It was set forth by the king's own authority in a general *Preface*, applied to all his subjects; wherein he gave an account fully and largely of the following book, and authorized his subjects to make use of it, for the better informing themselves of the true and right doctrine of religion. Which royal declaration is well worthy our reading, and to be preserved in our history. And the book being so rare and scarce to be met with, I shall here present it, (as I transcribed it,) as the *Introduction* to the said book.

The king's
Epistle to
the book.

"Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and in earth, of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, Supreme Head; unto all his faithful and

loving subjects sendeth greeting. Like as in the time of darkness and ignorance, finding our people seduced, and drawn from the truth, by hypocrisy and superstition; we, by the help of God and his word, have travailed to purge and cleanse our realm from the apparent enormities of the same: wherein by opening of Goddis truth, with setting furth and publishing of the scriptures, our labours (thanks be to God) have not been void and frustrate: so now perceiving, that in the times of knowledge, the devil, who ceaseth not in all times to vex the world, hath attempted to return again (as the parable in the gospel sheweth) into his house purged and cleansed; accompanied with seven worse spirits; and hypocrisy and superstition being excluded and put away, we find entred into some of our people's hearts, in an inclination to sinister understanding scripture, presumption, arrogance, carnal liberty and contention, used; be therefore constrained, for the remedy of them in time; and for avoiding such diversity in opinion, as by the said evil spirits might be ingendred, to set forth with the advice of our clergy, such a doctrine and declaration of the true knowledge of God and his word, with the principal articles of our religion, as whereby all men may uniformly be led and taught the true understanding of that which is necessary for every Christen man to know, for the ordering himself in this life, agreeable to the will and pleasure of Almighty God. Which doctrine also the lords both spiritual and temporal, with the nether house of our parliament, have both seen and like very well. 1548.

“And for knowledge of the order of the matter in Faith. this book contained, forasmuch as we know not perfectly God, but by *faith*, the declaration of faith occupieth, in this treatise, the first place. Whereunto is next adjoyning, the *declaration* of the articles of our *Creed*, concerning what we should believe. And The Creed. incontinently after them followeth, the *explication* of the seven sacraments: wherein God ordinarily work- The Sacraments

p. 379.

1543. eth; and whereby he participateth unto us his spiritual gifts and graces in this life. Which matter is so digested and set forth with simplicity and plainness, as the capacities and understandings of the multitude of the people may easily conceive and comprehend the same. Then followeth conveniently the Declaration of the Ten Commandments, being by God ordained the high way, wherein each man should walk in this life: to finish fruitly his journey here, and after to rest eternally in joy with him. Which because we cannot do of ourselves, but have need always of the grace of God: as without whom we can neither continue in this life, ne without his special grace do any thing to his pleasure, whereby to attain the life to come; we have after the declaration of the Ten Commandments, expounded the seven petitions of our *Pater Noster*; wherein be contained requests and suits for all things necessary to a Christian man in this present life; with Declaration of the Ave Maria: as a prayer containing a joyful rehearsal and magnifying God in the work of the incarnation of Christ; which is the ground of our salvation: wherein the Blessed Virgin our Lady, for the abundance of grace wherewith God endued her, is also with this remembrance honoured and worshipped.

The Ten
Command-
ments.

The Pater
Noster.

The Ave
Maria.

Free Will,
Justifica-
tion, Good
Works,
Praying
for Souls
departed.

p. 380.

“ And forasmuch as the heads and senses of our people have been imbusied, and in these days travailed with the understanding of *Free Will*, *Justification*, *Good Works*, and *Praying for Souls departed*, we have, by the advice of our clergy, for the purgation of erroneous doctrine, declared and set forth openly, plainly, and without ambiguity of speech, the mere and certain truth in them: so as we verily trust, that to know God, and how to live after his pleasure, to the attaining of everlasting life in the end; this book containeth a perfect and sufficient doctrine, grounded and established in holy scriptures.

“ Wherefore we heartily exhort our people, of all degrees, willingly and earnestly both to read, and print in their hearts the doctrine of this book; con-

sidering that God, who (as St. Paul saith) distributeth and divideth to his church his graces distinctly, hath ordered some sort of men to teach others, and some to be taught; and all things should be done *seemly, and in order*; and hath beautified and set forth, by distinction of ministers and officers, the same church: and considering also, that for the one part which should teach others, is necessary not only knowledge, but also learning and cunning in the same knowledge; whereby they may be able conveniently to dispense and distribute to their audience the truth of God, according to their cunning, for the edification of others, and by true exposition of the scriptures, according to the apostolical doctrine received and maintained from the beginning; and by conferring and declaration of them, to convince, refell and reprove all errors and untruths set forth to the contrary: and finally, be also hable to give an account, as St. Paul saith, of that they profess; it must be agreed then, that for the instruction of this part of the church, whose office is to teach others, the having, reading and studying of holy scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, is not only convenient, but also necessary. But for the other part of the church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought and be bound to read it, but as the prince, and the policy of the realm shall think convenient, so to be tolerated or taken from it.

“Consonant whereunto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great mayny: esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained, to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of scripture, taught by the preachers, and to imprint the lessons of the same, that they observe and keep them inwardly in their hearts; and as occasion serveth, express them in their deeds outwardly, whereby they may be partakers of that blysse, which the giver of blessedness, our Saviour Christ spake of, and promised to such;

The Scrip-
tures.

1543.
Luke xi.

saying, *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud*: Blessed be they that hear the true doctrine of God, and keep it.

“Wherefore we exhort and desire all our loving subjects, that they, praying to God for the spirit of humility, do conform themselves as good scholars and learners ought to hear and bear away as afore, and willing to observe such order, as is by us and our laws prescribed: and to read and bear well away the true doctrine lately by us and our clergy set forth, for their *erudition*. Whereby presumption and arrogancy shall be withstood, and contention expelled, and carnal liberty restrained and tempered, and disdain clearly removed and taken away. So as endeavouring our selves to live quietly, and charitably together, each one in his vocation, we shall be so replenished with manifold graces and gifts of God, that after this life we shall reign in joy everlasting, with the only Head of the universal Catholick Church, our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, Amen.”

p. 381.

Hist. Re-
formation,
Vol. I.
Addend.
p. 305.

I must observe that this book, the “*Erudition*,” was so changed and altered, and enlarged, and thereby becoming so different from the “*Institution of a Christen Man*,” that it may seem to be another book, rather than a new edition of the former; as will appear by and by. The *Institution* is reprinted in the *Addenda* to the first volume of the “*History of the Reformation*.” Which was transcribed from a Cotton volume, being a fair book in parchment; writt by the hand of Morice, Archbishop Cranmer’s secretary, (for I know his hand) and was the original, subscribed by the hands of that convocation, that had agreed to, and drawn it up. And so high a value did Sir Robert Cotton set upon it, that at the bottom of the first page, he writ his own name, “*Robertus Cotton Bruceus*.” But by comparing this book with the *Erudition*, that was a review thereof by the king’s commission, and was published about six years after, one may see what a good step the reformation of religion had made: for whereas in the former book,

devotion to images, honouring of saints, and praying to them, masses for the dead, and various popish rites and ceremonies were commended and confirmed; in this book they spoke more dubiously and warily of, or rejected them. And as for Purgatory, which made one great article in the former book at the end of it, it is in this quite left out. And this that follows, is the good conclusion of it, viz.

“ Finally, it is much necessary, that all such abuses as heretofore have been complices concerning this matter, be clearly put away. And that we therefore abstain from the name of Purgatory; and no more dispute, or reason thereof: under colour of which have been advanced many fond and great abuses; to make men believe, that through the Bishop of Rome’s pardons, souls might clearly be delivered out of it, and released out of the bondage of sin, and that masses said at *scala cæli*, and other prescribed places, fantasied by men, did then in those places more profit the souls, than in another, &c. And also, that a prescribed number of prayers, sooner than others (though as devoutly said) should further their petitions sooner: yea especially, if they were said before one image more than another, which they fantasied. All these, and such like abuses, be necessary utterly to be abolished, and extinguished.”

This “Erudition” also began with an excellent description of Faith, shewed at large, as an introductory to a right belief of the articles of the Creed, that next follows. This description the former book hath not. These are some of the differences between the two books. But yet one thing I must add concerning this last and best book: that the reading of the holy scriptures is not permitted to the common people: and in that respect, the other party had the advantage of those that favoured the gospel. But however, soon after, even this year, 1543, the large English Bible was printed with the king’s allowance. Note, this was that, called “The King’s Book:”

1543. wherein the archbishop had a considerable hand:
 Cranmer's spoken of in the Memorials of him.
 Mem. p. 81.

p. 382.
 The progress of religion reformed.

And now, after so many years struggles of the gospel-party, headed by Archbishop Cranmer, and the Lord Cromwel, while alive, religion reformed had made a considerable progress under this king; and who hereby had obtained an high esteem and love among the best of his subjects. A large description and particular account whereof, let a learned and knowing man living in these very times relate, in a book written by him, under the name of "Theodore Basil," and as near as I can guess, this very year. Which, to give a prospect of these affairs, I think worthy the repeating.

The right
 Pathway
 unto
 Prayer;
 By Tho.
 Basil.

" I think there is no realm throughout Christendom, that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give God thanks, as we English men have at this present. And to whom is it unknown, with how miserable captivity we have been detained and suppressed these many hundred years, under the usurped power and grievous tyranny of the Bishop of Rome? Who knoweth not, how greatly the consciences of Christen men were snarled, yea, and almost slain through the decrees of that bishop? how greatly was the Christian liberty enclosed and stopt up; so that no man could enjoy the use of those things, which the word of God determined free, without his licence and dispensation? how were the singular merits of Christ's death, and the inestimable price of his most precious blood annihilated, and set at nought; and the Bishop of Rome's pardons trusted unto, and perfect affiance reposed in them, for remission of sins and eternal salvation? what a sort of hypocritical and superstitious works crept in throughout Christendom only; which only were believed to be the alone good works. And the true good works, which are commanded of God in the holy scripture, utterly neglected, dismissed and set at nought. Who thought it not a more meritorious act to gild an image, than

to cloath a poor naked man? Who thought it not a better deed to run gadding a pilgrimage into divers countries, for to seek dead images, than to tarry at home, and to visit the poor members of Christ; which laid bed-rid, sick, lame, feeble and impotent? 1543.

“ Again, what an infinite number of Monstures, (Monks I would have said,) and other religious persons, and *God will*, as they desire to be called, did there arise in this kingdom? Who thought it not a better deed to put his child into an abby, and there to live idle, swinishly and irreligiously, pampered up with all delicious fare, that would provoke unto lewdness, than to let him live abroad in the world; there to practise some honest art and occupation, that might turn to the commodity and maintenance of the common weal?—Did we not think it rather our duty to obey the proud Bishop of Rome, than our own native king? Did we not esteem his fantastical decrees, above the edicts, laws and acts of our own king?—Into what perils would we not cast our selves, to do the Romish bishop’s pleasure, &c.

“ Furthermore, what ignorance and blindness was in this realm concerning the true and Christen knowledge? How many savoured Christ aright? How many walked in the strait pathway of God’s ordinances? How many believed Christ to be alone Saviour? How many trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ’s death, and the effusion of his most precious blood? How many ran to God alone, either in their prosperity or adversity? How many amplexed Christ for their sufficient Mediator and Advocate unto God the Father? How many felt the efficacy and power of the true and Christen faith; whereby a Christen man is freely justified? How many did know what they professed at baptism? How many had knowledge what their *Pater Noster* meant; and wherefore they prayed? How many did perfectly understand the articles of the Christen faith? How many did know, what the ceremonies of the church meant; as, holy bread and holy water, and such p. 383.

1543. other? How many heard the evangelical doctrine ever preached purely and sincerely? &c. Meaning, how few there were of these.

“ But now are these enormities, yea, and deformities of this realm of England utterly exiled and banished. All false religion is extirped and plucked up by the roots. The miserable captivity, where-with we were opprest in the pope’s kingdom, is turned into delectable liberty. Our consciences are restored to their old freedom. Christ’s death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice for them that are sanctified. All superstitious fantasies, invented of idle brains, are full godly put down. The famous images, where-with the simple people committed fornication, I mean *Idolatry*, are justly plucked down, and conveyed out of the way. All the monastical sects have put off their cowls and monstrous garments. Our most Christen king is now, according to the verity of God’s word, and his just and right title, recognized to be Supreme Head of the Church of England next under Christ, immediately here in earth. Moreover, ignorance and blindness is exiled and banished; God’s laws are manifestly declared unto us: so that we may, if we will, keep his most godly commandments. The most sacred Bible is freely permitted to be read of every man in the English tongue. Many savour Christ aright, and daily the number increaseth, thanks be to God. Christ is believed to be the alone Saviour, &c. Christ is believed to be our sufficient Mediator and Advocate. The true and Christen faith, which worketh by charity, and is plenteous in good works, is now received to justify, &c. The twelve articles of the Christen faith, the Lord’s Prayer, called the Pater Noster, and the Ten Commandments, are now rehearsed in the English tongue, both of young and old; so that now all understand them. Many of the ecclesiastical ceremonies are now right well taught and known. To conclude, all old things are past, and new things entred into the same place instead of them.”

And then the king is extolled for all these privileges. "All these things God hath brought to pass by his dearly beloved servant, HENRY, our king. Adding, (as suggesting still more to be done towards a complete reformation,) if his grace go forth, as he hath begun, he shall make such a flourishing realm, both in spiritual and corporal goods, both for the glory of God and for the maintenance of his grace's publick weal, as none may be able to compare with this realm of England throughout Christendom. And as his most excellent majesty shall easily overcome and excel in the exercise of true godliness all his predecessors, and leave a memorable act unto his successors, most worthy to be followed; so likewise may his grace be sure, that there is reposed and laid up in store for him in God's treasure-house, the immarcescible crown of glory, &c. for his faithful walking in the divine precepts, and setting forth of God's glory." All this before said declaration had respect unto the late excellent book that came out by the king's authority, viz. "The Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man."

1543.

p. 384.

Religion by this time was so far advanced, as to the reformation of it, that the custom of having publick prayers said in the Latin tongue was regulated; and processions and prayers upon publick occasions were commanded by the king's special order to be used in English hereafter, whereby the people, understanding what was said or sung, whether exhortation or prayers, might join therein, and might be edified and better instructed. Such an order the king issued forth to the archbishop; by him to be sent to all the bishops of his province, with the processions occasioned by the wars and commotions then in the world. The copy of which, as it remains in the Register of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, was as follows, contracted: "Being resolved to have continually from henceforth general processions in all cities, townes, churches and parishes of this our realm, said and sung, with such devotion and reverence as apper-

Processions to be said in the English tongue.

Regist.
Ep. Bath
and Wells.

1543. taineth: forasmuch as heretofore the people, partly for lack of good instruction and calling on; partly for that they understood no piece of such prayers or suffrages as were used to be sung and said; have used to come very slackly to the processions, when the same have been commanded heretofore: WE have set forth certain godly prayers or suffrages in our native tongue: which we send you herewith; signifying unto you, that for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earnest desire to the setting forward the glory of God, and the true worshipping of his most holy name, within that province committed by us unto you," &c. This is but a contraction of the king's mandate to the archbishop. The whole may be found among the collection of records in the History of the Reformation by Bishop Burnet. Therein signifying, "How the king had sent these suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed, &c. but to the intent, that as well the same as other his injunctions, might be earnestly set forth by preaching, good exhortations, and otherwise to the people; in such sort as they feeling the godly tast thereof, may godly and joyously with thanks receive, embrace and frequent the same." This was a further step in the reformation and regulation of abuses in religion, in keeping God's service in an unknown tongue.

As what the king had now done in favour of religion, gave a great satisfaction and joy to the professors of the gospel; so it reconciled a mighty love and honour to himself in the hearts and tongues of his subjects.

CHAP. LI. p. 385.

Leland his New-Year's gift to the king. John Loud; William Morice; eminent men. Some account of them. Persecuted. Persecution at court. Mrs. Anne Ascue, martyr.

IN the year 1545, John Leyland, or Leland, presented the king, for a new-year's gift, an account of that memorable commission he had granted him in the xxxvth year of his reign, which was in the year of our Lord 1543, viz. to peruse and search all the libraries of the monasteries and colleges throughout the whole realm, that were then dissolved and broken up: that as much as might be, all antient monuments of the histories of this land, and the places, and eminent persons of it, together with the writings and books of learned men, might be preserved: a matter much redounding to that king's honour and renown; that he had such a regard to antiquity, and such a care of rescuing remarkable English events and occurrences from oblivion. But great pity it was, and a most irreparable loss, that notwithstanding this provision, most of the antient MS. histories and writings of learned British and Saxon authors were lost. Libraries were sold by mercenary men for any thing they could get, in that confusion and devastation of religious houses. Bale, the antiquary, makes mention of a merchant that bought two noble libraries about these times for forty shillings: the books whereof served him for no other use but for waste paper; and that he had been ten years consuming them, and yet there remained still store enough for as many years more. Vast quantities and numbers of these books, banished with the monks and friars from their monasteries, were conveyed away and carried beyond seas to booksellers there, by whole ship loadings; and a great many more were used in shops and kitchens. But that the reader may have some further account

1545.
Leland's
new-year's
gift to the
king.

In his
edit. of
Leland's
laborious
journey.

1545. of Leland's commission, and what publick fruit thereof was by him intended, I have transcribed his New-year's Gift, and placed it in the Appendix.

No.
CXVIII.

John
Loud, a
learned
and pious
man.
FoxijMSS.

I will here subjoin the mention of another learned man, and rescue his memory, in effect lost in oblivion; who was of eminent note in these latter days of the king. His name was John Loud, bred up in Wickham's College, near Winchester, a man of polite learning, and a contemporary and companion of John Philpot, the martyr, and others of the godly learned in those times. He was a member of Benet College, and after removed thence to the inns of court. And in both places had the care and inspection over Mr. Southwel, afterwards Sir Richard Southwel, a privy counsellor, if I mistake not, to King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary. Under which last, he proved a bitter persecutor of the gospellers. But while he was under Loud's tuition, he stood very well affected to religion. This Loud, his tutor, he entertained with great respect in his house, in the Charter House, London; where he was also tutor to his son, and taught him Latin, and the laws, civil and municipal. Sir Richard would say of him, "He will make my boy like himself, too good a Latinist, and too great an heretick." He was at the burning of Mrs. Anne Ascue; where, upon occasion of a sweet dew falling from Heaven just before fire was set to her, accompanied with a gentle crack, heard, as though it had been such a thunder, as is spoken of in the gospel, that seemed to the people to be the voice of God, or the voice of an angel: this man, strangely as it were, inspired thereat, went presently to divers lords of the council sitting by to see the execution, and with a loud voice said to them, "I ask vengeance of you all, that do thus burn a member of Christ." Whereat one struck at him with all his might, but he escaped and went home to the Charter House.

Sir Rich.
Southwel,
his pupil.

p. 386.

William
Morice of
Ongar, a
prisoner
for reli-
gion.

At this time was detained prisoner here with Sir Richard Southwel, a person of good quality, named William Morice, committed thither by the council for

suspicion of heresy. This man lived at Chipping Ongar, in Essex, and had the lordship thereof. He was first gentleman usher to the learned Mr. Pace, the king's secretary and ambassador abroad to Rome and Venice, and afterwards was preferred to be gentleman usher to King Henry himself. The Lord Rich and others would the rather have brought about his burning, out of the desire they had of enjoying his fair manor. But God delivered him and brought him to honour in King Edward's days. He was father to Archbishop Cranmer's secretary, Ralph Morice. To this gentleman thus lying in prison, would Loud frequently resort privately, and lay with him anights, leaving his own silk and soft bed, to converse with him about religion, and to hear what answers he intended to make to the council concerning his persuasions in religion. 1545.

Loud, while he lived with Sir Richard Southwel, was a member of Lincoln's Inn; and orders having been sent, as it seems, to the inns of court, to search for such of their members as favoured religion, and imprisoned them, he was vehemently suspected. And that, because Mr. Allington (one I suppose taken for the same cause) had confessed that he had discoursed with him about the meaning of *Hoc est corpus meum*. Whereupon Mr. Foster, Mr. Roper, and Mr. Griffin, benchers of that house, repaired to Sir Richard Southwel's, to lay up Loud upon suspicion: but before they did it, asking his leave, because he was of his family. Southwel (though then a friend to his tutor, rather than to the religion) told them, that he knew no such thing by him, but that he was a quiet man in his house, and had well served his turn: yet bad them do what they would. But by these means he then escaped. Loud narrowly escapes imprisonment for his religion.

This man was first brought into a dislike of the Roman religion, while he was a scholar at Winchester, by reading Frith's book of Purgatory; which Thomas Harding, (who was afterwards chaplain to Grey, Marquess of Dorset,) delivered him to peruse

1545. for two days only : but liking it so well, he begged his leave to keep it for three and twenty. This man was alive in the year 1579, when he wrote a letter to Mr. Fox, his old acquaintance ; encouraging him to go on with further enlargements of his books of the Acts and Monuments, and at the same time supplied him with divers well-attested stories, to be added to his book, in case he should think fit to publish another edition.

p. 387.

Persecution of court.

The persecution, by means of Bishop Gardener, with whom sided the old Duke of Norfolk, Wriothesley, lord chancellor, and Sir Richard Rich, and some more, in this, and in the year 1546, being the last year of the king, grew exceeding hot ; and that in the very court itself. For there being many, both men and women, that stood well affected to religion, it was thought expedient for a terror to the rest to begin with them. Of the women was no less than the queen her self, Katharine Par, of whose great danger for her religion, Fox hath made a relation : to whom I add the Dutchess of Suffolk, the relict of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk ; the Countess of Sussex ; the Countess of Hertford ; the Lady Denny ; the Lady Fitz Williams ; and among the rest, Mrs. Anne Ascue, or Ascough, sister to Sir Francis Ascough, and to Mrs. Disney, of Norton Disney, in Lincolnshire ; which Anne Ascue was taken up and put to death. Of the gentlemen of the court were taken up divers, and particularly Mr. Morice before mentioned, Sir George Blag, Mr. Lascels, and others ; the last of which suffered with Mrs. Ascue. Of her and Lascels I shall say somewhat : and the rather, because not mentioned by Fox.

A few notes of Mrs. Ascue. Foxij MSS.

This good gentlewoman being a person of great quickness and learning, as well as religion, somewhat before her imprisonment lodged at an house over against the Temple. “ A great papist of Wickham College, called Wadloe, a cursitor of the Chancery, hot in his religion, and thinking not well of her life, got himself lodged hard by her at the next house.

For what purpose, saith my author, I need not open to the wise reader: but the conclusion was, that when he came to speak evil of her, he gave her the praise to Sir Lionel Throgmorton, for the devoutest and godliest woman that ever he knew. For, said he, at midnight she beginneth to pray, and ceaseth not in many hours after, when I and others appyed our sleep, or to work. 1545.

“My Lord Maior (Sir Mart. Bowes) sitting with the council, as most meet for his wisdom, and seeing her standing upon life and death, I pray you, quoth he, my Lords, give me leave to talk with this woman. Leave was granted. *Lord Maior.* Thou foolish woman, sayest thou that the priests cannot make the body of Christ? *A. Ascough.* I say so, my Lord: for I have read, that God made man; but that man can make God, I never yet read, nor I suppose ever shall read it. *Lord Maior.* No, thou foolish woman: after the words of consecration, is it not the Lord’s body? *A. Ascough.* No, it is but consecrated bread, or sacramental bread. *Lord Maior.* What if a mouse eat it after the consecration? What shall become of the mouse? What sayest thou, thou foolish woman? *A. Ascough.* What shall become of her, say you, my Lord? *Lord Maior.* I say, that that mouse is damned. *A. Ascough.* Alack, poor mouse!—By this time my lords heard enough of my Lord Maior’s divinity; and perceiving that some could not keep in their laughing, proceeded to the butchery and slaughter that they intended afore they came thither.

“I being alive, continues my author, John Loud, mentioned above, must needs confess of her now departed to the Lord, that the day afore her execution, and the same day also, she had an angel’s countenance, and a smiling face. For I was with Lassels, Sir George Blagge, and the other (viz. Belenian, a priest then burnt), and with me three of the Throgmortons, Sir Nicolas being one and Mr. Kellum the other. By the same token, that one unknown to me

Her first
examina-
tion.

p. 388.
Loud’s tes-
timony of
her and
Lassels.

1545. said, Ye are all marked that come to them: take heed to your lives. Mr. Lascels, a gentleman of a right worshipful house of Gatford in Nottinghamshire, nigh Worsop, mounted up unto the window of the little parlour by Newgate, and there sat, and by him, Sir George. Mr. Lascells was merry and chearful in the Lord, coming from hearing of sentence of his condemnation, and said these words: My Lord Bishop would have me confess the Roman church to be the catholick church; but that I cannot, for it is not true. When the hour of darkness came, and their execution, Mrs. Anne Ascue was so racked that she could not stand, but was holden up between two sergeants, sitting there in a chair. And after the sermon was ended, they put fire to the reeds; the council looking on, and leaning in a window by the spittle, and among them Sir Richard Southwel (the master of the writer hereof). And afore God, at the first putting to of the fire, there fell a little dew, or a few pleasant drops, upon us that stood by, and a pleasant cracking from heaven, God knows whether I may truly term it a thunder-crack, as the people did in the gospel, or an angel, or rather God's own voice. But to leave every man to his own judgment, methought it seemed rather, that the angels in heaven rejoyced to receive their souls into bliss, whose bodies then popish tormentors cast into the fire, as not worthy to live any longer among such hell-hounds."

John 12.
27.

CHAP. LII.

The death of King Henry. Beloved by his people. His character. And the temper of his people.

1546. **T**HINGS went on in this rate in the church and university, unto the latter end of King Henry's reign; and the popish bishops and clergy carried the great stroke, the king either thinking that he had sufficiently purged the church already, or upon poli-

K. Henry
prevented
in some
good de-
signs by
death.

tical ends judging it now not convenient, or for his wars, not being at leisure to proceed any further, in taking away the rest of the corruptions that remained, till the very last year of his life, when he made some new attempts, in confederacy with the French king; but was prevented by death, after he had entered six days into the month of January, when he gave up his dying breath. 1546.
p. 389.

For some illustration of this, it may not be unworthy knowing, that when the Lady Mary, soon after the king's death, had writ to the Duke of Somerset, the protector, blaming his proceedings in the reforming of religion, as being against her late father's will; and that there was a godly order and quietness left by him in the realm, at the time of his death; the duke, in his answer, told her, "What trouble the king had with the papists or Romanists; what outrages they were guilty of against his noble person, only for God's cause; and how some of them, as well within the realm as without, conspired oftentimes his death, which, he said, was manifestly proved, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters. That his grace died before he had fully finished such orders as he was minded to have established, if death had not prevented him. That no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but that he left all uncertain. That he (the duke) and others could witness, what regret and sorrow the king had when he saw he must depart, for that he knew religion was not established as he purposed to have done; and that a great many knew and could testify, what he would further have done in it had he lived." He that would see more of this pious design of the king, may consult Mr. Foxe's Monuments. Which was the re-formation of religion.
Faustina, c. 2. transcribed into the Hist. Ref. Vol. III. Coll. p. 115.
Acts and Mon. p. 1134.
Beloved by his people.

This king, notwithstanding his rigorous government, and his round dealing with many, to the taking away of their lives, lived and died highly beloved of his subjects, whatever were the reasons of it; whether it were some of those princely qualities and excellent accomplishments that he was endued with, or

1546. the suppressing the ecclesiastical power, which was so oppressive of the people. For an instance of the affections of his subjects to him; when, about the year 1544, he warred with France, and sent into the counties for supplies of soldiers, it was obeyed with all the chearfulness imaginable. One who wrote about this time, a divine in Kent, gives this account of the behaviour of the men of that county. "When the king's letters were delivered unto certain gentlemen there, for the preparing of certain people apt for the wars, how expeditly was his grace's pleasure accomplished in every condition! The gentlemen, all other businesses laid aside, immediately provided their before-appointed number of men; arraying them with decent martial armour. So that nothing wanted, but all things set at such a stay, that they, receiving premonition of very little time, were ready at all houres to bring forth their men apt and ready for the wars. The men which were prest to go unto the wars, it was almost incredible to see and perceive, what alacrity and quickness of spirit was in them: they seemed to be so desirous to defend their country, that they in a manner neglected their domestical travails, their private business; not much esteemed their dear wives and sweet children; no, nor yet their own lives, so that they might in any point do good to the public weal of England."

Becon in
his Pref.
to his Poli-
cy of War.

A benevo-
lence given
to the king.

p. 390.

The same year, 1544, a benevolence was given to the king, for the carrying on of this expensive war: a MS. whereof I have seen, shewing what each county gave; and I find that Kent gave more than any one county in England, except the large county of Somerset, which exceeded Kent in three or four hundred pounds. The sum that county gave was 6000*l.* and almost 500, (besides the city of Canterbury, which gave near 2000*l.* more); which county I suppose was so extraordinary liberal, shewing so much love and good affection to their king, being swayed by the influence and counsel of their good Archbishop of Canterbury. The whole benevolence amounted unto

seventy thousand seven hundred twenty-three pounds and upwards; the city of London, the counties of York, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, not mentioned. What each county gave, if any be minded to know, let him consult the Appendix. 1546.

The aforementioned author gives this great character of the king, relating to his care of the nation. No. CXIX.
A character of the king.

“For all things that conserve and keep this realm of England safe, and free from the invasion and danger of our enemies, what kingdom in the world is to be compared to this English empire? How hath our most puissant and redoubted king fortified his most flourishing monarchy, empire, and kingdom, with all things that any man can invent, for the prosperous conservation of a common weal! Never was there prince, that took like pains for the safeguard of his communalty; never was there father, that so greatly watched for the health of his son, as he doth for ours. Too much ingrate, unthankful, and ungentle, is he, that doth not agnize and knowledge the unmeasurable kindness of this most excellent prince. If this title, *Pater Patriæ*, might lawfully at any time be ascribed unto any temporal ruler, certes, to our most victorious prince it is most of all due and convenient: for he is a very right and true father of this our countrey of England; as his most godly actions, and virtuous enterprizes do manifestly shew every day more and more. And quoting that passage of Augustus, the emperor, *Romam lateritiam accepi, marmoream relinquo*, he addeth, How much more justly may our most bounteous king say, *I took England, made of tiles, but I leave it of marble.*”

Another about this time, a learned man, and Prebendary of Windsor, thus spake of this king: “King Henry VIII. besides his felicity and lucky fortune in all his most royal enterprizes, as well by martial chivalry, as also in politick governance; besides his manifold conquests and victories in France, Scotland, Ireland, and elsewhere; besides his inestimable high triumphs, voyages, and acts done both at home and

A further character of him.
Udal in Pref. to Erasm. Par.

1546. beyond the seas; besides his exceeding great and manifold buildings, palaces, honours, manors, castles, fortresses, holds, block-houses, havens, as well for the strength and safeguard of his realms and dominions, as for the commodity of friends arriving, and the annoyance of the enemies; beside the defence and maintenance of all his ports and narrow seas, with carikes, barks, hulks, ships, gallies, and many other high and sumptuous devices of shipwright; beside the abundant furnishing of all and singular the premisses with all kind of ordnance, artillery, and other requisite provisions; beside his founding, edifying, and erecting of an incredible number of bishops' sees, cathedrals, colleges, lectures, schools, and other colleges for students, in both universities, and so sumptuous endowing every of them with lands, possessions, jewels, ornaments, and all requisite furniture, so much and so large, as every one of the premisses particularly might be judged an act sufficient in a king's time to be done; besides his most vigilant and careful study about the enacting of a great volume of right wholesome statutes and laws, for the commodity and behoof of the public weal of England, and his other dominions: and among these his uncessant endeavours about a reformation in religion; and therein as a thing most necessary for all common weals, tending to Christ's glory, the extirping and abolishing of the detestable usurpations of the papacy of Rome, the rooting up all sects of cloisterers, of all counterfeit religion, and of idolatry, together with the setting forth of the scripture in the vulgar English tongue. Beside all these premisses, and his other acts, &c. King Henry was a prince of singular prudence, of passing stout courage, of magnanimity incomparable, of invincible fortitude, of notable activity, of dexterity wonderful. He was a continual welling fountain of eloquence, a very rare spectacle of humanity. Of civility, or good nourture, an absolute precedent; a special pattern of clemency and moderation; a worthy example of regal justice; a
- p. 391.

bottomless spring of largess and benignity. He was in all the arts and faculties profoundly seen; in all liberal disciplines equal with the chiefest; in no kind of literature unexpert. He was to the world an ornament, to his countrey a treasure, to his friends a comfort, to his enemies a terror; to his faithful and loving subjects a tender father, to innocents a sure protector, to wilful malefactors a sharp scourge, to his common weal and good people a quiet haven, and anchor of safeguard, &c. A man he was, in all gifts of nature, of fortune and of grace, peerless, and shortly to break off in a matter of itself infinite, a man above all praises." This quality I observe in the favourers of the reformation in those days, that though this king were very hard upon them, and would not be brought to countenance them in many things, yet they were wont to give high *encomiums* of him upon all occasions; which is a token, that it was not all flattery which they spake, but truth in a great measure. 1546.

To all that hath been said of him, I add, that it must ever redound unto the honour of his memory, that bold and venturesome act of his, in so bravely casting off the long-usurped power of the pope in these realms; which so enraged that bishop, that he excommunicated him, and set all the princes of Christendom upon him. And how mortally the king was hated in Italy, and railed at in all societies in those parts, we have the testimony of Mr. Pole, (afterwards cardinal,) as he told the king plainly in a letter he wrote to him, about 1537, from those parts, viz. "That though he were often in company with all sorts of people, he never heard one, (and he swore *afore God* to the truth of it,) either praised his actions or allowed them. And that further, when he would take the king's part, and speak in favour of what he did, he was in jeopardy of his life, incited, as he plainly told the king, by the injustice they judged of his doings." Hated mortally in Italy. p. 392.

As we have given some character of the king, so

1546.
The condition of
the laity.

The rich
covetous.
Becon, in
his Jewel
of Joy.

here shall follow another of the people: of whom take this account, as it seems they were about the latter end of the king's reign. Both the gentry and the clergy grew extreme covetous. As for the lay-sort, they fell to raising their old rents, turned their arable into pasture for grazing sheep, and enclosed commons, to the great oppression of the poor. This may be best understood by reading what one writes who lived in those days. "How do the rich men, and especially such as be sheeptomongers, oppress the king's liege people, by devouring their common pastures with their sheep. So that the poor people are not able to keep a cow for the comfort of them and of their poor families, but are like to starve and perish for hunger, if there be not provisions made shortly. What sheep-ground scapeth these caterpillars of the common weal. How swarm they with abundance of flocks of sheep; and yet when was wool ever so dear, or mutton of so great price? If these sheeptomongers go forth as they begin, the people shall both miserably die for cold, and wretchedly perish for hunger. For these greedy wolves, and cumberous cormorants, will either sell their wool and their sheep at their own price, or else they will sell none. O! what a diversity is this in the sale of wools? A stone of wool sometime to be sold at eight groats, and now for eight shillings; and so likewise of the sheep. God have mercy on us." And a little after: "Rich men were never so much estranged from all pity and compassion towards the poor people, as they be at this present time. They devour the people as it were a morsel of bread. If any piece of ground delight their eye, they must needs have it, other by hook or by crook. If the poor man will not satisfy their covetous desires, he is sure to be molested, troubled and disquieted on such sort, that whether he will or not, (though both he, the careful wife, and miserable children, with the whole family, perish for hunger,) he shall forgo it, or else it were as good for him to live among the furies of

hell, as to dwell by those rich carles and covetous churles." 1546.

There was another evil these rich men were guilty of; namely, of depopulating towns, by letting houses and cottages fall down to the ground, or pulling them down. They got many houses and tenements into their hands, yea, whole townships sometimes; and then they would suffer them to go to utter decay and ruin: by which means whole towns became desolate, and like to a wilderness, no man dwelling there, except it were a shepherd and his dog. Insomuch that the before-mentioned author said, "That he himself knew many towns and villages sore decayed: so that, whereas in times past, there were in some towns an hundred households, now there remained not thirty; in some fifty, there were not then ten; yea, which was more to be lamented, some towns so wholly decayed, that there was neither stick nor stone standing, as they use to say. Where many men had good livings, and maintained hospitality; able at all times to help the king in his wars, and to sustain other charges; able also to help their poor neighbours, and vertuously to bring up their children in godly letters and good sciences, now sheep and conies devour altogether, no man inhabiting the fore-said places. So that, he addeth, those beasts which were bred of God for the nourishment of man, do now devour man. And since gentlemen began to be sheep-masters, and feeders of cattel, the poor had neither victual nor cloth at any reasonable price. For these forestallers of the market had gotten all things so into their hands, that the poor men must either buy it at their price, or else miserably starve for hunger, and die for cold. They abhorred the names of monks, friars, canons, nuns, &c.: but their goods they greedily griped. And yet, where the cloisters kept hospitality, let out their farmes at a reasonable price, nourished schools, brought up youth in good letters, they did none of all these things. They lightly esteemed, and in a manner contemned

Depopu-
late towns.

p. 393.

1546. the priests, parsons, vicars, prebendaries, &c. yet their possessions they gladly embraced, and niggardly retained. So that now they were become in effect, saith he, though not in name, very monks, friars, canons, priests, parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and at the last, what not? And yet how vainly those goods be spent, who seeth not?"

The condition of the clergy.

As for the spiritual men, they affected mightily courtly living, and taking their pleasure; little residence upon their benefices, and less hospitality. "God commandeth, saith the same author, tythes to be paid; but for what cause? That the ministers should spend them in the court, or at the university, or about whoring, or in keeping of hawks or dogs, or in maintaining a sort of idle, valiant lubbers, and do nothing but consume the good fruits of the earth? Nay, verily, but that there should be meat in his house. For the parsonage, or vicarage, is God's house." The vast number of priests made them contemptible: for there were mass-priests, *dirige*-priests, chantry-priests, sacrificing-priests, as the author of the *Defence of Priests Marriage* reckons them up, and tells us, that *Pighius* in his Book of *Controversies*, complaining of the contempt of priests, attributes the same to the great swarm and multitude of them, over many. The great neglect of their parishes added also to their disrepute: for they made them only serve as means to accumulate wealth to themselves, without any conscience to discharge their duties there. For they for the most part followed divers trades and occupations secular: some were surveyors of lands, some receivers, some stewards, some clarks of the kitchen, many gardeners, and orchard-makers. And commonly this was the trade, the better benefice, and the cure the more, the seldomer was the parson or vicar resident at home. If they wanted now and then sermons to be preached in their churches, they got friars to do it for them. Or as the author above mentioned expressed it, "If any of them thought for manners sake to have some sermons

Def. of Priests Mar. p. 24.

Follow secular business.

in their cures, they had friars at their hand ready to supply such parts at their pleasure. 1546.

CHAP. LIII.

p. 394.

A notable book came forth, called, "A Supplication of the poor Commons to the King;" shewing the late state of the kingdom. The king's care for the education of his children in learning. Praises of the king. Leagues, conventions, &c. in this king's reign.

THIS year came forth a little book, called, "A Supplication of the poor Commons;" address to the king: whereunto was added another book, called, "The Supplication of Beggars," printed anno 1524; which book is preserved in Foxe's Acts and Monuments. This *Supplication* is a notable piece: shewing the state of the kingdom in those latter years of King Henry's reign; and representing the condition of the various ranks of the subjects, the usurpations of priests, the hardships of the poor, oppressions of the richer sort, their covetousness; the stop made to the progress of religion: which occasioned the complaints of the commons to the king for redress of these things. And it gives such a light into the affairs of those days, that a better history can scarce be given thereof, being writ in those very times; and since it is a piece hardly to be met withal, I shall give here some periods of it.

It was prefaced, "To the most victorious Prince HENRY VIII. by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, immediately next unto God: his humble and most faithful subjects of the realm of England, wish life everlasting."

Beginning, "Piteously complaining the poor *Com-* Their
mons of this your majesties realm; greatly lamenting poverty.
their own miserable poverty: and yet much more the

1546. most lamentable and more than wretched estate of their children and posterity, &c. Not many years tofore your highness poor subjects, the lame and impotent creatures of this realm, presented your highness with a pitiful and lamentable complaint; imputing the head and chief cause of their penury and lack of relief, unto the great and infinite number of valiant and sturdy beggars, which had by their subtil and crafty demeanour, and begging, got into their hands, more than the third part of the yearly revenues and possessions of this your highness realm. Whereupon, as it seemed, your highness, seeking a redress and reformation of these great and intolerable enormities, as a merciful father of your natural country, moved with pity, towards the miserable and pitiful number of blind, lame, lazars and others, the impotent creatures of this your realm, hath, with most earnest diligence, supplanted, and as it were, weeded out a great number of valiant and sturdy monks, friers, chanons, heremits and nuns; disguised hypocrites, who under the name of the contempt of this world, wallowed in the sea of this world's wealth. And to the intent your loving and obedient subjects might the better be able to relieve the needy and impotent creatures, you took from them the great number of gilded (guilded) beggars, (images of saints.) Holiness was so fast rooted in the harts of us, your poor commons, through the false delusion of the foresaid sturdy and valiant beggars, that we would not stick to go an hundred miles of our bare feet, to seek one of them. That we might not only bestow our almes upon them, but also do them reverence and honour, none otherwise than if they had been very gods.

Sturdy
beggars:
viz. the
monks.

p. 395.

“Yea, when your highness had ordained, that all these foresaid beggars should be utterly abolished, never to deceive us of our almes any more; we like mens always brought up in foolish superstition of these false Pharisees, and flattering hypocrites, knew not the obedience that we owe to you, our natural and rightful prince: but incontinent fell in an uproar;

crying (up) our holy-days, abbies and pilgrimages : none otherwise than the Ephesians did against the elect vessel of God, St. Paul, when he said, ‘ They are not gods which be made with hands :’ and as the Jews did against holy Stephen, when he said, ‘ That God dwelleth not in a house made with hands.’ Yea, had not God wrought on your part, in appeasing that sturdy throng, this realm had even then been like to have been utterly decayed. For even those, whom your highness had called together, to assist you in that dangerous time, were for the most part so bent to the opinion of the other, that many would not stick to say, ‘ When we shall come to the battel, we know what we have to do.’

“ They, the commons, then promised him for certain, that they walking in the fear of the Lord, would not from henceforth, so long as the knowledge of God’s word reigned, attempt any such so devilish enterprize, as to rebel against his highness, their most natural sovereign and liege lord ; either for their fathers’ popish traditions, or other their own fantastical dreams, &c.

“ The remnant of the sturdy beggars not yet weeded out, did daily in their writings, counsils and preaching, stir us thereunto, (viz. rebellion.) For what mean they in their sermons, when they lament the great discords and miserable state of this our time ; wishing, that all things were now as it was xx years since ; but that they would have a pope, pardons, lighting of candles to images, knocking and kneeling to them, with running hither and thither on pilgrimage ?

“ They tell us, that vice, uncharitableness, lack of mercy, diversity of opinions, and other like enormities, have reigned ever since men had the scripture in English. And what is this other, than to cause men’s consciences to abhor the same, as the only cause and original of all this ? They say, it sufficeth a lay-man to believe as they teach ; and not to meddle with the interpretation of the scripture.

1546. And what meaneth that, but that they would have us so blind again as we were, when we would have fought against our natural prince, for the maintenance of their popish traditions and purgatory patrimony? They cannot abide this name, the *Word of God*; but they would have scriptures called, the *Commandments of God*. They have procured a law, that none shall be so hardy to have the scripture in his house, unless he may spend £10 by year. And
p. 396. what meaneth this, but that they would famish the souls of the residue, withholding their food from them? We appeal to your highness's judgment in this behalf, whether this would be indifferent or no; if none should be allowed meat in your highness's house, but such as were cloathed in velvet, with chains of gold about their necks? What servants would your majesty have shortly? What starvelings would your servants be of all other? For no man within your realm may refuse to do you service. Hath God put immortal souls in none other, but such as be possessioners of this world? Did not Christ send word to John the Baptist, that *the poor received the gospel*?—Why do these men disable them from reading of the scriptures, that are not endued with the possessions of this world? Undoubtedly, most gracious Sovereign, because they are the very same that shut up the kingdom of heaven before men. They enter not in themselves; nor suffer they them to enter, that would. They are like to a curr dog lying in a cock of hay: for he will eat none of the hay himself, nor suffer any other beast that comes to eat thereof.

“ But some will probably say, they were not all sturdy beggars, that were in the parliament, when this law was established. For many of them, and the most part, were secular men; and not of such ability, that this law would permit them to have the scripture in their houses. Wherefore this law is indifferent, and taketh not the word of God from us; but we, with our full consent, have committed it to them

in that said law limited. Whereunto we answer, that if we have given it over from us to the possessioners of this world, we may well be likened to the Gedarites, Mark v. which desired Christ to depart from their countrey; and the lurking night-birds, which cannot abide the brightness of the sun.— 1546.

If we have rejected this merciful proffer of our most merciful Father, (to have the scriptures, the declaration of God's will,) when he used your highness, as his instrument to publish and set forth his most lively word; let us fall down prostrate with repentance of this contempt of his merciful gift: most humbly beseeching him to behold the dolours of our hearts, and to forget our obstinacy therein, giving your highness such desire of our salvation; and that you will as favourably restore unto us the scripture in our English tongue, as you did at the first translation thereof set it abroad. Let not the adversary take occasion to say, the Bible was of a traytor's setting forth, and not of your highness own doing. For so they report, that Thomas Crumwel, late Earl of Essex, was the chief doer, and not your highness, but as led by him. Thomas Crumwel.

“ When your highness gave commandment, that they (the bishops and clergy) should see, that there were in every parish church one Bible at the least, set at liberty: so that every man might freely come to it, and read therein such things as should be for his consolation; many of this wicked generation, as well priests as others, their faithful adherents, would pluck it, other into the quire, other else into some pew, where poor men durst not presume to come; yea, there is no small number of churches, that hath no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with the withholding it from the poor of their own parishes, they never rested till they had a commandment from your highness, that no man, of what degree soever he were, should read the Bible in the time of God's service, as they call it. As though the hearing of their Latin lies, and conjuring of water and salt, A Bible to be in every parish church. p. 397.

1546. were rather the service of God, than the study of his most holy word. This was their diligence in setting forth the Bible at your highness commandment. But when your highness had devised a proclamation, for the burning of certain translations of the New Testament, they were so bold to burn the whole Bible, because they were of those men's (Tyndal, Coverdale, &c.) translation; (and not the New Testament only.)

Some translations to be burnt.

Some offer to translate the Bible again within seven years.

“ We heard say, that they proffered your highness, that if you would please to call in the Bible again, forasmuch as it was not faithfully translated in all parts, they would oversee it; and within seven years, set it forth again.—Your bishops, most victorious Prince, if they might have gotten in the Bible for seven years, they would have trusted, that by that time, either your highness should have been dead, or the Bible forgotten; or else they themselves out of your highness reach; so that you should not have had like power over them, as you have now.

Two bishops to overlook the translation.

“ When your majesty appointed two of them (Hethe and Tunstal) to overlook the translation of the Bible, they said, they had done your highness commandment therein: yea, they set their names thereunto. But when they saw the world somewhat like to wring on the other side, they denied it; and said, they never meddled therewith: causing the printer to take out their names, which were erst set before the Bible; to certify all men that they had diligently perused it, according as your highness had commanded.

The king's Primer.
The prayer there.

“ One other point of their diligence your highness may note, in the setting forth and using of your highness's Primer, both in English and Latin: and in the diligent reading unto the people the exhortation to prayer; which you ordained, and commanded to be read always before the procession in English. We think, that no man can blameless say, that ever he heard one of them read it twice over. Yea, when

your highness was returned from your victory, done at Bolein, they did what they could to have it called in again. Insomuch, as they caused all such parishes as they might command, to use their old Kyrie Eleyson again. And yet to this day, they use on solemn feasts to follow their old Ordinary, notwithstanding your highness's commandment. 1546.

“ But when they catch any thing that soundeth to the contrary, it shall not escape so, we warrant you. It shall be swung in every pulpit, with, ‘ This is ‘ the king’s gracious will :’ and yet these hereticks will be still doing in the scriptures. A shoemaker, a cobbler, a taylor, a boy, not yet twenty years of age, shall not stick to reprove that a learned man of forty years study shall affirm in the declaration of God’s word. Oh ! how godly were the people disposed, when they knew nothing of the scripture, but as they were taught by profound clerks, and well-learned men ? Then were there hospitals builded for the poor ; then were there colleges builded for the maintenance of learning. Yea, if they durst, they would say, then were abbies and chauntries founded, for the relief of the poor souls in the bitter pains of Purgatory ; then were our purses filled with the offerings of the devout people, that used to seek the blessed images and relicks of our Saviour Christ, and his blessed mother, Mary, with the residue of the saints.

The priests follow their old Ordinary. The priests vaunt in their pulpits.

p. 393.

“ Then, for the abuse of obtaining and holding *benefices* : let them be appointed livings, worthy their ministration. What reason is it, that a surveyor of buildings, or lands, an alchemist, or a goldsmith, shall be rewarded with benefice upon benefice ? Which of very reason ought to be committed to none other, but such as who by godly learning and conversation were able, and would apply themselves to walk amidst their flocks in all godly example and purity of life. How great a number is there of them, that in the name of your chaplains, may dispend yearly by benefices, some one C. some CC. some CCC. some

Unfit men obtain benefices.

The king’s chaplains.

1546.

A story of
one of
them.

CCCC. some CCCCC. yea, some a M. marks and more. It is a common saying among us, your highness poor commons, that one of your highness's chaplains, not many years since, used, when he lusted to ride abroad for his repast, to carry with him a scroll; wherein were written the names of his parishes, whereof he was parson. And it fortun'd in his journey, he espied a church standing upon a fair hill, pleasant beset with groves, and plain fields, the goodly green meadows lying beneath, by the banks of a chrystalline river, garnished with willows, poplars, palm-trees and aldars, most beautiful to behold. This vigilant pastor, taken with the sight of this terrestrial paradise, said unto a servant of his, (the clerk of his signet, no doubt it was; for he used to carry his master's ring in his mouth,) Robin, saith he, yonder benefice standeth very pleasantly: I would it were mine. The servant answered, 'Why, 'Sir,' quoth he, 'it is your own benefice, and named 'his parish.' Is it so, quoth your chaplain? And with that he pulled out his scroll, for to see for certainty, whether it were so, or not. See, most dread Sovereign, what care they took for the flock. When they see their parish churches, they know them not by the situation. If your highness had so many swine in your realm, as you have men, would you commit them to the keeping and feeding of such swineherds, as did not know their swine's coats when they saw them?

Complaint
of extor-
tioners, and
raisers of
rent, or
fines.

" Insted of these sturdy beggars, there is crept in a sturdy sort of extortioners. These men cease not to oppress us, your highness poor commons; in such sort, that many thousands of us, which here before lived honestly upon our sore labour and travail; bringing up our children in the exercise of honest labour, are now constrained, some to beg, some to borrow, and some to rob and steal, to get food for us, and our poor wives and children. And, that is most like to grow to inconvenience, we are constrained to suffer our children to spend the flower of their youth

in idleness: bringing them up, other to bear wallets, 1546.
other else, if they be sturdy, to stuff prisons, and
garnish gallow trees. For such of us as have no pos-
sessions left to us by our predecessors and elders, de-
parted this life, can now get no ferm, tenement or p. 399.
cottage at these men's hands, without we pay unto
them more than we are able to make. Yea, this was
tolerable, so long as after this extreme exaction, we
were not, for the residue of our years, opprest with
much greater rents, than hath of antient times been
paid for the same grounds. For then a man might
within a few years, be able to recover the fine; and
afterwards live honestly by his travail. But now
these extortioners have so improved their lands, that
they take of xl s. fine xl l. and of v. nobles rent v l. yet
not sufficed with this oppression within their own in-
heritance, they buy at your highness hand such abby
lands as you appoint to be sold. And when they
stand once full seized therein, they make us, your poor
commons, so in doubt of their threatnings, that we
dare do none other, but bring into their courts our
copies taken of the convents, and of the late dissolved
monasteries, and confirmed by your high court of
parliament: they make us believe, that by vertue of
your highness, all our former writings are void, and
of no effect: and that if we will not take new leases
of them, we must then forthwith avoid the grounds;
as having therein no interest. Moreover, when they
can espy no commodious thing to be bought at your
highness hand, they labour for, and obtain leases for
xxi years, in and upon such abby lands as lye
commodious for them. Then do they dash us out of
countenance your highness with authority; making us
believe, that by the vertue of your highness lease, our
copies are void. So that they compel us to surrender
our former writings; whereby we ought to hold, some
for two, and some for three lives: and to take by in-
denture for xxi years, overing both fines and rents,
beyond all reason and conscience.

1546.

“ This thing causeth, that such possessioners as heretofore were able and used to maintain their own children, and some of ours, to learning, and such other qualities as are necessary to be had, in this your highness realm, are now of necessity compelled to set their own children to labour. And all is little enough to pay the lord's rent, and to take the house anew at the end of the year. So that we, your poor commons, which have no grounds, nor are able to take any of these extortioners lands, can find no way to set our children on work now, though we proffer them for meat and drink, and poor clothes to cover their bodies. Help, merciful Prince, in this extremity. Suffer not the hope of so noble a realm, utterly to perish through the unsatiable desire of the possessioners.

Prince
Edward.

“ Remember, that you shall not leave this kingdom to a stranger, but to the child of great towardness, our most natural prince, EDWARD. Employ your study to leave him a common weal to govern; and not an island of brute beasts, among whom the strongest devour the weaker.

They put
him in
mind of
his hoar
head.

p. 400.

“ If you suffer Christ's poor members to be thus opprest, look for none other than the rightful judgment of God, for your negligence in your office and ministry. For the blood of all them that through your negligence shall perish, shall be required at your hand. Be merciful therefore to your self, and us, your most obeisant subjects. Endanger not your soul by the suffering of us, your poor commons, to be brought all to the names of beggars, and most miserable wretches. Let us be unto your highness, as the inferior members of the body unto their head. Remember, that your hoar hairs are a token, that nature maketh hast to absolve the course of your life. Prevent the subtil imaginations of them that galye look after the crown of this realm after your days. For what greater hope can they have, as concerning that detestable and devilish imagination, than that they

might win the hearts of us, your highness commons, by delivering us from the captivity and misery that we are in. 1546.

“ Defer not, most dread Sovereign Lord, the reformation of these so great enormities: for the wound is even unto death. ----- By this we mean the great and mighty abomination of vice, that now reigneth within this your highness realm this day: for *whoredom* is more esteemed than wedlock; although not universally, yet among the greatest number of licentious persons. *Simony* hath lost his name: and *usury* is lawful gains, &c. What example of life is in us this day, to declare that we rather be the people of God, than the Jews or Mahometans? Certes, most renowned Prince, none, but that we confess him to be God. And that were sufficient, if our deeds did not deny him. Vice and wickedness reigned.

“ But these dumb dogs have learned to fawn upon them that used to bring them bread; and to be wonderful hasty, when they be maintained and cherished. But if they be once bid couch, they know their Sire Pope so well, that they draw the tayl between the legs; and get themselves strait to the kennel: and then come who so will, and do what they will, these dogs will stir no more, than they hear their master say, ‘Hey, Cut and Long Tail.’ So fraid they are of stripes; and lest they should be tyed up so short, that they might not range abroad, and worry now and then a simple lamb or two. Popish priests.

“ The last year they obtained by their importunity a grant, which if it be not revoked, will in continuance of time be the greatest impoverishment of us, your poor commons, and chiefly in the City of London, that ever chaunced since the first beginning thereof. They have obtained, and it is enacted, that every man within the said city, shall yearly pay unto them *vid. ob.* of every *x.s.* (rent). So that if the lord of the grounds please to double and trible the rents, as they do indeed, then must the poor tenant pay also double and trible tenths, as due encrease of their Complaint of an act for tithes in London.

1546. riches, &c. Have compassion upon us, most gracious Sovereign, suffer not these unsatiable dogs to eat us out of all that we have. Consider that it is against all reason and conscience, that we, your poor commons, should be thus opprest; that where the landlord demandeth of us double and triple rent, that then we shall pay also to the *parson* double and triple tenths. But, most dear Sovereign, how craftily have they wrought this feat! They require not the tenths of the landlords, that have the encrease, but of the tenants, which of necessity are constrained to pay to the lords their asking, either else to be without dwelling-places. They know right well, that if
 p. 401. they should have matched themselves with the landlords, they happily would have been too weak for them at the length: but they were in good hopes, that we, your poor commons, should never be able to stand in their hands. — — — If we have not wherewith to pay them, they may, by virtue of the act, distress such implements as they shall find in our houses, &c.

“ Doubtless, most renowned Prince, if the oppression were not too much, beyond all reason and conscience, we would never have troubled your highness with it: yea, if there were any hope that they would be satisfied by this, we would rather fast three days every week, than we would seem to be slack in doing all such things as the law bindeth us to do; but we see daily such great increase of their unsatiable desire, that we fear least in process of time they will make us all beg, and bring to them all that we can get.

The poor
 beg for
 money to
 pay for the
 sacrament
 at Easter.

“ It is no rare thing to see poor impotent creatures beg at Easter, to pay for the sacrament, when they receive it. And it is no less common, to see men beg for such dead corpses as have nothing to pay the priest's duty: yea, it is not long since there was in your highness's City of London, a dead corpse brought to the church to be buried, being so poor, that it was naked, without any cloth to cover it; but these charitable men, which teach us that it is one of

the works of mercy to bury the dead, would not take the pains to bury the dead corpse, unless they had their *duty*, as they call it. In fine, they caused the dead corpse to be carried into the street again, and there to remain, till the poor people, which dwelled in the place where the poor creature dyed, begged so much as the priests call their due. 1546.

“ Judge then, most victorious Prince, what an unreasonable sum the whole and gross sum of these enhaunced tenths, with other their *petty briberies*, draweth to. They receive of every one hundred pounds 13*l.* 15*s.* and of the thousand, one 100, and 37*l.* 10*s.*: then may your highness soon be certified what they receive of the whole rents of the city. No doubt, gracious Prince, they receive of us yearly, more than your highness did at any time, when you were beset on every side with mortal enemies; and yet their consciences will serve them well enough to take three times as much as they do, if your highness would suffer them. As they use to say, that forasmuch as it is established by a law, they may with good conscience take it, if it were more: yea, if your highness would suffer them, their conscience would suffer them to lye with our wives, every tenth; and the other lords, to have every tenth wife in the parish at their pleasure: but our trust is, that your highness will tye them shorter. And, to say the truth, it is time: for, if you suffer them a while, they will attempt to make your highness pay the tenths unto them, as long as they have paid them to you. For they have already sought our warehouses, storehouses, stables, wharfs, and fairs; causing us to pay, not only the tenths (for that we have paid before), but also the seventh penny of the whole rents, raised throughout the whole city. Priests' petty briberies.

“ Remember, Oh! how they led your highness, when you sent forth your letters under your broad seal, commanding every and singular your highness's subjects, under pain of your highness's displeasure, to aid, support, and further all and singular proctors K. Henry once led by priests into superstition. p. 402.

1546. and pardoners. Remember in what case they had brought your highness, when you thought it godliness to visit in your own person the graves, images, and relicks of superstition and dead saints; doing to them divine honour and reverence, &c.

Who to receive the Lord's Supper at Easter.

“ Your highness commanded, that none should receive the sacrament at Easter, but such as could, and did, use the Lord's Prayer, with the Articles of the Faith, in the English tongue; but they bid us use that which is most ready to us.

Baptism by priests.

“ They baptize our children in the Latin tongue; bidding us say *Volo*, and *Credo*, when we know not what it is they demand of us. By this means it is brought to pass, that we know not what we promise in our baptism, but superstitiously, we think, that the holiness of the words which sound so strangely in our ears, and of the water that is so oft crossed, is the doing of all the matter. Yea, we think that if our children be well plunged in the font, they shall be healthful in all their limbs ever after: but if they suffer by any misadventure, or have any hurt in any of their members, incontinently we lay the fault, saying, that member was not well christned.” These are some of the chief parts of this notable *Supplication of the Commons*.

The king bred his daughters to learning.

I have still further to add under this reign, and to enter upon record, as a most commendable quality of this king, his care for the education of his children, not only his son, but his daughters too, in good learning, and in the knowledge of the learned tongues, as well as in other accomplishments. Which example of the king, many noblemen following, bred up their daughters under the best learned men, whom they fetched from the universities; and many young women now arrived to very considerable attainments in the tongues and philosophy. Sir Anthony Cook's daughters were all excellently learned in Latin and Greek, and so were Sir Thomas More's. Queen Katharine Par was well learned, and the Lady Jane Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's unfortunate daughter;

and so were the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth. 1546.
 Erasmus, in one of his letters wrote in the year 1529, makes mention of the former: "That as Katharine the queen, her mother, was *egregiè docta*, so her daughter Mary, *scribit benè Latinas epistolas*; that is, *writ letters in good Latin*. And Sir Thomas More's house was nothing else but *Musarum domicilium*; *A habitation of the Muses*." In the same letter he speaks how the Emperor's aunt Mary delighted in Latin books. To whom, therefore, he wrote a treatise, intituled, *Vidua Christiana*; *The Christian Widow*. And lastly, the same Erasmus hence makes this observation*: "It is pretty that this sect should now at last betake it self to the antient examples. — The scene of human things is changed; the monks, famed in times past for learning, are become ignorant; and women love books."

Ep. 31.
lib. 19.

As to the Lady Mary's learning, I will set down a Latin letter, which in November this year, by the opportunity of some ambassador, was sent to her from her name-sake, another king's learned daughter, and related to her; wherein she makes the fame of our Lady Mary's learning, and her notable endowments, which rendered her famous abroad, as well as consanguinity, the reason of her writing to her, and why she desired her correspondence. By which well-penned letter we may observe the care that in that age was taken, for the bringing up of ladies in good literature in other parts as well as in England. But behold the letter:

p. 403.
King of
Portugal's
daughter
writes to
the Lady
Mary in
Latin.

Maria Emanuelis Portugalliæ Regis Filia, Mariæ Principi, Henrici Angliæ Regis Filia.

"Si nulla inter nos esset necessitudo, quæ peculiari quadem ratione ad amandum et scribendum alli-

MSS. G.
Petyt.
Armig.

* Bellum est, eum sexum ad prisca exempla sese postliminio recipere. — — Scena rerum humanarum invertitur: monachi literas nesciunt, et fæminæ libris indulgent. Ubi supra.

1546. ceret, tamen singularis tua vel virtus vel eruditio, quæ ad nos usq; non obscura fama defertur, efficeret profectò, Serenissima Princeps, ut et te amarem, et literariam consuetudinem, quando alia non datur inter nos esse, cuperem. Nunc quum ad eximias animi tui dotes, quæ te orbe toto reddunt amabilem, jus etiam consanguinitatis mihi tecum intercedat, non video cur alias scribendi ad te causas disquiram; quum majores nec quæri debeant, nec inveniri possint. Quas ob res tenebar ego jampridem incredibili quodam desiderio te literis appellandi meis. Nam ex quo de candidissimis tuis moribus, de singulari prudentia, de bonarum literarum studio, ac deniq; de omni virtutum genere, quibus nobilitaris, accepi; dici non potest quantum te de his omnibus amer, quanti te faciam; ut omittam interim sanguinis vinculum, quo quum venit in mentem, non mediocriter soleo delectari.

“ Ergo quum tam opportuna quam volebam nuncii occasio nunc esset oblata, statui hoc ad te literarum dare; quibus animum erga te meum, *i. e.* Tui amantissimum, significarem, et literas item tuas elicerem. Quas jure meo videor jam sperare debere, quod te prior subinvitarem. Facies ergo tuam, quum rescribes, officium. Facies autem cumulatius, si de salute, deq; voluntate erga me tua pluribus ad me verbis diligenter scripseris. Ego enim, si te literis meis delectari perspexero, non intermittam, quin quoties tabellarii potestas erit, meum tibi hoc in genere præstem officium. A te autem peto primum, ut me ames; quod quoniam mihi jam debere videris, spero te non gravatè facturam: deinde, ut siquid ego facere possum, quidpiamve apud nos est quod tibi sit usui, aut voluptati futurum, ea imperes fiducia, quam vel benevolentia in te mea pollicetur, vel tam arcta necessitudo deposcit. Non enim committam, ut aut fidem meam aut spem tuam fefellisse possim videri. Vale. Datis apud Santarenam, nonis Novembris, anno millesimo, quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto.”

But to take yet a further review of this great king, before we conclude; beside what hath been related of him by others, already mentioned, let me add the judgments of two persons of eminence, living in that king's time, and after; both of them statesmen, and well acquainted with the transactions of that monarch; men also of integrity, as well as learning.

1546.
Some further account of King Henry. p. 404.

One of them, viz. Sir Richard Morison, commends the endowments of his mind, as well as the beauty of his outward proportion, aspect and demean, in these words: "*Quis tam bardus, tamve barbarus est, ut in illo principis serenissimo ore, clementissimi regis signa non videat? Quis potuit unquam frontem illam, vultum illum vel procul vidisse, et non agnovisse clementiæ sedem? Quis augustam illam totius corporis majestatem potuit, vel è longinquo, spectasse, et non diademate, sceptro, balteo, fibulis, fimbriis, regno deniq; natum, dicere? At patior, corporis dotes, quas rex omni virtutum genere ornatissimus, nunquam in suis laudibus locum habere voluit, nihil ad rem attinere, nisi cum natura providentia Dei O. M. benignitatem certasse comperias, animumq; multo pulchriorem is dederit, quam illa corpus parare potuit.*" That is, "Who is there so dull, or so barbarous, as not to see, in that most serene countenance the signs of a king? Who ever could see, even at a distance, that forehead, that face, and not acknowledge it the seat of clemency? Who could behold afar off that august majesty of his whole person, and not say he was born to a diadem, a scepter, a belt, &c. in a word, to a kingdom? But the king, who was adorned with all kind of vertues, admitted not these his corporal endowments to have any place in his praises; but that by the providence of Almighty God, kindness and goodness strove with nature, and gave him a mind much fairer, than they could frame his body." This in general.

By Sir Richard Morison.

In Apomax.

But for a more particular account of this king, and of his qualities, abilities, and influence in the affairs of the world, wherein he was concerned, I subjoin

And Sir Thomas Chaloner.

1546.
In laud.
Hen.
Carm.
Paneg.

what Sir Thomas Chaloner more largely shews, in his poem, intituled, "In laudem HENRICI Octavi Regis Angliæ Præstantissimi, Carmen Panegyricum."

And First, in excuse for the king's vices, he hath these words :

Quo minus id mirum est, si fortunatior et rex
Indulsit genio, admittens quandoq; proterva,
At non immani veniam superantia facto.

He was learned, pleasant and eloquent from his younger years ; as he describes him :

Quem musæ fovere sinu, charitasq; lepore
Dotarunt, gratæ multa gravitate loquelæ.

When he had occasion to speak to his subjects, or to some ambassador, or to any that came to him about business, he spake well and readily ; and that in divers languages. He moved them with his eloquence. And so he did also by his behaviour and countenance : for,

Gestus, vultusq; etiam sat amabile spirans.

p. 405.

As for his make and person, it was beyond all others : insomuch, that when he designed to conceal himself, he was known : for he would sometimes go disguised through the city, to know the better the minds and manners of his people. He walked stately, and was higher by the shoulders than others.

Specie atq; ipso gressu sublimior esse,
Quam mentiretur, vulgo appareret, et alta
Ingrediens cervice tenuis turbæ superesset
Attonitæ, humano ceu quiddam augustius ore,
Cerneret obtutu fixo.

His aspect was beyond all others, and his countenance bespoke majesty.

Vicerat ille omnes tunc pulchros pulchrior unus :
Tanta fuit sacræ majestas regia formæ.

His mind equal to the beauty of his body.

Sed acer et aptus præstitit.

He exceeded others in shooting in the long bow, and in wrestling, and in riding, and managing the great horse. He became his armour, which he sometimes put on : and exercised himself in hunting. 1546.

He held the balance between the two great kings of Europe ; and set bounds to their conquests.

Trutina adversos dum pensitat æqua.

At potuit prohibere altrum, ne vinceret alter.

Atq; ita si alteruter præstaret, sorte favente ;

Jamq; instans, jugulum victricia tela pararet

Figere in alterius, quo junctis viribus auctus,

Tunc vacuo solus possit dominarior orbi.

He was a due executor of justice upon malefactors. And for his rigour in having justice done upon breach of his laws, he was apt to be censured. But he saw it was necessary to be done ; who before, in his younger time, was too mild, and inclined to spare offenders.

*Junior hic etenim, dum forsan mite benigni
Principis ingenium precibus miseratio flectit,
Non uni indulsit, non uno crimine turpi.
At cum ignoscendo tandem perceperat, unus
Quanta nocens toti dimissus damna maniplo
Inferat, audaci ingeminans sua crimina facto ;
Noluit ulterius jam clemens dicier, uni
Parcere, sed multis duxit mansuetius esse
Parcere, quam soli, qui nollet parcere multis.
Ergo metum duxit vinclum præstantius esse,
Quo populus temerè mores mutatus in horas,
Stare loco possit, crudæ formidine pænæ,
Quam si indulgentem vitij vitiosior horæ, &c.*

The king was assistant to the poor against their proud, rich, oppressing neighbours : for if any such happened to live near a rich man, on whom they had any dependance, unless they did whatsoever he pleased, and were absolutely at his nod, he seized upon all that the poor man had. p. 406.

Actum erat istius de re, de bobus et agro.

And he would say, “ Go, seek some new habitation : I will not suffer it unrevenged : but you shall know who I am, and who you are.”

1546.

Hæc olim HENRICUS damnans malesueta potentum
Imperia, injusto miseros torquentia fastu,
Ulterius vetuit.

And appointed judges at stated months in the year, to go down and decide suits and contentions in the middle of the kingdom, after the antient custom; to do justice to the poor and obscure, as well as the rich, without respect of persons.

Pauperne obscurus, an aurum
An genus et proavos jactet discrimine nullo.

This king
extolled;
and why.

This king, notwithstanding some unjustifiable deeds of his, and shedding some innocent blood, was, in the latter end of his reign, much applauded and extolled; and that chiefly for two or three brave acts, viz. First, the rejecting the Bishop of Rome, extirpating his pretended supremacy in these kingdoms; and not allowing any papal jurisdiction over his subjects. The second, in dissolving the monasteries, and putting an end to idle monks, friars, and nuns. And the third, in causing the holy scripture in the English tongue, to be freely read and used in his kingdom by the laity. Observe the praises given him, by one in an epistle to his last Queen Katharine. "His most excellent majesty being a man after the heart of the Lord, and being a right David, chosen to destroy Goliah, the huge and cumbrous enemy of Israel, without any armour, and without any other weapon, but the stone of God's word, cast out of the sling of the Divine Spirit, working in him, and his laws made here in England: and being the elected instrument of God to pluck down the idol of the Romish anti-christ; who following the steps of his father, Lucifer, hath not only usurped a kind of supremacy and tyranny over all princes on earth, as well Christen as heathen; but also hath ensurged against heaven, and hath lift up and exalted himself above all things that is called God; making void the plain commandment for the advancing of his own more than *pharisaical* traditions; perverting the true sense of the holy

Udal's
Pref. to
Erasm.
Paraphr.
on St.
Luke
translat.

scriptures, and wresting them to the maintenance of his abominations, being both afore God and man detestable. His highness being our Ezechias, by the providence of God, deputed and sent to be the destroyer, not only of all counterfeits in religion, who swarmed among us like disguised maskers, and not mummers, but mumlets: who under the cloak of holiness, seduced the people, and devoured the houses of rich widows; and were maintainers of all superstition, idolatry and rebellion: but also to root up all idolatry, done to dead images of stone and timber, as unto God, &c. 1546.

p. 407.

“ His most excellent majesty, from the first day that he wore the imperial crown of this realm, foresaw, that to the executing of the premisses it was necessary that the people should be reduced to the sincerity of Christ’s religion, by knowing of God’s word; he considered, that requisite it was, his subjects were nouzzled in Christ, by reading the scriptures: whose knowledge would easily induce them to the clear espying of the slights of the Romish juggling. And therefore as soon as might be, his highness by most wholsome and godly laws, provided, that it might be leeful for all his faithful loving subjects to read the word of God, and the rules of Christ’s discipline, which they professed. He provided, that the Holy Bible should be set forth in our own vulgar language: to the end, that England might the better attain to the sincerity of Christ’s doctrine: which they might draw out of the clear fountain and spring of the gospel, &c. By this his majesties most godly provision, it hath come to pass, that the people, which long time had been bred in error and blindness by blind guides, monks, friars, chanons and papistical preachers, do now so plainly see the clear light, that they do willingly abhor idolatry and superstition: they do now know their duty to God and their prince: they do now embrace the verity for verity sake, &c. finally, that their David, the King Henry VIII. had so substantially

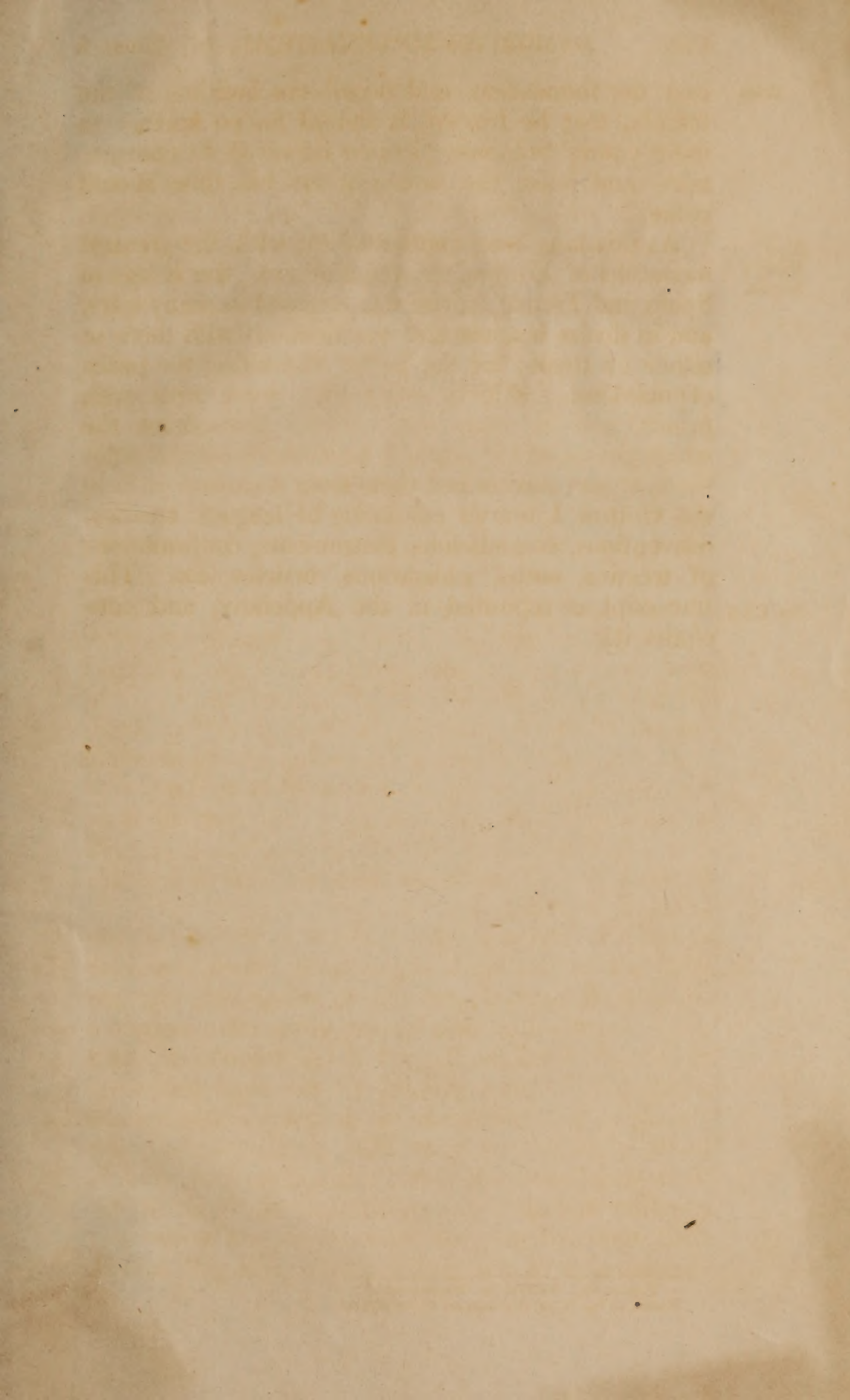
1546. cast the foundation, and raised the building of the temple, that he trusted, it should be no burthen to their young Solomon (Prince Edward) to consummate and finish the same; when his time should come."

King
Henry's
leagues.

As this king was contemporary with the greatest monarchs of Europe, viz. the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and France, so he was engaged in many wars, and in divers leagues and pacifications with them or either of them; for the better consulting the peace of mankind. Which, what they were with each prince, and in what years made, throughout the whole course of his reign, I have retrieved the titles thereof, and transcribed them from a curious MS. in the Cotton Library: consisting of leagues, treaties, conventions, commissions, instruments, confirmations of treaties, oaths, obligations, articles, &c. This transcript is repositied in the Appendix, and concludes it.

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